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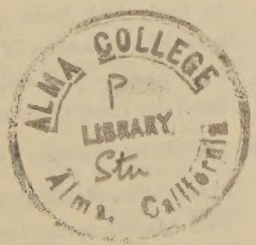

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Ireland To-morrow

FOREWORD

IN presenting our readers with this series of essays our aim is to urge the need of a rigorous examination of many assumptions too readily taken for granted in Ireland to-day. The writers attempt in a realistic way to assess our present position in its weakness as well as in its strength and to discuss lines of development. By design their emphasis is on the future. The Editor is responsible for the choice of themes but has made no attempt to tailor the essays to a rigid, preconceived pattern. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, to discover the common undertone running through these pages : the plea for a more creative outlook.

It is at least arguable that this creative outlook is lacking because of our failure to fashion a satisfying ideal for our people. Only such an ideal can generate enthusiasm, develop initiative and inspire service. The younger generation of to-day finds it difficult to think back into the Ireland of fifty years ago which witnessed the birth of Sinn Fein. Then, undoubtedly, there was a stirring among our people which found expression in politics, in the arts, in the language movement, and in a first effort to make effective in a living way the social teaching of the Church as formulated by Leo XIII. But in the years following the Civil War much of that movement of ideas lost momentum. The old slogans, repeated endlessly over the years, have worn thin, and fail to arouse much enthusiasm among those who think in the present generation. Few men are at heart cynics but many affect cynicism to protect themselves from commitment to ideals that do not ring true.

The ideal of political independence was a clear-cut one ; it was easily grasped and readily fired the imagination. To achieve it men were ready to work hard, to co-operate with each other, to run risks, to sacrifice comfort, wealth, personal liberty, even life itself. Once independence was in great measure achieved there was an understandable slackening of effort : men cannot live always at the highest pitch. What is less understandable is that in the long years since enthusiasm has not been rekindled by the challenge to make the most of that independence so hardly won. The disillusionment and bitterness that followed the Civil War offer only a partial explanation. In thirty years scars should be healed : a generation has now grown up that never experienced that agonizing aftermath.

Could it be that we have never forced ourselves to think out the implications that freedom brings with it ? Could the *mystique* of exaggerated nationalism have confused the issue by tending to identify the nation with an abstraction, a symbol—Cathleen Ni Houlihan—thereby

making peace-time patriotism a rarified virtue that finds expression in speech-making and flag-waving rather than in doing *something* for *somebody ?*

Certainly there seems need of clear thinking on the nature of the state. It is not an abstraction ; nor is it to be confused with the Government. It is the families and social groups that people this land ; families and groups bound together by their very nature in a society designed by God to promote the common welfare of all. This society, this state exists for its members, the Irish people ; it belongs to them ; it is theirs to foster and develop and transform. Each member has rights and duties as a man and as a citizen. In and through the state each one must have an opportunity to develop to the full his worth and dignity as a human person, a child of God set in this world to contribute by the work of his brain or his hands to the development and enrichment of himself and others and so to prove himself in the end a fit citizen for heaven. To fulfil adequately his responsibilities each one must bring the same willingness to work hard, the same willingness to co-operate with others, the same willingness to take risks and to sacrifice comfort and leisure that was shown so generously by the many whose combined efforts won our political independence. Only thus does a man prove himself a worthy citizen, a patriot in deed.

Christian patriotism is not held in reserve for the battlefield or the time of crisis ; it is an everyday virtue without which no state can grow great in stature. Its roots are local. Just as family feeling, *pietas,* binds a man to his kith and kin, so patriotism in the first instance binds a man to those of his own locality and is expressed by a man's readiness to pull his weight and more than his weight in his daily calling and by his neighbourliness in co-operating in the social and cultural life around him. Thus a man exercises patriotism by improving his holding or by increasing his output in industry ; in each case he is adding to the common store, the real wealth of the country. From that, patriotism reaches out beyond the locality and, rising above parochialism, prompts him to shoulder his responsibilities as a co-operator in a greater enterprise, as a member of a wider society, as a citizen of the state.

Since 1922 politics, in the narrowest sense of party and personal rivalry, has stunted the development of true patriotism. With so little real difference in policy between the political parties, an air of unreality has inevitably developed. This has led many thoughtful people to regard the sparring of the politicians as mere shadow-boxing. Unfortunately, many politicians have discredited themselves by irresponsibility in public speeches and by lack of restraint and of charity in dealing with their opponents. Not unnaturally this has undermined public confidence and has made the task of responsible leadership much more difficult.

In saying this we do not mean to minimize our substantial achievement : though we have gone through an immense social revolution in the past thirty years, our political and social institutions have given proof of remarkable stability. Thanks to our ability to assimilate what was best in the judicial and administrative system which we took over in 1922, and to our good fortune in having men of the highest integrity and devotion to fill key positions, we have standards in administration of which we may well be proud. We have initiated reforms in many spheres that have proved fruitful : to give but one instance, the excellent work of the Labour Court in industrial relations has been of real value.

But somehow or other, we seem not to realize the immense motive-power that we could freely draw upon, were we more consciously aware of the christian principles that in fact underlie so many of our institutions and so much of our social legislation. So greatly have we been influenced by the dominant secularist mentality that we are almost ashamed to carry over into public life the religious outlook that so deeply colours our private lives. Despite the pious generalities so often heard on public occasions, there is a dangerous divorce between personal and public outlook that robs us of the drive and of the sense of mission that springs from a unified personality that is christian through and through. Instead of talking about the principles of Tone and Davis and then shaping our course in accordance with the social and economic ideas currently in favour in London, would it not be wiser to think out a political philosophy in full harmony with our deepest convictions : the ideal of a *respublica christiana* that would call forth our people's best efforts to achieve its realization in our midst ?

It is not enough to reply that we have written into our Constitution the highest christian principles. It is one thing to have them written into our Constitution ; it is another to have built them into our fundamental national ideal. Too often with an imitativeness that may be fairly dubbed provincial, we have merely tried to keep in step with English legislation without seriously questioning whether the British method of going about matters was the wisest or most suitable for us. Gladly should we welcome intelligent borrowing of ideas from London or elsewhere provided that we sift them and choose those that are sound and suitable for our country, so different in character and in structure from highly industrialized, over populated-Britain. Cut off almost completely from the Catholic thought of our time in Europe, we enjoy the stagnant peace of a backwater. To shake us out of our complacent lethargy we badly need the stimulus of a satisfying ideal with the sense of vocation that goes with it, and of inspiring leadership that will urge us forward towards that ideal. Given good leadership, such an ideal will deepen our sense of responsibility, renew our enthusiasm and provide a powerful incentive to greater effort.

If clearer thinking is needed about the nature of man and of the state, so also is there need of a deeper awareness of the nature of the Church and of the contribution she offers to our well-being in this world and in the next. St Paul bids us regard her as the building of which Christ is the corner-stone, as the Bride of Christ, as the Body of Christ whose members are united by a common sharing in the one Holy Spirit. These are no empty phrases ; they tell of a treasure that we must cherish, a treasure that we must try to understand better.

Obviously we cannot develop these truths here but there is one aspect of the Church which we do not wish to pass over without mention. We make no extravagant claims for the Church : theocracy has no place in Catholic thought. In God's design both the Church and the civil Government have their rôles to play. God is the author of both and His authority rests in both ; hence there can be no inherent contradiction between them. Each in its kind is supreme, but the very nature and purpose of each fixes their respective limits. " Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." Unless one or other power oversteps the limits of her authority, both will develop in harmony, complementing each other's work for man who is the common citizen of both societies. For both, God's claims are paramount. Should the civil Government forget that God's claims come first, the Church must protest and urge her to think again before flouting the source of all legitimate authority. In doing so, in serving God's interests the Church serves man too. Surely the history of Europe in the past twenty years has brought out again in clear relief that the Church is the stoutest defender of the human person, the upholder of each man's personal dignity, freedom and worth. How wise and how welcome her stand has been is underlined by the growing willingness of non-Catholics to share her view. It is indeed striking to witness how many thinkers have re-discovered with almost naive enthusiasm how central to the solution of social and economic problems is the understanding of the nature and dignity of man.

We think it useful to pose these questions as an introduction to the survey that follows. That survey is designed to stimulate discussion on the Ireland of to-morrow : in any such discussion we consider that the fundamental issues we have raised should receive serious attention.

ROLAND BURKE SAVAGE, S.J.
Editor

NOTE : To complement this series of essays we wish to refer readers to the December 1951 issue of *Studies* : a special number entitled *Aspects of Irish Life : 1921-1951*. Two important questions unfortunately omitted in the present survey, viz. education and the changing pattern of social life, are dealt with in that issue.

ED.

The Irish Economic Prospect

by PATRICK LYNCH, M.A.

Lecturer in Economics, University College, Dublin

THE Irish economist is sometimes regarded as a discredited prophet sulking in resentful pessimism because his worst fears have not yet been realized. He is often seen as a perennial predictor of bankruptcy presently dismayed by sporadic symptoms of national solvency. The files of official publications are invoked against him to brand his gloom as belied by statistical returns : the prosperity of the farmers, the successes of the industrial revival and the high standard of living ; surely all this and more reveal his fears to be unfounded ? But his refusal to overflow with enthusiasm may be more than an occupational prejudice ; progress in some directions may be attained at a high price or accompanied by failure to advance in more rewarding ones. In some directions, indeed, there has been development of considerable variety and extent ; but the advance of the economy as a whole has tended to be slow and sluggish.

During the past seven or eight years the country's wealth as measured by the expansion of the real national income has shown no startling or inexplicable fluctuation. Growth has been steady but slow : an increase of less than 20 per cent in fifteen years justifies hope but little optimism. Suitably selected and interpreted, official statistics may point to some spectacular results ; but another, and more significant, selection might show what these results owe to the sterling assets—capital partly accumulated and invested before the state was established—and to the high rate of emigration. Breezy optimism can overlook the low level of agricultural output, high emigration, inadequate saving and insufficient investment of a genuinely economic character ; and it can fail fully to recognize how far the efforts of the present generation have been subsidized by the proceeds of capital saved by generations that preceded it. If it be a critic's function to pull legs in order to straighten them there is some ground for the cynic's complaint that Irish economic conditions alternate between being hopeless but not serious and being serious but not hopeless. In agriculture, industry and public finance, the record since the Treaty affords some reason for satisfaction but little for self-congratulation ; it yields no scope for unguarded expressions of confidence about the future. The political soothsayers of the early 1920's have, indeed, been confounded : the

Irish have proved that they can govern themselves ; political stability has emerged from disruption and disorder. But economic performance has not kept pace with political and administrative achievement.

The findings of successive Commissions have isolated the serious problems of the Irish economy ; the Population Commission, more particularly in its second minority report, has done so with unusual clarity. The statisticians have assembled the facts ; the experts have made their diagnoses ; only the cure remains elusive. But many popular assessments of the economic condition are short-term ones ; trends are often judged as encouraging only because they have been tested by arbitrary criteria ; comparisons are invalidated by the use of a money standard which, itself, has varied over the period in which the comparison is made ; attention is sometimes concentrated on sections of the economy in which expansion has taken place and diverted from paralysis or contraction elsewhere.

Politically, it may be useful to measure the results of the farmer's efforts in money, but from the viewpoint of national economics monetary measurements can be treacherous. The growth of farm income is not a reliable guide to the volume of goods produced. During the past century the volume of agricultural output has, in fact, increased by only 25 per cent and all of that increase took place in the first decade of the present century. Measurement of output in money terms, unless allowance is made for the depreciation in the value of money, hides the extent to which production has remained practically static. In spite of the fall in rural population, output per worker in Ireland has remained low by European standards ; the Population Commission has estimated[1] that the present volume of output could be produced by two-thirds of the number of workers engaged on the land. This intractability of agricultural output is a threat to the nation's standard of living ; agricultural exports in one form or another account for over three-quarters of total exports, the proceeds of which, together with invisible earnings, provide the normal means of meeting current foreign payments. The improvement of agricultural output with a view to increasing the volume of exports is, therefore, the most urgent and formidable task facing the Irish economy.

During the decade before the war the volume of total exports decreased significantly ; there has been a recovery since 1948 but the level remains very considerably lower than it was in 1928. The failure of the export trade to expand is particularly serious because there has been no corresponding fall in the volume of imports. In 1928 exports and re-exports paid for 76 per cent of imports ; in 1938 for 58 per cent and in 1953 for 62 per cent. This excess of imports over exports has been a characteristic of Irish external trade save in the exceptional

[1] Report of Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems : par. 101.

years during the war when certain imports were not available. The slow return even to the 1928 position (1928 was a very good year but exports paid for only three-quarters of imports) considered in relation to the drawings on external assets since the war is a corrective to the exaggerated claims made for Irish economic progress over the past quarter of a century. Reliance on commodity exports alone would have compelled the nation to reduce substantially its standard of living. It is unlikely that the complete returns for 1954 will show any striking change in the previous year's trend. In 1954 exports tended to increase slightly, imports to fall. The expansion in exports, due mainly to cattle, dressed meat and pig meat, dispelled, temporarily at least, fears that the return to free marketing conditions in Britain would lead to a reduction in British demand for these commodities. For the present, therefore, British demand for Irish farm produce seems likely to be maintained. An increase in the volume of exports will be needed, however, to offset the fall in the export price index because the import price index is moving upwards. But conditions generally at the beginning of 1955 give little promise that the volume of agricultural exports can rapidly be increased to strengthen substantially the country's foreign trading position.

The intractability of agricultural output and exports should not lead to placing unjustified hopes on the export possibilities of manufacturing industry. The continued growth in the volume of industrial production is, indeed, an indicator of economic progress. But that rate of growth has been due mainly to the low level from which development began and to the opportunities offered for expansion in a protected home market. The limits of profitable expansion may soon be reached, however, for industries depending on the home market, particularly if the agricultural standard of living cannot be increased. Some manufacturers will, no doubt, succeed in catering for new export markets, but the prospects of any spectacular increase in industrial exports are not as evident as is often suggested. Any significant expansion of industry must depend on the extension of the home market as a result of greater agricultural prosperity. To point to the limits to increased industrial exports is not to overlook the possibilities of marketing abroad goods for which the raw materials are produced at home. But where indigenous raw materials are lacking the limits to an export trade are obvious. Exporters cannot hope to succeed in competitive foreign markets with goods manufactured largely from imported raw materials carrying high transport charges and produced, perhaps, at a high unit cost.

Since the Treaty the value of net industrial output has more than quadrupled and the volume is now more than two and a half times as great as it was in 1926. This progress is certainly satisfactory for a country at a comparatively early stage of industrial development ; but

there are signs already of the limited capacity of the home market to absorb any further increase in industrial expansion. The development of industry has had a marked effect on the pattern of Irish international trade : imports which formerly consisted mainly of finished goods, now contain a growing amount of raw materials and capital goods which are used in the manufacture of consumption goods previously purchased abroad. The export trade in manufactured goods and raw materials, which represented about 8 per cent of total exports before the war, has increased by nearly two-thirds, but even this proportion is still a comparatively small part of total exports. The increase in industrial production has had no substantial, much less decisive, effect therefore on the total volume of exports, and it would, indeed, be hazardous to predict the future trend of certain manufactured foodstuffs.

Industrial Saturation

The capacity to give employment rather than to raise productivity has been a feature of Irish industrialization especially in the decade before 1939 when productivity was consciously sacrificed to the social advantage of " creating work ". Between 1931 and 1939 industrial production rose by 48 per cent and industrial employment by 62 per cent During the rapid period of industrial expansion since the war productivity improved : between 1946 and 1953 production increased by nearly 60 per cent and its employment content by about 30 per cent. Industrial growth in Britain over the same years was 43 per cent and the increase in the numbers employed in manufactures only 15 per cent. Thus Irish manufacturing industry faces a dilemma : if it is to equip itself to compete in export markets productivity must be increased ; yet efforts to raise productivity may well impair its capacity to give employment and to help significantly in reducing emigration. Nevertheless, if industry is to hold its position even in the home market, improvements in productive efficiency will be necessary, as many manufacturers already recognize ; there is a growing tendency to test the results of industrial expansion by economic rather than by social criteria.

It would be unwise, therefore, to expect too much from further industrial development as a means of increasing employment unless a striking improvement in agricultural prosperity enlarges substantially the rural demand for manufactured goods. It is often said " that any very considerable reduction of the rate of emigration must depend on the growth of industry." But in one instance, at least, this statement has been prudently qualified by a recital of obstacles whose removal presents many difficulties.[1] For over a quarter of a century industrial development has been helping to reduce emigration ; but this social achievement of industry must be set in a wider economic context : the

[1] Economic conditions in Ireland OEEC, 1954.

total number of persons at work in Ireland in 1951 was only 12,000 or 1 per cent more than in 1926. There was a net increase in non-agricultural employment of 159,000 and a decline of 147,000 in agricultural employment. The scope for employment on the land was falling ; employment in other occupations was increasing ; the total number of persons employed remained almost stationary ; and all the time emigration continued at the rate of about 24,000 persons a year. The rate of industrial development was altogether insufficient to absorb the overflow from agriculture as well as the natural increase in population. In a period of unprecedented progress from 1946 to 1951 the economic system created new employment for only 800 persons a year : it offered jobs to one out of every thirty persons available for employment. Unless there are unforeseen developments of startling dimensions further industrialization cannot contribute much immediately to foreign trade or, indeed, to the problems of unemployment and emigration. Industry should be given credit for its achievements, but to make claims supported only by opaque generalization creates dangerous delusions. The first phase of the Irish industrial revolution is now complete ; and consolidation of its accomplishments is needed before undertaking a second phase with energies and resources that might, perhaps, be more productively deployed in other sections of the economy.

To preserve and, if possible, to raise the standard of living an increase in foreign earnings must be secured. Industrial exports can hope to make only a marginal contribution ; the growth of agricultural exports depends on the ability of farm output to expand ; but there is another revenue earner—the tourist industry, at present third in importance in the list of sources of external income. Tourism is an industry which makes comparatively little demand on imports of raw materials and it is widely recognized by foreign experts as one for which this country has advantages. Not all of these have been fully developed, perhaps because of the faulty administrative organization, which is now being overhauled. These efforts to establish on a firm foundation an industry, which in 1953 earned £20,000,000, may seem somewhat belated. But perhaps the experience of the years since the war may persuade the authorities that a good deal of the tourist traffic of those years was freakish and different in character from the permanent traffic for which the country might profitably cater in normal circumstances. The Irish Tourist Association has long been doing useful and constructive work, but it is only since the war that the potentialities of tourism as a national industry have been officially recognised. Even if unrecognized, however, tourists have always been an important source of revenue, and if their present contribution to the nation's income, as shown in the balance of international payments tables, is a reliable guide, their significance must have been conservatively estimated in the decades

before the war : in 1931, for instance, the income from tourism was shown as only £400,000 !

In recent years there has been a continued decline in the tourist traffic. That decline is a matter of concern for the economy as a whole no less than for the transport organizations and the catering industry. The improvement in the food situation in Britain and the relaxation in practice of British regulations governing transfers of currency to the continent have diverted tourists who might otherwise have found it more economical to spend holidays in Ireland. This diversion of British tourists to other countries has been taking place in spite of incentives which, if effectively publicized, might have been expected to attract traffic here. Transport costs to Ireland from Britain are lower than those to continental countries ; the rates across the Irish sea are little more than half those for journeys from Britain to the Continent. Such incentives, however, and the absence of language difficulties have been insufficient to offset the greater attractions of the continent for British tourists. In spite of expensive state assistance tourist traffic has failed to expand ; the development of a potentially great industry requires more than the supervision of hotel standards and the publication of well-produced brochures.

Official statistical information shows conclusively that, contrary to popular opinion, Britain is the most important source of tourist revenue. In 1953 the dollar area accounted for only £1.7 million out of total earnings of £20 million. The activities of the authorities appointed to promote and publicize the industry must be directed, therefore, towards Britain, however much sentimental considerations might tempt them to look across the Atlantic. For tourism as for commodity exports the dollar market is valuable if it can be secured at a reasonable cost ; but the cost becomes uneconomic if the resources employed in attempting to secure it can be used more profitably and with less uncertainty in Britain. The British market is geographically small and compact ; expenditure on promotion and advertizing is more likely to achieve rewarding results there than in the United States ; it is easier to fight a successful campaign on a narrow front than on an extended one. The possibilities of tourism in Ireland are clearly considerable. With efficient organization and imaginative promotion the responsible authorities should be able to check the recent decline in receipts and increase the earning capacity of a promising and remunerative industry.

Receipts from tourism and income from foreign investments are the two main forms of " invisible " earnings that supplement the proceeds of commodity exports to provide the economy with currency for its payments abroad. Income from foreign investment, £23,600,000 gross in 1953, has traditionally been a main feature of the balance of payments although, for various reasons, its significance has been

diminishing. The Banking Commission of 1938, in its majority report, recommended rigorous avoidance of anything that might reduce income from foreign investment. The disturbing character of Irish foreign trade in the years after 1931 certainly justified caution, but in retrospect the Commission's fears are somewhat difficult to understand ; the total amount of foreign disinvestment needed to cover deficits on current account between 1933 and 1939 was as low as £12 million, a modest amount by comparison with the value of sterling holdings.

Drawings on External Assets

In 1931 when the total income from commodity exports was only £35·5 million, income from foreign investment was £14·4 million or nearly 24 per cent of the country's total foreign earnings of £61 million. In 1935, when as a result of the economic war the proceeds of commodity exports fell to £19·6 million, investment income accounted for £13·7 million or about 33⅓ per cent of the total foreign earnings of £42·3 million. Since the war its significance has greatly declined. In 1953 it represented only 13 per cent of total foreign income. Its importance to the balance of payments, however, must not even now be underestimated. An annual gross income of over £23 million from investments cannot be lightly dismissed in view of the absence of any immediate prospect of earning annually a corresponding amount from increased commodity exports or from an expansion of the tourist trade. That item of £23 million is the reminder in the balance of payments of the extent to which current viability is subsidized by the proceeds of capital which predominantly represents the past exertions of the nation. In 1953 the deficit in the balance of payments was reduced to £7·1 millions ; in 1954 it probably was about £5 million. Although these improvements have been marginal ones, they have nevertheless been accorded inordinate publicity ; the income from sterling investments which unobstrusively made equilibrium possible is often treated with the somewhat guilty silence that surrounds a legacy inherited from a disgraced and discarded relative. The Central Bank, however, has never forgotten that relative's rôle and continues to publish warnings against unwise and imprudent " encroachments " on the foreign investments that yield this income. It is not easy to arrive at a reliable figure for the present capital value of Ireland's foreign investment : it probably amounts to something over £400 million gross. Other estimates have shown a much higher figure, but there is considerable room for conjecture in all estimates of this kind and dogmatism should be avoided. To elicit the net creditor position, account must be taken of foreign liabilities such as loans under Marshall aid, sterling debt and external capital

invested in Ireland. Marshall aid debts amount to about £31 million and the other items to about £240 million leaving the net creditor position at something over £120 million.

Substantial drawings on sterling assets have taken place since the war to meet current deficits in the balance of payments. The propriety of drawing on this capital for productive domestic investment is now generally admitted, although the desirability of doing so must be balanced against the need for preserving an adequate reserve of sterling to ensure the convertibility of the currency and to cover abnormal trade deficits. Moreover, to justify sacrificing the substantial annual income which this external capital yields it is necessary to examine closely the quality of the domestic investment projects into which it is proposed to convert it.

Foreign disinvestment is legitimate if its proceeds are used for domestic capital formation of an economic character. It should not normally be undertaken to meet current trade deficits that reflect increases in consumption. If that happens, the disinvestment is being used to subsidize a level of consumption which the current productive effort of the economy is unable to sustain ; it is, in fact, evidence that the nation is living on capital. Moreover, even if the proceeds of foreign disinvestment are productively invested at home the capital should be an addition to capital which is being financed from current domestic saving and not in substitution for it. A healthy and dynamic economy relies primarily on its current saving to finance its capital formation ; and this requires either more production or less consumption. An expanding economy must rest on a solid foundation of savings from current income ; the second layer may then be safely financed from external disinvestment.

Investment Productive and Unproductive

Every analysis of Irish economic conditions reveals the necessity for increased investment if greater output is to be obtained. As private investment has been insufficient it has had to be supplemented by a volume of public investment, which, although of substantial magnitude, has not yet succeeded in improving noticeably the productive capacity of the economy. State sponsored schemes now account for well over half of all capital outlay[1], and a very substantial part of that outlay consists of houses, hospitals and schools, which however necessary they may be on social grounds, give no immediate impetus to the productive ability of the economy. In 1953 the national income[2] was estimated

[1] In this connection see I.B.E.C. Report, 1952.
[2] Irish Statistical Survey, 1953.

at £437 million, an increase of 8 per cent on 1952 in money terms and about 3 per cent in real terms. Gross capital formation was £73 million, but £14 million—an altogether inadequate sum—was deducted for depreciation. Of net capital formation of £59 million, about £25 million[3] was invested in houses, hospitals and schools, leaving a balance of only about £34 million for economically productive capital investment. As £10 million of this amount was probably spent on replacement of existing capital, the net value of new capital created to improve agricultural and industrial production was probably no more than £25 million or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the national income. Despite, therefore, sustained and voluble emphasis on the need for capital investment the outlay actually incurred has had an insignificant effect on production : too large a part has been tilted in an economically unproductive direction. To describe it as unproductive is not to condemn it ; but if it was all socially necessary the inescapable conclusion is that the volume of investment was inadequate having regard to the economic needs of the nation. Moreover, socially desirable projects, such as hospitals, impose new annual charges on the nation's resources without making any economic addition to them ; taxation must be levied to pay for their upkeep. The low level of domestic saving, however, set the limits to investment. In 1952 and 1953 there were signs that the rate of domestic saving was rising steadily and, presumably the trend still continues ; the figure of £52 million for 1953 was double the annual average for saving in the period 1949–1953 ; but the low level of productive investment in 1953 shows that the rate of saving must increase rapidly if resources are to be found for increasing the output of agriculture and improving the efficiency of industry.

It is not enough, therefore to be impressed by the provision made in the annual Budget for the state's capital programme. It caters mainly for the provision of social amenities which, although indispensable in a modern community, are making less contribution than they seem towards adding immediately to real wealth. State capital investment, if constructively conceived, can be economically creative ; but it becomes a dangerous political slogan if the notion prevails that the cost of capital formation can be borne by the savings of our ancestors or thrust on the shoulders of posterity. Productive investment cannot be achieved without the sacrifice incurred by current saving ; and this means foregoing current consumption. Other countries have made drastic cuts in consumption to release resources for economic development—the Soviet Union did so before the war and Britain since. If Ireland is to raise agricultural output, to increase exports, to escape from

[3] No official estimate is yet available but the corresponding figure in 1952 was £23·3

the stagnation that has held the economy in thrall since the Treaty there must be more productive investment of a gradually growing volume of current domestic savings. Since 1938 consumption expenditure has increased by about 25 per cent in real terms ; the farmers have been the main beneficiaries, but their standard of living has risen from a very low level. If the savings necessary to maintain a satisfactory rate of growth are to be forthcoming, real national income must increase more rapidly than consumption.

In a healthy economy the funds for capital outlay are provided mainly from voluntary savings, from real purchasing power saved from current consumption by private persons and institutions and lent by them for private and public investment. Additional resources may also be found for public investment from capital imports by foreigners and from taxation aimed at a budget surplus. A third method, and one used in Ireland, has been the making of draws on foreign investment—the sterling assets. This method, however, can yield only marginal assistance and it should be adopted only in combination with other methods. In any event it must be operated with caution ; to advocate the desirability of repatriating the nation's foreign capital is easy ; it is equally easy to repatriate it ; but the difficulty is to prevent it from being employed to boost current consumption and to avoid sinking it in domestic assets which yield unsatisfactory or non-existent economic returns. No fundamental problem of the Irish economy would be solved if the proceeds of foreign disinvestment were directed into unproductive relief schemes or other uneconomic projects. Public expenditure can create employment but its efforts are spurious as a permanent solution to unemployment unless it leads to an enduring increase in the output of goods and services that can be sold for domestic consumption or for export. There is no economic virtue in employment for its own sake, however much social virtue it entails. Unless employment is productive and adds to the national wealth it cannot long be afforded without a curtailment in the general standard of living. Unproductive enterprise becomes a drag on the community and imposes a brake on progress. It increases public debt without providing for the service or redemption of that debt. The annual charges for public debt are a tax on the current Budget. If the debt is predominantly unproductive the taxation necessary to defray its charges becomes a stern reminder that, one way or another, a price must be paid for capital investment by the state. The cost of servicing the national debt has now grown to £15 million from less than £6 million in 1950. This trend might be of little significance if there had been a corresponding movement in the growth of real national income. But real national income, which has increased by only 20 per cent since 1938, reflects disappointingly the effects of public investment.

The report of the Central Bank has referred to " over-investment "[1]. This is the process by which the state induces foreign disinvestment when domestic investment is in excess of current savings. The process creates the possibility of a two-fold danger : outlay tends if invested towards social rather than economic proiects ; whether invested or not the excess of purchasing power, failing as it does to create an additional supply of consumer's goods, attracts additional imports or contracts exports ; domestic prices rise or fail to fall as much as they would in the absence of inflationary pressure. When investment exceeds current saving an adverse effect on the balance of payments is inevitable ; and the proceeds instead of being transformed into productive domestic assets are often dissipated on current consumption. This warning is sometimes wrongly construed as evidence that the Central Bank has opposed the state policy of capital investment. The Central Bank, as is clear from its last report, favours investment as long as there are resources to finance it. But successive reports have stressed the necessity for more saving to facilitate increased investment ; and, without peering too closely through the lines of the Reports, the reader can see that what the Bank castigates is not public investment but high taxation and the proliferation of food subsidies that discourage saving or stimulate consumption.

The primary economic needs of the nation are, therefore, more saving and a greater volume of productive investment. This investment must be undertaken largely by the state or indirectly with its assistance. To secure a substantial increase in the real national income and in exports the more investment that takes place in agriculture the better ; in no other sector of the economy is the need so great or the result so promising. An imaginative policy for public investment might formally recognize the essentially uneconomic character of a great deal of present outlay. The Government's adoption in 1950 of a dual budget placed a new emphasis on state investment financed from borrowing. It is time now to distinguish clearly between categories of investment and to devise a practical policy for increasing current saving. The fundamentally static condition of the economy shows that public investment alone is not enough. Greater attention must be directed towards the choice and size of projects financed from public funds, and towards this end capital outlay undertaken by the state might be classified into such groups as :

(1) directly revenue-earning (*e.g.* electricity development),
(2) potentially revenue earning (*e.g.* land development),
(3) desirable on social grounds (*e.g.* houses, schools, hospitals),
(4) entirely unproductive (*e.g.* most relief schemes open or disguised).

[1] Report of the Central Bank of Ireland for year ended 31 March 1954, page 30.

A list of categories on these lines might lead to a system of priorities having regard to national needs and to the level of current saving. It might also compel the conviction that, if proper economic tests are applied, the projects included in category (4) should in normal times be financed from current taxation. Their exclusion from the capital programme would be dictated less by doctrinaire considerations than by the wasteful consequences of financing them from borrowing at the present stage of economic development.

Since the Treaty, Ireland would have had difficulty in paying its way but for past saving and current emigration. To maintain its standard of living, output must now be raised through increased economic investment. This will call for the sacrifice needed to raise the level of domestic saving. The level of voluntary saving did rise in 1952 and 1953 but the volume available for investment still remains inadequate. If it cannot be increased substantially, the sacrifice may have to be imposed compulsorily through a budget surplus obtained by still heavier taxation ; Irish economic progress, however it is to be financed, depends on the availability of an increasing volume of saving.

Agriculture in the National Economy

by JAMES J. BYRNE, M.A., M.SC., LL.B.

Lecturer in Economics, University of Dublin

PEOPLE take for granted that agriculture is the cornerstone of the national economy, but do not realize that fundamental and far-reaching changes are necessary in its pattern and techniques before it can properly lay claim to that vital economic position. It is not enough that it should occupy a large fraction of the population, nor that the value of its output should constitute a large percentage of the national income. Important though these considerations undoubtedly are, the foundation sector of an economy must provide that surplus of output which is needed to underwrite development. The rate of an economy's progress, social and economic, is closely tied to the surplus produced by its basic enterprises. Highly industrialized countries do not look to agriculture to provide the margin for economic betterment. They rely on industry and in this they are doing no more than the obvious, because the activity which has the greatest pulling-power in the economy is the activity which is most likely to draw the economy up to higher levels of output and income. The assumption that agriculture is the basis of the Irish economy necessarily implies that agriculture provides in increasing amounts the surplus wealth required for the economy's proper development. The relevant economic data suggest that it is doing nothing of the kind.[1] But these data of to-day need not necessarily be the data of to-morrow. In fact the whole contention of this essay is that Irish agriculture is a gold mine waiting for the claims to be staked.

The development which has taken place in the economy since 1922 has been focussed mainly on industrial expansion, and although the achievements have been praiseworthy they have not solved the country's perennial problem which is to provide employment opportunities and adequate living standards for a naturally increasing population. While there has been some raising of living standards, the increase in the

[1]INDICES OF NET OUTPUT.

Year	Agriculture	Industries producing transportable goods	All industries and services
1938	100	100	100
1953	107	189	181

numbers employed has been very small, 12,000 between 1926 and 1951, which represents something less than a 1 per cent increase in the working population. Emigration continues to absorb the excess of births over deaths.

WORKING POPULATION IN THE 26 COUNTIES (000's)

Census Year	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural	Total
1926	647	573	1,220
1951	500	732	1,232
1926–1951 ...	−147	+159	+12

In recent years development is experiencing the constricting influence of trying to operate within what is becoming a closed circle formed by a static agricultural output, an industrialization based on imports and a price structure which is particularly sensitive to the upward movement of prices abroad. With a moderately increasing national output the surplus available for export is small, and with rising living costs the margin available for saving is small also ; as a result many investment projects find themselves bedevilled by balance of payment problems or the fear of inflationary consequences, or both. Yet development, social as well as economic, is necessary, and unless it is undertaken, and in sufficient quantity, the economy's long-standing difficulties will be aggravated. The problem is to find a sector of the economy which can be made the springboard for such development. As yet industry has been unable to play this part and the trends in recent years indicate that exclusive reliance on an industrial pattern of the kind which has emerged up to now might be unduly hazardous. Attention therefore swings to agriculture.

Agricultural Pattern

Despite its contradictions and short-comings, the existing system of agriculture and land use is presumed to be best suited to the welfare of all members of the agricultural community and indeed to the welfare of the non-agricultural community as well. It is said to be so integrated that any substantial change in its structure would seriously upset the balance of the economy. It produces an exportable surplus of livestock and livestock products which, it is argued, underpins the whole structure of industry, and with respect to the agricultural sector itself, it is presumed to absorb in the most efficient and profitable manner the surplus livestock both of the small-farmer and the dairy-farmer. These claims are not made without evidence, and a wealth of argument, statistical and

otherwise, has been adduced in their support. However, if the system is to be preserved as a permanent feature of the Irish economy it is necessary to examine it in some detail for, if it is to be the pivot of future development, it must show considerable scope for increased production. It must contain within its framework a considerable amount of unused or underused productive capacity.

The essential characteristics of Irish agriculture are apparent from the statistics relating to land use. Of the 17,000,000 acres of land in the country, approximately 11,600,000 are classified as arable, that is to say under crops and pasture. Of the remainder, some 320,000 acres are under woods and plantations and the balance, called " other land ", represents land which may best be described as marginal. The use which is made of the arable land underlines the prime importance given to grassland. Nearly 8,000,000 acres are under pasture and approximately 1,900,000 acres are under hay. About 1,100,000 acres are under corn crops and about 640,000 acres are under root and green crops, flax and fruit. The agricultural economy is therefore primarily a grazing economy in which 85 per cent of its arable acres are devoted to permanent pasture and hay. The chief economic activity is the raising of livestock, mainly cattle, and in this sphere the emphasis is laid on the dual-purpose Shorthorn breed to provide adequate supplies of milk, and beasts suitable as beef animals for the export trade. The density of agriculturally-occupied population is low by comparison with similarly-sized Western European countries, so that in general Irish agriculture may be said to depend on an extensive rather than an intensive use of land.

LAND USE IN THE 26 COUNTIES IN ACRES (000's)

Year	Corn Crops	Root and green crops (*a*)	Hay	Pasture	Woods and plantations	Other land	Total
1901 ...	924	827	1,758	9,011	268	4,199	16,987
1921 ...	1,035	773	1,983	8,090	246	4,892	17,019
1931 ...	763	662	2,313	7,989	236	5,061	17,024
1944 ...	1,767	800	1,898	7,092	288	5,179	17,024
1953 ...	1,117	636	1,902	7,945	320	5,104	17,024

(*a*) Including flax and fruit.

During the turbulent first half of the twentieth century Irish agriculture, as the fore-going figures show, has exhibited a striking resistance to fundamental change and a surprising resilience which

draws it back to its predominantly pastoral pattern when external pressures, such as wartime regulations, are withdrawn.[1] Between 1901 and 1921, the tilled area expanded by 51,000 acres ; during the succeeding decade it contracted by 377,000 acres ; from 1931 to 1944, under the impact of an intensive tillage campaign and wartime regulations, it increased by 1,142,000 acres and since 1944 the trend has been reversed. The acreage under root and green crops is now somewhat less than in 1931. The corn crop area has slipped back to approximately the 1931 figure and the area under hay and pasture is practically the same as in 1901.

Crops and Livestock Output

Notwithstanding the tendency to revert to the acreage figures of earlier years, the output of crops has tended to increase. During the decade 1940–49, the estimated average annual produce of corn crops, measured in starch tons, was 78 per cent higher than in 1900–09. The increase for root and green crops was 29 per cent. The increase for hay was 5 per cent and the total increase for corn, root and green crops and hay was approximately 29 per cent. The increase in output per acre was much less, 7 per cent for corn crops, 38 per cent for root and green crops, a reduction of about 4 per cent for hay, and an increase of 7 per cent for total corn, root and green crops and hay.

AVERAGE ANNUAL OUTPUT OF CROPS

Period	Total (starch tons 000's)			Per Acre (starch lbs.)		
	Corn crops	Root and green crops	Corn, root and green crops and hay	Corn crops	Root and green crops	Corn, root and green crops and hay
1900–09 ...	479	734	2,193	1,180	2,087	1,398
1920–29 ...	467	746	2,220	1,169	2,324	1,302
1940–49 ...	853	946	2,819	1,265	2,872	1,489

Allowing for the changes in the pasture area, the net effect has been an increase in the total amount of feeding-stuffs. This increase has been accompanied by changes in the livestock population. Since 1901 cattle have increased by about 530,000 ; sheep have declined by

[1] Since 1901 the area under crops and pasture declined by about 920,000 acres and the area under " other land " increased by roughly the same amount. The change here is due rather to changes in the classification of land than to land going out of cultivation as a result of a deterioration in fertility, so that the area of arable land is substantially the same now as at the beginning of the century. Furthermore, the statistics indicate that the reduction occurred in land classified as pasture which means that, by present standards of classification, the area of pasture land in 1901 was about 150,000 acres greater than in 1951 (only 2 per cent).

about 1,050,000 ; pigs have decreased by about 130,000 and poultry, whose numbers can fluctuate considerably over a short period of years, have increased by about 5,030,000. The herd of milch cows is approximately the same as at the beginning of the century and, although there have been some fluctuations in the intervening years, the total herd has tended to remain at or about 1,200,000.

LIVESTOCK (000's)

Year	Milch cows	Other cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry
1901	1,178	2,690	3,981	1,015	14,084
1921	1,278	3,141	3,020	891	17,093
1931	1,222	2,807	3,575	1,227	22,782
1944	1,218	3,028	2,663	381	18,330
1953	1,174	3,223	2,930	882	19,114

The progress of agriculture for five decades resembles a sort of see-saw between corn acreage and pasture in which corn acreage seems to lose unless assisted by price supports and direct state action. Concomitant with this trend is the tendency for non-milch cattle to increase, for sheep to decrease, and for the number of pigs and poultry to fluctuate violently. Left to themselves, the underlying currents of Irish agriculture appear to sweep it towards dry-cattle farming, and even when the industry was warped from its natural bent by state action its basic character remained unchanged. It was still extensive agriculture because state action simply substituted one type of extensive farming, namely corn-growing, for the equally extensive dry-stock raising. To be a lucrative proposition for the farmer, extensive agriculture, be it cattle or corn, implies an adequate acreage, and adequate acreage means something more than 50 acres of arable land. But the majority of Irish farms are less than this size ; three-quarters of them are less than 50 acres and slightly more than half of them are less than 30 acres. If Irish farming maintains its present character, market forces will grind out the small farmer, thereby hastening the consolidation of holdings and exacerbating the demographic problem presented by the growing migration of agricultural population. This is assuredly all the more likely to occur since the areas in which small farms predominate are the less fertile lands of the western, the mountainous and the marshy counties. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that the elimination of the small holding would lead to an increase in total production, since output per acre is higher on the smaller than on the larger farms. Expressed per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture, the area ploughed, the area under hay, the total number of cattle, the number of pigs and the number of poultry, are higher on farms under 50 acres than on farms above this size. Only in the case of non-milch cattle of two years and upwards

and to some extent in the case of sheep, do the large farms carry proportionately the greater numbers.

AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT (1949) AND DENSITY OF POPULATION ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE (1946) ON HOLDINGS OF VARIOUS SIZES

	1 and under 30 acres	30 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 200 acres	Over 200 Acres	All Holdings
	Per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture					
Area ploughed ...	172	165	167	162	135	164
Area under hay ...	202	185	174	153	123	173
Milch cows ...	128	112	108	83	47	102
Other cattle 2 years and over	68	82	99	133	171	103
1 to 2 years ...	86	75	69	61	45	69
Under 1 year ...	105	93	86	67	38	82
Total cattle ...	386	361	362	343	302	356
Sheep	176	187	172	181	254	186
Pigs	66	64	63	47	27	57
Poultry	3,166	2,069	1,488	949	492	1,855
Population density	82	57	41	28	18	49
Number of holdings	173,254	62,588	51,631	21,820	7,264	316,557

Agricultural Potential–Grasslands

Were one to judge the potential of agriculture solely on the basis of present century trends and within the framework of existing methods of husbandry and land use, there is nothing to suggest a significant expansion of output within the foreseeable future. Neither is there evidence to indicate large reserves of unused capacity within the system. Indeed the stability of output for so long and under such changing conditions points to the conclusion that under the present system maximum output, if it has not already been achieved, is not far off. Yet comparison with other countries, for example New Zealand, suggests that existing output is far below the maximum possible for an agricultural area so naturally well-endowed, and also that static output is a peculiarity to be wondered at rather than an economic experience to be accepted as normal. Such comparisons further indicate that it is the prevailing method of using land and the agricultural edifice resulting therefrom which, though they may have attained their maximum output, have

attained it at a level which is chronically low. The matter is well summarized in a statement by Holmes in his *Report on the Present State and Methods for the Improvement of Irish Land* (1948) : " . . . . . in all of the counties I visited, I saw hundreds of fields which are growing just as little as it is physically possible for land to grow under an Irish sky ".—a statement from a paragraph which begins : " Let me say, first of all, that there is no area of comparable size in the Northern hemisphere which has such marvellous potentialities for pasture production as Éire undoubtedly has ".

A substantial increase in agricultural output cannot be achieved without a change-over from extensive to intensive farming. Unless production is drastically intensified there is no possibility of raising, in any worthwhile sense, output per unit of land, of labour or of capital. Recent increases in productivity per man, attained on the basis of a stable production and a declining labour force, afford no grounds for commendation but are rather an indictment of the system in view of the output of which the land is technically capable. The foundation of the agricultural industry is its pasture land, and climatically, the country while well suited to the production of a wide range of crops, is particularly favoured for the production of grass. Since 85 per cent of the arable acreage is devoted to pasture and hay, the first object of policy should be the proper cultivation, care and maintenance of the grasslands, which means intensive farming. Development of grasslands is not synonomous with maintaining land in permanent pasture and occasionally dressing it with fertilisers. Grassland cultivation means that the land is manured, ploughed, sown with specified crops, reseeded for definite periods, heavily stocked and rotationally grazed. It is true that there are some areas of the country which are suitable for permanent pasture and which can compare in quality and grazing capacity with any in Western Europe, but their extent is small, and by far the greater portion of the arable land deteriorates if permanently grazed. This however is the general practice, and as a result pastures are thin and weedy, have a low stock-carrying capacity and give a poor output when tilled. The system is indeed a vicious downward economic spiral for, as stock-carrying capacity declines, the quantity of manurial nutrients returned to the land by the grazing animals declines as well, causing a further reduction in soil fertility, and this spiral continues until in the end pastures are old, matted, semi-productive and well-nigh worn-out. Writing on the present state of soil fertility, Dr Kennedy, in his *Minority Report on Post-Emergency Agricultural Policy,* says : " Soil fertility is low over most of the country. The land has been mined slowly for generations by the grazing of cattle without the corresponding return in fertilisers. The grazing has on the whole been extensive with low output and low stocking per acre ".

One of the weakest links in Irish agriculture is its pasture, and little less than a revolutionary change in the general attitude and approach to it will bring its productive capacity into line with what has been achieved by progressive agriculture in other countries. The present economically unenviable position is the result of regarding grass as something dispensed gratuitously by a bountiful and provident Nature. It has not been realized that while agriculture in this country has some natural endowments, grass is not one of them. Grass is a crop. Like any other, it has a cost of production, a return, and a set of conditions requisite to profitable cultivation, and Ireland is more than fortunate in respect of those conditions. " With the exception of New Zealand, no other country in the world is so favourably endowed by nature with conditions suitable for grass cultivation as is our island, and it is desirable that efforts should be directed at the earliest possible date to the exploitation of this natural advantage, one which, except for limited areas, is unique in Europe." (*Majority Report of Committee of Inquiry into Post-Emergency Agricultural Policy*). " Exploitation of this natural advantage " implies more than watching the animals graze, and while manuring would unquestionably restore some of the soil deficiencies, the point has now been reached when even liberal manuring would not yield speedy and substantial increases in gross output. " I estimate that about two-thirds of the land under grass is so lacking in species worth manuring as to make regeneration by this process alone much too slow. An extensive programme of ploughing and reseeding is necessary . . . . . " (Holmes's *Report*).

The Economics of Pasture

The economic importance of grass is too little appreciated. Quite apart from the fact that it occupies the greatest proportion of the arable land and therefore has a key position in the agricultural economy, no other commodity can compare with it, either in point of cheapness or nutrition, as a raw material for the production of livestock and livestock products. Grass is the natural food of the grazing animal, and the grazing animal is the main product of Irish agriculture. But in this context grass must not be confused with old and unproductive pasture. Even if one were content to see hill and mountain lands remain as stretches of rough grazing over which animals could forage and " pick ", there is no economic sense in maintaining ordinary pasture land in a condition where it provides merely " pickings " and exercise for grazing animals. If grass is to continue as the principal constituent of animal food in this country, it is no more than sensible that pastures should be properly cultivated so that they produce an abundance of young, leafy grasses. Indeed unless they are so cultivated there is little prospect of really

epping-up agricultural output for, in addition to its importance as a direct source of animal food, properly cultivated grassland is the best basis for profitable tillage. It gives a soil which is tillable, fertile and capable of heavy yields.

Grassland farming has passed out of the experimental and trial stage. The appropriate technique and practices have been perfected and its profitability has been established beyond doubt. Not only does it yield a considerable increase in animal feeding-stuffs of the highest quality, but its efficient management requires heavy stocking and rotational grazing. This concentration of stock on the reconstituted leys ensures in turn a heavy and direct application of animal manure, with consequent beneficial effects in terms of grass growth, soil composition and fertility.

In grass-farming there appear to be at least two almost self-perpetuating economic cycles. One is where soil fertility has deteriorated and grass output is low. Here the land will carry the same number of animals year after year with little reduction in soil fertility, because the margin for reduction is small. There is a constancy of returns to the farmer at low production cost and output. Given an adequate acreage and prices pitched fairly highly, income may be well above subsistence level and the farmers' standard of living reasonably high. Furthermore, this condition of comparative comfort can be assured to the farmer where there is, for example, a chronic world shortage of his products, or where he is isolated from the competition of more efficient producers in other countries. From the point of view of employment and progress the system has of course nothing to recommend it, and unless agriculture has a very subordinate and relatively unimportant part in the economy, the maintenance of this system of " low " farming will be a serious drag on economic development. In any economy it will represent a wasteful use of resources.

The other cycle is where grass is intensively cultivated and heavily stocked with grazing animals. Given proper management, increases in soil fertility are consolidated and the land continually improved. The volume of employment is high because of the amount of work involved. Production costs are high, but in the absence of depression prices the combination of high output and high return guarantees high income. Because of the high productivity a large volume of output is available for disposal in the domestic market or abroad. Because the system is efficient it can face competition and because it " pays its way " as much as any other economic activity it is no drag on the economy ; rather does it contribute to the economy's wealth, welfare and progress. In view of this it may well be wondered why the system has not been generally adopted. Its comparative newness is no explanation, because in the field of industrial endeavour innovations of more

recent discovery and requiring vastly greater expenditures of capital, have been successfully exploited.

The answer lies partly in the inadequate dissemination of knowledge, but to a much greater extent in the depression mentality which visited agriculture in the 1930's and remained ever since. Compared with "low" farming, "high" farming is an expensive business involving considerable investment, which means a depletion of the farmer's cash reserves and possibly borrowing as well. This is the stumbling-block. Even though "high" farming is much more profitable than "low" at prices prevailing in the 1940's and 1950's, the fear persists that prices may one day slip as they did in the 1930's and leave farmers who have adopted this costly but remunerative system of farming heavily mortgaged with debt. While it is only prudent to include in calculations for the future the possibility that prices may fall, there is no merit in allowing this fear to assume such proportions that it precludes any change whatever in the *status quo*. There is no complete insurance against economic risk. To "stay put" and simply accumulate the profits from low-output and low-investment farming is no safeguard against the rigours of economic depression. For one thing these cash reserves will be small. For another, the average level of income is permanently low, so that if the reserves are insufficient to weather one depression, the ensuing years of prosperity may not enable the debts incurred to be redeemed before another depression sets in. Assuming the periodic recurrence of economic slumps, the appropriate policy for the agriculturist is to arrange his programme of grassland cultivation so that its rate of progress allows a reasonable ratio to be maintained between borrowing and income during prosperity. Provided he has not overburdened himself with capital debt, the progressive farmer will be better able to ride out an economic depression than his over-cautious neighbour because he will possess more productive assets in the shape of good quality pasture and stock. Finally, should depression be warded off, as it well may in view of the widespread acceptance of full employment as the aim of economic policy, the doubtful expedient of adopting "low" farming as a "hedge" against the consequences of a slump in farm prices, ceases to have any merit whatever.

Output and Income

In its *Interim Report on the Cattle and Dairying Industries*, the Committee of Inquiry on Post-Emergency Agricultural Policy puts the average annual output of milk per cow at 400 gallons and reckons it to be the equivalent of 124 lbs. of butterfat. No firm figure of butterfat output per acre is available. However, if one makes the extreme and unrealistic assumption that as an average the food requirements of a

cow are no greater than those of any cattle beast aged 1 year and upwards and are twice those of cattle of less than 1 year, approximately 2·5 acres of hay and pasture are required to support each cow. On this basis, butterfat output per acre is about 50 lbs. In New Zealand the output is 120 lbs. If a less unrealistic assumption is made, namely that a cow's food requirements are twice those of cattle less than 2 years of age and no greater than those of cattle aged two years or more, the area of hay and pasture required to support a cow rises to 2·9 acres and the output of butterfat per acre drops to 43 lbs. Adequate feeding alone, it is said, could increase average annual milk yield by 150 gallons per cow. As almost all the food requirements of the milking cow could be provided by appropriate and adequate grass, proper grassland husbandry would increase these figures to approximately 69 lbs. and 59 lbs. of butterfat per acre with no increase in the milch cow herd. Holmes says : " In the dairy industry the average production of butterfat per cow could be doubled if the pastures were put into good condition, and thereafter well managed."

Dr Kennedy estimates that the average annual output of the grasslands is probably less than 1,000 lbs. of starch equivalent per acre. Assuming that it is 1,000 lbs. of starch equivalent, then on a conversion ratio of 7 cwts. of starch equivalent to 1 cwt. of beef, the average beef output per acre is about 1¼ cwts. On Welsh hills Stapledon and Davies obtained yields equivalent to 36 cwt. of starch equivalent per acre, four times the average assumed above. Even if the Welsh results are regarded as being more akin to laboratory experiments than to what is practically possible in general farming, it is interesting to see that similar " laboratory experiments " in this country have given yields of a similar order of magnitude. On fields reclaimed from scrub at Johnstown Castle measured yields of 6 cwts. of beef and 800 lbs. of mutton per acre have been obtained.

These results show what is possible under conditions of expert knowledge and management, and while from the point of view of the general farmer they may be regarded as theoretical maxima, they indicate the extent to which grassland in its present state is underdeveloped. The existing yield is only about one-fifth of that obtained at Johnstown Castle. Making the most liberal allowance for the advantages of this centre, it is but a conservative estimate to suggest that the existing average yield per acre could be readily raised to 1 ton of starch equivalent, that is slightly less than half the Johnstown Castle figures and more than double the present yield. Holmes, in his *Report,* says :

> It should be possible to raise the production to 5.5 sheep units per acre, equivalent to carrying on a sheep farm 3 ewes per statute acre with one cattle beast to every 3 acres . . . . . This would represent a 100 per

cent increase in livestock numbers, and a similar increase in the national income from livestock.

By any normal standard it is but reasonable to say that the present output of agriculture could be doubled by grassland husbandry. At present prices this amounts to an increase of £134M in the income from agriculture, and an output of £23·2 per arable acre. It also represents a real increase of about 30 per cent in national income and could possibly be achieved within five years. The importance of this to the national economy can be appreciated when it is remembered that during the fifteen years 1938–53 real national income expanded by only 20 per cent, and also that the beneficial effects of adding £134M to agricultural income are not confined to the agricultural sector. Such an addition to domestic income would, through increased demand, have highly favourable consequences both in terms of income and employment for the non-agricultural sector of the economy. Furthermore, it does not in any way constitute the maximum attainable. The present level of output is so low that its doubling to £23·2 per acre must be regarded as a modest achievement. Yields of £40 and £50 per acre have been obtained mainly, it is true, in environments richly endowed with knowledge, ability and skill, but similar yields will be capable of attainment generally when the necessary information is disseminated and the farming community becomes skilled in the requisite techniques. And lest even these figures be regarded as the limit, there is the recorded case where in a year milk to the value of £150 per acre was produced on an area of 28 acres and, except for beet tops, no feeding-stuffs were used other than those produced on that small area.

Livestock—Malnutrition and Semi-starvation

Any discussion of the productive potential of Irish agriculture must take account of its livestock, particularly of its cattle which are its most important product. Setting aside for the moment the subject of proper breeds on which opinions differ, it is agreed that one of the most serious aspects of the cattle industry is the lack of adequate all-the-year-round feeding, a problem which presents itself in its most exaggerated form during the winter and early spring. Practically the sole food for cattle in this country is fresh grass, supplemented by hay and some roots in winter. Even if it were granted that food intake during the grass-growing and grazing months was not insufficient, although by normal standards of animal nutrition it undoubtedly is in many areas, the average intake during the remainder of the year is little better than a starvation ration. As a result there is a serious deterioration in the animal's condition during these months so that when the grazing season returns the animal has first to repair the ravages done to its system through having existed

largely on its own fat during the winter months. Only when this has been done can the beef animal proceed to put on weight and the dairy cow begin to produce her proper quota of milk. The cause of this uneconomic process of losing condition in winter and regaining it in spring and early summer is the insufficient supplies of winter-feed, that is to say of hay, because the making of silage is practiced only on a very limited scale. Hay yield per acre is low with the result that a high proportion of land must be reserved for its production, and even then the amount available is so far short of requirements that animals must be turned out to graze far too early in spring. Consequently, pastures are over-grazed particularly in the early part of the year, thereby lowering the yield both of grass and hay, and thus perpetuating the vicious cycle of pasture deterioration and animal malnutrition.

The losses in animal output from inadequate nutrition during the year are considerable. Beef animals take much longer to reach the stage when they are suitable for export or for domestic consumption. Some authorities hold that at present it takes a year longer than is necessary to finish beef animals for the market, while some go so far as to say that the extra time is anything from one to two years. The loss in the case of the cow is more serious. The reduction in milk output is appreciable, and in addition the deterioration in body condition generally occurs while the animal is bearing a calf. The double strain of pregnancy and semi-starvation takes a heavy toll in terms of the health both of the cow and her progeny.

The only way of overcoming these losses in animal production is by adequate feeding throughout the year, particularly during the non-grazing season. The cheapest feeding-stuff is grass, consumed fresh during the grazing months and as hay or silage during the rest of the year. Grass cultivation would ensure ample animal food at low cost. It would both extend the grazing season and produce an abundance of winter fodder. If in addition silage-making were generally practiced, the nutrient value of the winter fodder would be greatly improved. Due to the vagaries of the summer weather the quality of the hay which is made is too often low. A great deal of the food value of the mown meadow is destroyed by rain so that much of what ultimately appears in the hay barns contains little more than fibre. Silage avoids this and also provides a way of dealing with surplus grass in the early part of the summer especially if the year is one of good growth.

Livestock Breeding Policy

There is no aspect of the livestock industry on which opinion is more sharply divided than on the best breed of cow for the country,

and the controversy is made all the more difficult to resolve by the complexity of the considerations involved. The foundation breed is the dual-purpose Shorthorn. It has been evolved by crossing native cows with imported bulls of the beef-type Shorthorn breed, and crossing the succeeding generations with similar bulls. The importance of the export trade in fat and store cattle was one of the chief influences determining this breeding policy which it was expected would produce a type of cow giving a high output of milk and a calf suitable for the beef trade. Furthermore, if the policy were successful the farmer would be spared the risks involved in specializing either in a beef or a milk breed. The dual-purpose cow would be an insurance against big reductions in income due to a drastic fall in the price of one of the two products, beef and milk. What has in fact been bred out is an animal of good beef quality but low milk yield, and this dominance of the beef strain has been further strengthened by the more recent practice of crossing the dual-purpose cow with bulls of the Hereford and Polled Angus breeds.

The Irish cow at the present stage of her evolution is not dual-purpose in any economic sense of the term. While the beef interests are satisfied with her performance, the dairying industry points to her low yield in terms of gallons of milk and pounds of butterfat and her high upkeep cost, for she is a large-framed animal and requires a large amount of food for body maintenance ; it is estimated that at her present yield of 400 gallons of milk per annum as much as 70 per cent of her food intake is for body maintenance alone.

The Economics of the Irish Shorthorn

While there is general agreement that both beef and milk are important items in the national output and also that milk output must be raised, there is an acute disagreement on the methods whereby this increase can be achieved, and the point of cleavage is the retention of the dual-purpose cow or the substitution of specialized beef and specialized milk breeds. The case made for the retention of the present breed hangs mainly on two considerations. The first is that the milking capacity of the Shorthorn can without detriment to her beef characteristics be raised to 600 and even 800 gallons per annum. This is a technical matter on which the layman cannot pronounce. It is true that high milk yields have been obtained from selected and well-bred dual-purpose Shorthorns, but whether it is possible to obtain in a high degree both beef and milking characteristics in the breed generally is another matter. The performance put up by animals carefully selected and bred may not be possible for the run of the breed, and furthermore it

has been suggested that the genetical characteristics of the Irish Shorthorn are now so mixed that the up-grading of the breed for milk will, if possible at all, be a very lengthy process.

The second consideration is the interrelation of the various sections of the agricultural economy. It is argued that the development of the cattle industry on the basis of the present type of cow has knit the whole fabric of Irish agriculture together and produced a condition in which the small and the large farms, the dairying and the beef industries, the cattle raising and cattle finishing areas are all dependent on each other. The small farm disposes of its surplus young livestock to the large farm. The dairy farmer sells his surplus cattle to the beef farmer. The fattening lands are the outlet for the surplus stock of the other areas of the country. The case has been made by many and at many times, and its best summary is perhaps contained in the following excerpts from the *Majority Report* of the *Committee of Inquiry into Post-Emergency Agricultural Policy* :—

> There is a very large domestic trade in cattle and sheep between the small farmers who breed and rear animals and the large farmers who fit them for the export market. The efficiency and economy with which the latter process is conducted is an important factor in deciding the profit margin obtainable by all parties contributing to this integrated national industry . . . . . The activities and welfare of all classes of livestock farmers in this country are mutually interdependent. Interdependence is the result of long natural and spontaneous development in search of the most profitable methods of production and disposal of livestock.

It is but a short step from this to the conclusion that since conditions of equilibrium and mutual advantage have by natural process been established for the various interests in agriculture, any fundamental change in the existing arrangement would result in serious loss to all. It is true that there is this one-way traffic in livestock and also that it has continued for nearly a century, but this does not establish that the traffic is mutually advantageous to all concerned. There is the distinct possibility that the economic advantage as well as the traffic is also one-way, and in the same direction.

In the case of the dairying industry the relevant question is : Does the price received for surplus progeny and the ease with which it can be disposed of, compensate for the loss in income due to the lower milk yield ? In present conditions the answer is unquestionably no. Assuming that surplus calves are sold shortly after birth, the price received would require to be very high indeed to compensate for the difference between an annual yield of 400 gallons of milk and the yield from one of the specialized dairying breeds. Even if average milk yields were doubled it is by no means certain that the increase would make dairying

on the basis of the dual-purpose cow as profitable as it would be if breeds specializing in milk production were used. It has been estimated by Dr Kennedy, for example, that the milk output of the Shorthorn would have to be raised to 1,000 gallons before her profitability would equal that of a 600 gallon Jersey.

On the small farm and the mixed farm the surplus progeny will not be sold soon after birth, but will in general be retained for periods ranging from 6 months to 24 months ; the length of the period of retention will vary with the size of farm. Quite apart from reduced income resulting from low milk output, there is sufficient evidence at least to suggest that these farms bear a disproportionately high share of the total cost of producing the animals finally disposed of for beef, and receive a disproportionately low reward. They bear the cost of carrying the animal through the most expensive and risk-laden period of its life, and they experience in their most acute form the economic effects of animal emaciation in winter followed by restoration of condition in spring and summer. Even if this latter cost were removed by appropriate feeding, the former cost remains. As the animal grows older the risk of loss from disease, ill-health and death declines, so that the animals which are passed on for finishing and fattening are sturdy. The casualties have been debited to the rearing-farmers.

It would, therefore, require much more evidence than simple reiteration to establish as a fact that the cattle breeding policy is mutually advantageous to all the interests concerned. Trimmed to its essentials, the case for retaining the present breed of cow is that it guarantees a supply of calves for the beef trade and does so cheaply and efficiently. While the first part of the case may be granted, the second is highly doubtful. Furthermore, since the presumed profit of the breed to all sections of agriculture is more than questionable, it might reasonably be suggested that the beef trade should produce its own beef animals, something which it might well have to do if the upgrading of the breed for milk yield caused a deterioration in its beef qualities. There is little merit in that part of the contention which says that because the pattern of traffic in animals is a century old it has integrated the agricultural economy in such a way that a departure from it would have deleterious consequences all round. The real substance of the contention is the fear that a change in existing arrangements would interfere with the lucrative export trade in cattle. This fear is grounded on the tacit assumption that the beef interests cannot produce their own supplies of young cattle, and can therefore obtain them only by purchase from other sections of the agricultural industry. The statistical evidence which shows that the present pattern has continued for a long time does not necessarily support the assumption ; it only records the pattern's age. The case for maintaining the *status quo* has yet to be made, and it

can only be made by showing *either* that there is no arrangement other than the present one which will provide the beef areas with their supplies of young animals, *or* that the present arrangement is the most economical method of producing beef. The first alternative is absurd. The second requires much proving. The meandering of the animal through a succession of regions and owners from the time of its birth to its final disposal, aptly called "the sad Odyssey of the Irish calf", can hardly be regarded as the ultimate in production economy. Much waste is involved, and even if it could be established that the beef areas buy the animal at a price less than it would cost them to produce it, that does not mean that beef as such is being produced in the most economical way. The costing must take account of the losses, waste and under-remuneration in all links of the production chain. To fasten on the final link and base the argument on its remuneration, ignores any latent subsidy which it may enjoy through having shifted some of the cost to producers earlier in the chain, and can only be described as poor accounting and poorer economics.

The Survival of the Small Farm

One of the sections of agriculture which is most hard hit by agricultural practice and policy is the small-farm. At existing levels of output per acre its income is meagre and the living standards of its population are low. The place which it is allotted in the hierarchy of production precludes much optimism about its survival, and it has even been suggested that its quiet euthanasia by economic forces is inevitable. Small-farms it would appear have outlived their time. In all this too much is taken for granted. The survival or otherwise of any economic unit depends on its profitability, which is a function of output and the margin between cost and price. Size is relevant but not the all-important consideration. Limitations set by size can be offset by intensity of operation. It seems incongruous to see the continued existence of, say, the market-garden farm accepted without question, while much doubt is shed on the possibility of the small-farm remaining in business. There is of course no incongruity if it is assumed that the small-farm must necessarily practice a type of husbandry for which its size is eminently ill-suited. An impartial examination of the future of small-farms cannot simply take this assumption as part of the data.

It is true that at present these holdings are uneconomic, not by virtue of their size but because of their pattern of production. Summarizing the data of the first and second columns of the table on page 22, one may say of the under 50 acre farm that more than four-per cent of the land is ploughed, 19 per cent is under hay, and 64 per

cent is in pasture. The number of cattle per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture is 361 ; the number of sheep, 187 ; the number of pigs, 64 and the number of poultry, 2,069. Approximately 31 per cent of the cattle are milch cows ; 22 per cent are other cattle aged 2 years and over ; 21 per cent are cattle aged 1 to 2 years, and 26 per cent are cattle under 1 year. Summarizing in a rough and ready way the economic aspect of the under 50 acre farm, one may say that more than four-fifths of its area is devoted to pasture and hay, and that in 1949 the rate of stocking was about one cattle beast per 2½ acres, one sheep per 6 acres, one pig per 15 acres and 3 poultry birds per acre. In short the small-farm is a pasture farm predominantly interested in producing cattle, and producing them in such a way that the ratio of other cattle to milch cows is 2 to 1. If to this is added the low milk yield per cow, the low grass yield per acre, the animal cycle of semi-starvation in winter and recuperation in spring, and finally the place of the small-farm in the beef production line, namely to supply a quota of young beasts for the fattening farms, it is no matter for wonder that the small-farm finds the going far from smooth. The real wonder is that it survives at all. Its continued existence is but a tribute to the tenacity of its people and their dogged determination to keep a grip on the farms, even though the cost in terms of living standard is high, and the prospects bleak. The small-farm in the present setting is not a profitable enterprise, but to suggest that it is anachronistic is to imply a continuation of the whole organization and pattern of agriculture as they now are. There is no good reason, economic or otherwise, why they must be continued ; nor is there any merit in presuming that the small-farm is only the adjunct of the larger farm and must depend for its prosperity on the ability of the latter to absorb its surplus livestock. This notion of an umbilical cord stretching generally from large to small farms ignores the possibility that the small-sized agricultural unit can have an independent existence.

The key to small-farm prosperity is intensive husbandry. This means high output per acre coupled with a conversion of output into its most profitable, saleable form. Assuming pasture continues to occupy the greater proportion of the farm, the first essential is to raise the output of grass per acre to its maximum. This can only be done by treating grass as a crop and growing it accordingly. The most lucrative method of converting grass into money is by passing it through a high milk-yielding but comparatively low food-consuming cow. This implies specialized dairy breeds such as the Jersey for the small-farm, and furthermore, since the farm may be too small to carry its own bull, some arrangement such as artificial insemination or co-operative ownership of proven bulls. The most profitable way of turning milk into money is to sell the fat content and use the skim milk for pigs and poultry.

This can be done in a number of ways, for example by establishing a local creamery to which the milk can be taken for separating, or if this is impracticable, by allowing the farmer to separate the milk himself, and arranging for the collection of the cream which in turn may be sold fresh for direct consumption or used for butter-making. The skim milk together with such feeding stuffs as potatoes, fodder beet and barley, which can all be grown on the farm, will provide practically the entire food requirements of poultry and pigs. Organized on this kind of basis the small-farm becomes an economic enterprise, and limitations of size cease to exert the financially depressing influence which they do now. The rescue of the small-farm is simply a matter of enabling it to organize its production in an intensive fashion, just as the market-garden farm does, and of not hindering it from producing the things to which it is best suited. There is no need to write it off or, indeed, for sentimental or sociological reasons, to underwrite it by subsidy or outdoor relief. It can live by its own exertions and show a handsome return as well. The 30 acre holding struggles to survive when output per acre is in the region of £11. The element of struggle recedes as the figure moves up to £20, £30 and even £50.

The Economic Potential of Hill Lands

The small-farm is not the only poor relation in Irish agriculture. There is also the " other land " which, excluding the area under woods and plantations, comprises about 5·1 million acres, or 30 per cent of the total land of the country. It is described as consisting of " grazed and barren mountains, bogs, marshes, water, towns and roads." In the absence of detailed and comprehensive information it is impossible to break down this general description and arrive at a set of classifications which would show what proportion is useless for agricultural purposes, what proportion is suitable for afforestation, what proportion can be converted from bog and marsh into arable land, and what proportion can be developed as " hill-land." However, in view of the fact that something more than 3 million acres are accredited to Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry and Mayo, it is reasonable to assume that a fair proportion of the total consists of hill and mountain land used for grazing. The development of this marginal land is important in the interest of the community in general and of the small-holding in particular. Over many areas wide stretches of it are attached to small-holdings and are used as grazing runs for livestock, principally sheep. The five counties mentioned contain 42 per cent of all the farms under 30 acres and 41 per cent of all the farms under 50 acres. In addition they contain approximately half the sheep flocks of the country. The

fertility of this marginal land is low and has been deteriorating significantly. That much of it was once in cultivation is evident from the remains of what were dwelling-places, and in many instances the exact areas cultivated are still clearly demarcated by the ridginess of the surface. The cultivation was made possible by a high density of population, an abundance of family labour and a living standard little above subsistence level. When emigration absorbed the population the land was turned to pasture, and in time reverted to bracken and heather mountain. In counties such as Donegal where seasonal migration became a well-established custom, the rate of depopulation and land deterioration was slowed down. Seasonal earnings helped the holdings to maintain the families and retain the relatively large volume of family labour needed to prevent the mountain from encroaching on the arable area. In recent decades, however, this system has been cracking under economic pressures. The migrant has been extending his period of annual migration and the amount of energy expended on the holding has dropped correspondingly. The land has deteriorated, and in many cases to such a degree that the holdings are being abandoned.

Marginal land brought under and kept under cultivation mainly by manual labour is a practical impossibility in this century. The reward for labour in other enterprises is by comparison so high that only a very few will forego the opportunity of higher earnings, and then only because of special circumstances such as family ties. But apart from the economics of the problem it is extremely doubtful if such land can be reclaimed and improved by hand or animal-powered labour. The work involved is too heavy, and this is where the twentieth century, while taking away with one hand, more than gives back with the other. The development of the internal combustion engine, the heavy caterpillar tractor and a whole series of land reclamation instruments make it possible to have in concentrated form the great quantity of power required to break up the tough and matted covering of most of this land. Its reclamation is an engineering problem, and the requisite machinery has been designed. In addition the ecological problem has largely been solved, and the proper methods of rejuvenating and maintaining hill and mountain lands in good condition have been established. While it is correct to say that the cultivation of these areas in the past was possible only on the basis of a depressed standard of living and of an amount of drudgery that would not, or indeed ought not be accepted to-day, it is wrong reasoning to project this analysis into the future and postulate that the repair of these areas is practicable only on the acceptance of similar conditions. Rather would it be correct to argue that it is only as a result of the advances in technology and scientific knowledge that the rejuvenation of marginal and sub-marginal land is in any proper physical and economic sense a feasibility.

The low returns per acre from these areas have to a great extent precluded constructive thinking about their usefulness. Their importance should be judged not in relation to their present yields but to their potentialities. While their development depended on heavy application of human effort, and even then was of doubtful success, it was economically appropriate to determine their importance solely by a comparison of the returns accruing from them and from other enterprises.

The revolution which has taken place in techniques and in methods of husbandry upsets this analysis. There is no longer any doubt about the physical possibility of reclamation and restoration, and in addition the potential return is sufficiently high to justify the expenditure. In short, the creation and improvement of soil fertility is easier, cheaper and more profitable now than ever before, so that the case for repairing the hill and mountain stretches need no longer depend on vague values relating to the preservation of particular ways of life or patterns of culture. It is now good business. The job is still, however, beyond the financial or physical resources of the individual and must needs be organized on some sort of regional basis by the central or local authority. The authority may undertake the work directly or contract it out to individuals or companies who are able to finance the heavy equipment. The cost can be recovered from the owner of the land on an annuity basis. Some such arrangement is necessary if these marginal and sub-marginal lands are to make their proper contribution to the national economy. The Holmes's *Report* puts the case as follows :—

> In Eire it is all too frequently the men with little capital who have been driven on to or who have inherited the marginal land, who have no scope or finance for mechanisation, and who attempt to keep breeding stock on land unfit even for store stock. It is plainly the duty of the Government to assist holders of marginal country by using for their benefit some of the excess profits of the more fortunate fertile lands and of industries. This assistance is particularly necessary in initiating schemes of improvement and in demonstrating new methods. If, after some well-planned aggregation of holdings, the State were to turn 20 per cent of each farm into good pasture, then the profits from this would enable the farmer to continue the improvement on a five-year plan.

Investment, Research and Education

There is no difficulty in getting agreement in principle to the proposition that agriculture should be developed. Likewise it is accepted in principle that agricultural development is important to the economy as a whole. But outside this general acceptance of what are considered rather obvious propositions, opinions clash sharply. For example, the statement that agricultural development requires investment will

raise two hares at least : will the investment give as great and as speedy an economic return as investment in industry, and secondly, will it give as high a return in terms of employment ? Battle is straight away joined between the parties favouring agriculture and those favouring industry and in the contention which follows the trends of past years are used with flourish. The dreary record of agriculture in terms of population, employment and output is contrasted with the very different history of industry, and on the general principle that as a tree falls so shall it lie, it is axiomatically set down that the future of agriculture will be an extrapolation of its past. The anti-industrial school is not without its ammunition—new industry's contribution to the increase in the cost of living, its shaky foundation of imported raw materials, its small addition to total, as distinct from industrial employment, and much more in the same vein with the tacit assumption that to-morrow, when it comes, will be another to-day.

There is little to be said in favour of this kind of case-making which is based too rigidly on past experience ; neither is there any need to force a choice between one or other sector of the economy. Where investment priorities are concerned the two are not mutually exclusive. In agriculture as in industry there are undertakings where the return is high and undertakings where it is low and the low returns of one sector may be far below the high returns of the other. Again it is not realistic to presume a necessary continuation of the agricultural or the industrial pattern. To presume it in the case of agriculture is to write off agriculture as a worthwhile proposition, for unless the pattern is drastically changed that whole sector of the economy will become a liability. A static agriculture is a luxury which few countries can afford. To quote the American economist T. W. Schultz :

> Even in a rich country like the United States, a stagnant agriculture would place a heavy burden on the economic development of the rest of the economy. Improvements in fundamental factor supplies within agriculture are an important element in economic development.

Investment in agriculture should not be approached purely in a financial or economic mood. To do so is to invite the wrong answers. There are amongst others sociological factors of far-reaching importance which affect the results very significantly, and their influence can be greater than the precise number of pounds involved in the investment. Irish farming is privately owned and the majority of the owners have small to medium-sized holdings which are worked as family farms. This introduces into the agricultural unit an element of cohesion and a spirit of co-operation far beyond that possible in large-scale enterprise. The unity of purpose in the family business, particularly in agriculture, affects in an advantageous way the economic return of the undertaking for it enables it, more often than is appreciated, to score heavily in

such matters as the raising of output, the diminution of waste and the achievement of economies in production, all of which contribute to a lowering of production costs. The arduous nature of farm work and the need for unremitting attention to detail at all times and in all weathers, call for an appreciable expenditure of physical and mental energy. This expenditure is more readily undertaken by the owner-operator than by the paid employee. The pattern of investment is also affected. Allowing that the amount of investment required may be more than can be financed from the present pool of farm savings, then capital must be drawn in from outside, but this drain on non-agricultural savings is short-lived. Largely due to the existence of family-farms and tenant proprietorship, outside investment in agriculture is more in the nature of a shot in the arm than of a tonic treatment extending over a long period of years. Following the initial injection, the investment of succeeding years will almost certainly be financed by ploughing back farm profits. This is the traditional mode of expansion in family business and is all the more likely to obtain in Irish farming where the desire to avoid mortgage debt amounts at times almost to phobia. It is also likely that the habit of locking up savings in a bank deposit rather than investing them in the farm will quickly disappear once it is demonstrated that the return from the latter far outstrips that from the former, but here the change of attitude can be secured only by example. Precept or preaching will not suffice.

The provision of outside capital for agriculture raises the question of the forms which the investment should take. While the forms are many, there is one in particular which must not be overlooked and that is investment in education, research, and the development and demonstration of techniques. It has a transcending importance and has long been neglected. Proper attention to this aspect of agriculture gives results far higher and much more quickly than is generally realized. An illustration of this is provided by the estimates made by Schultz for the American economy. Assuming that the public expenditure on agricultural research and expansion of the early 1950's had been maintained during the period 1910–50, the amount involved would have been $7,000 million. Estimating the return from this investment Schultz calculates what the additional cost would have been if the techniques and knowledge of 1910 were used to produce the agricultural output of 1950. He arrives at the conclusion that the amount lay between the two limits, $16,200 million and $9,600 million. Looked at from the viewpoint of productivity, the increase in output per unit of input was between 54 per cent and 32 per cent. Extending the analysis, he calculates the additional cost if the techniques and knowledge of 1940 were employed in 1950 and concludes that the amount involved was between $5,550 million and $1,100 million, representing an increase

in output per unit of input of between 18·5 per cent and 3·7 per cent. These are staggering results. Compared with 1910, the saving in the cost of producing the output of 1950 alone repaid the total public investment in agricultural research and expansion during the forty years 1910–50, a high economic return. Compared with 1940, the reduction in the cost of producing the 1950 output offset at least 63 per cent of the total investment during the decade 1940–50, a sufficiently speedy economic return to satisfy the most fastidious.

Progress or Stagnation?

Irish agriculture need not be regarded as an invalid industry requiring permanent assistance. Too often the approach to it suggests just that. On any impartial examination it reveals itself as a proper economic enterprise, capable of great promise and in no need of special pleading. The case for its development is its high economic and demographic potential provided there is a clean break with the present pattern of land use, a rejection of the existing attitude towards livestock production, and an ending of the parsimonious investment in agricultural teaching, research and techniques. As long as these continue agriculture will remain a national headache ; problems such as the small-farm and rural depopulation will be perennial causes for embarrassment and industry will experience growing difficulties in its endeavour to expand.[1] The economic potential of agriculture is undoubtedly high. Levels of output in all its branches are so low that it is well within the realm of possibility to double or even treble production, thereby raising the national income by 30 to 60 per cent. The degree of existing under-development is well illustrated in the calculations of Dr Kennedy where he shows that assuming high but attainable yields per acre, an area of from 3 to 3½ million acres could " provide adequate food for the existing population without importing food for animals." The output from the remainder of the arable lands would be sufficient to support non-agricultural development on a scale as yet unimagined. The demographic potential of agriculture is high also. The intensive cultivation required to produce the yields of which the land is capable would not only retain the present agricultural population in highly profitable employment, but would raise the density of population to figures resembling those of countries like Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands. There would still be migration from rural areas, but there would also be employment opportunities in industry and services. Agriculture can become the springboard of economic and social development, but not without a revolutionary change in its pattern of land use and animal husbandry.

[1] *Studies*, Autumn, 1954. The Interrelation of Agriculture and Industry in the Development of the Irish Economy. J. J. Byrne.

The Future of Agricultural Productive Co-operation

by EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.
President, Irish Agricultural Organisation Society.

THE success of the Agricultural Co-operative movement in Ireland in the years to come will depend, as its success in the past has depended, on four factors: the agricultural producers themselves, and chiefly the medium and small farmers, are, of course, the most important factor; the existing agricultural co-operative societies, their committees and active members are the second; the managers and assistant managers are the third: and the I.A.O.S., the central organizing and servicing federation is the fourth.

Co-operation is essentially a voluntary matter: people cannot be forced to co-operate. Unless the farmers give willing and wholehearted support to their co-operative society or societies, these latter may exist, but will never be able to give the full benefits or services of which they are capable. The success of co-operation, consequently, depends on the degree of conviction, resting on an understanding of the nature, principles and history of co-operation as well as on the practical experience of many years, which has taken hold of the farmers' minds. From this conviction will flow the dogged determination and persistent effort which will always be required to make a success of a co-operative society. From it, too, will flow the absolutely vital element, loyalty to one another and to the society, even at the expense of some small transient personal sacrifice. From it, too, will flow the confidence and initiative and energy to give very much more than lip-service to the principle of "self-help by mutual help" which is at the heart of true co-operative effort.

One danger that has always cast its shadow over co-operation in Ireland is the belief that there is some magic enshrined in the word and the thing. People have looked for too startling results from much too little effort and sacrifice. Success in co-operative enterprise is bought, as it is in all solid economic achievement, by hard work, prudent management, and proportionate capital resources, proportionate that is to the end to be achieved. It has been no uncommon experience for a group of persons (not, it must be said, farmers who are normally realistic and sceptical about magic in business affairs) who have some fine scheme for bringing in co-operation in some farm or other to help them in their problems, to get almost indignant (as if they had been cheated)

when told that the first requisite was capital to the tune of a thousand or two thousand pounds and a promise of loyal support (limiting their freedom of action) to whatever enterprise they were starting.

Just fifty years ago, Sir Horace Plunkett wrote about the future prospects of his movement at the time he was launching it.

> It must be admitted that the outlook was not altogether rosy . . . . . It was naturally asked—did Irish farmers possess the qualities out of which co-operators are made? Had they the commercial experience or business education? Had they the business capacity? Would they display that confidence in each other which is essential to successful association or indeed that confidence in themselves without which there can be no business enterprise? Would they ever be induced to form themselves into societies and to adopt, and loyally adhere to, those rules and regulations by which alone equitable distribution of the responsibility and profit among the participants in the joint undertaking can be assured and harmony and successful working be rendered possible?

Plunkett began his work in 1889 and so we have sixty-six years of agricultural co-operation to look back upon and can judge whether the fears and doubts expressed above were liars.

There can be no doubt as to the answer. In twelve of the twenty-six counties there was found, and still is found, a sufficient number of farmers who grasped, and still grasp, the principles and potentialities of co-operation and who were, and are, ready to give of their time, their loyalty and their capital to make a success of their societies. In these twelve counties there are, roughly, 132,000 farmers according to the 1946 Census figures, and on the share registers of the co-operative societies in these counties there are, roughly, 87,000 members. As there is very little duplication of membership, this represents a very fair proportion. The counties vary from Donegal to Wexford, from Cavan to Limerick: consequently, the movement has attracted farmers of the most diverse outlook, traditions, education and resources.

Practical experience has proved that the Irish farmer, any Irish farmer, can, if he is only sufficiently well-informed and sufficiently willing, make an excellent co-operator. The economic activities which the societies in these twelve counties pursue are, also, very diverse. They range from a large meat canning factory with a turnover of several million pounds in the year, through bacon factories, cheese factories, milk-powder and chocolate-crumb factories to large grain-drying and handling stores, artificial insemination stations, motor garages and simple creameries. The total co-operative turn-over of these twelve counties is about £36,000,000.

No one is more conscious of the defects and imperfections of agricultural co-operation in Ireland than those whose daily business is to be in close touch with every co-operative society in the country. But

no one knows better the solid qualities that are found in the farmers who have made co-operation a success than those same people. The mean-spirited effort of some critics to denigrate and cry down the real achievements of the ordinary Irish farmer in this sphere and to pretend that it is not " real " co-operation at all cannot change the fact that there is no explanation of the actual results at all plausible which leaves out the major part that the farmers play in directing their own societies. There are other forces at work as well : but the Irish farmer has shown himself quite able to appreciate the benefits of and quite ready to exercise the prudence and self-sacrifice required in co-operative enterprises.

The second factor required for success is a vigorous, healthy life in in the existing societies. That this is present the history of the expansion of those societies in the last thirty years is sufficient proof. In by far the majority of the co-operative societies, the committees have shown a high degree of business enterprise and initiative. In many districts, of course, there was, and is, little opportunity for a creamery society to do much more than process the milk supplied by its members and supply them with the main raw materials, fertilizers, and feeding stuffs, and tools for their productive work. But where opportunities did exist, they have rarely been unobserved or neglected by the committees. If the committees of the future can secure the unselfish and intelligent service of the younger generation in the same degree as they have in the past, there is every reason to look for continued expansion. There are still available for development by co-operative effort three large spheres of the agricultural economy. The existing societies are very conscious of this and, having learned over the years how to co-operate with one another to undertake the capital cost and to conquer the trading difficulties of many big and intricate businesses, are now in an excellent position to make a beginning in these last three services. They are : the bacon and dressed meat industry ; the manufacture and distribution of fertilizers ; and the drying and milling of grain, especially wheat.

The third factor referred to above is the managerial factor. In nothing has the agricultural co-operative movement been so fortunate as in the managers who serve the societies. The relevant legislation and the founding and conduct of the Dairy Science Institute in University College, Cork, have been of untold value to the movement. But still more has been the fact that the profession has attracted to itself men of quite outstanding ability and character. It is obvious that no support of farmer-members and no committee, however keen and energetic, can make a success of a society without efficient managers. But the present body of managers is much more than efficient. A sense of vocation has grown up in the profession during the last thirty years which has produced an exceptionally high degree of unselfish loyalty

to the idea of co-operation. Moreover, the academic training in University College, Cork, and afterwards the practical experience in the running of societies have given, as a general rule, the managers the invaluable gift of being able " to get on with " their committees and has produced a very high degree of mutual respect and trust. The business and financial history of the societies as a whole proves that the managers are the equal of any business men in the country. It is unlikely that the history of the " supply position " during the war years 1939–1946 will ever be written. But if it were, the files of the co-operative movement would show what a great debt the community owed to the foresight, skill, ingenuity and courage of the managers of the co-operative societies. Possibly it is this factor that justifies the most optimistic expectations in the future success of the movement.

The final factor is the central organization of the co-operative societies, the I.A.O.S. The only people competent to judge the value of its contribution to the past success of the movement are the committees and managers of the societies. All I need say is that the same spirit of vocation, of unselfish devotion to the task of " helping the farmers to help themselves ", has always characterized, and does so to-day, every member of the staff. There is hardly a single member of the staff who could not, if he so wished, earn very much more money by seeking a position outside the I.A.O.S. It has managed to attract to itself men of the highest abilities, administrative, engineering, accountancy, and of the highest academic qualifications and to hold their loyalty. The present writer can speak from intimate personal knowledge on this matter and is very certain that the future success of the movement, in so far as it depends on the staff of the I.A.O.S., is safe. But that " in so far as " is important : the I.A.O.S. has to work under certain handicaps and within fairly narrow limits. One function, however, it has always discharged, and still discharges, with an altogether remarkable efficiency : it is the lightning conductor, or possibly better, the whipping boy, on whom, when tempers are short and nerves raw, blame may be visited. It is a highly useful function and the staff (or the committee) do not let themselves unduly resent it, grow bitter or lose their heads. Plunkett wrote of his distinguished trio of early days words which can still be applied in all truth to the present staff : " Each of these gentlemen has brought to the movement a zeal and ability which could only come of a devotion to high ideals of patriotism, curiously combined with a shrewd practical instinct for carrying on varied and responsible business undertakings ".

While not claiming scientific statistical precision, the following table does give a substantially accurate picture of agricultural co-operative activity at the moment. In fact, it under-states the real position. For owing to the continued existence of the Dairy Disposals

Co., one whole county, Clare, has been omitted, though it ought to be a fully " co-operativized " county ; and the figures for Kerry would be enormously increased and those for Cork, Limerick and Tipperary substantially increased, if the creamery groups of the Company had (as was intended) been transferred to co-operative societies of farmer-suppliers. Nevertheless, as things are at present, it is true to say that

TABLE ILLUSTRATING POSITION OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN TWELVE COUNTRIES.

	Number of Farmers 1946	Number of Holdings 1952	Number of Societies and Branches 1953	Member-ship 1953	Turnover 1953	Milk Supply 1953
Cavan	11,500	15,500	29	12,431	1,253,661	7,452,477
Cork	23,000	37,000	121	10,423	9,195,527	44,292,382
Donegal... ...	18,500	25,000	25	5,052	850,446	894,293
Kerry	14,700	21,000	14	2,541	634,141	6,073,951
Kilkenny ...	5,700	10,000	42	5,017	2,011,709	10,120,770
Leitrim	8,800	11,000	19	8,458	590,200	2,900,057
Limerick ...	9,000	17,000	78	9,872	5,212,345	39,902,499
Monaghan ...	8,500	12,000	22	2,309	z1,468,656	3,400,643
Sligo	9,500	13,000	21	5,644	893,682	4,257,204
Tipperary ...	12,000	20,000	86	10,116	4,512,545	24,988,860
Waterford ...	4,000	8,000	29	9,560	8,475,827	9,220,173
Wexford ...	7,000	13,000	7	5,557	977,079	709,170
TOTALS ...	132,200	202,500	493	86,980	36,075,818	154,212,479

there are but few of the 132,000 farmers in these twelve counties who could not, if they wished, be members of and do the vast bulk of their trading through a co-operative society. The organization and machinery are there practically at their door-steps and if the existing societies received more loyal support their trading could rise by fifty per cent. or more, and many new activities could be commenced. There are many farmers who for one reason or another do not wish to be members of a co-operative society, but who still use its services. This is all to the

good though it raises some minor problems. At any rate, the future of agricultural co-operation in Ireland with this wide and large organization and its slowly acquired but powerful momentum is very much brighter than it was in 1889 when Plunkett founded his first society. If the present and coming generation of Irish farmers are as wise and persistent as their fathers and grandfathers, the next fifty years should see enormous advances. There is every sign of a growing self-consciousness of their power in the modern young farmers and of their realization that union is force. They have a magnificent instrument as part of their heritage at their disposal in the co-operative movement. The pioneer work has been done, the lessons of experience paid for and learned, the major difficulties overcome and the main lines of development are reasonably clear.

The other thirteen counties (omitting Clare, as already mentioned) into which agricultural co-operation has either never penetrated or in which, having penetrated has failed to develop or maintain itself, may be divided into three groups.

1st. The Dublin District Milk Production area, roughly corresponding to counties Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Wicklow and part of Carlow.

2nd. A block of four midland counties, Leix, Offaly, Westmeath and Longford.

3rd. Three Connaught counties, Galway, Mayo and Roscommon.

The absence of co-operation from these counties can be explained, if not completely excused, by certain special historical and economic circumstances affecting each group. There are actually co-operative societies of one type or another in all these counties except three. But they cannot, in any true sense, be claimed as counties where co-operation has succeeded.

The five Dublin Milk District counties, to which may be added Carlow, have developed over the last hundred years or so a special type of agricultural economy suited to their special advantages. Their geographical situation, the size of their holdings, the number of big wealthy estates, the distribution of town and rural population, the nature of the soil and the local traditions and customs have all combined to produce a special and very profitable type of farming. It happened that this type of farming and farmers did not need co-operation as much and could not benefit as much from co-operation as the farmers in the south and south-west. The Irish co-operative movement grew, as it were, from a special seed : the creamery processing milk and returning skim milk to its members. It grew from a milch-cow—pig—and—poultry smallish holding, which found it profitable to sell its calves

young and to limit its dry-stock. The five counties listed above, and to some extent Carlow, found, and still find, the production of a certain quantity of whole milk for human consumption in their urban areas and the fattening of relatively advanced dry-stock the most suitable basis for their farming. The excellent grazing land is fairly evenly divided between milk production the whole year round and the fattening of stock. There is no skim milk available and the calves from the Dublin dairy herds go to non-dairy farms in the district, where together with older dry stock imported from other parts of Ireland, they are fattened. The proximity of the Dublin cattle market and Dublin port, and the short transport distances, contribute to making this type of farming most suitable. The other commodities produced in this area are barley for brewing, sheep in Carlow and the Wicklow mountains, horses in Kildare and Meath, and of course, in recent years sugar beet. Co-operation was unable to offer sufficiently striking advantages, in these circumstances, to win the support of the farmers of the area.

But there are signs of a change coming. It may well happen that the extremely successful Beet Growers Association, itself in essence, if not in juridical form, a co-operative organization, will act as a powerful force in developing co-operative societies. As margins of profit narrow, it may well pay the organized farmers of this district to do all their buying of seeds, fertilizers, feeding stuffs and tools through their own co-operative societies. The milk-producers may soon find (as the Cork milk producers have already found) that it will be for them to put up their own pasteurising stations. The disposal of the wool crop in Carlow and Wicklow is a suitable activity for joint action of the farmers. Finally, there is little doubt that a co-operatively organized bacon factory in this district is of prime importance to the whole pig and bacon industry of the country.

The block of midland counties has, also, failed to find co-operative organizations attractive. They are either tillage or grazing counties in the main, and consequently did not offer such an obvious and favourable commodity as milk around which to build co-operation. Societies to supply seeds, fertilizers and tools exist in small numbers in Leix, Offaly and Westmeath but their turnover is small. The district is well served by large towns, where many private firms are in competition. The handling of grain, drying, storing and milling was an undertaking rather too large for the movement when it started in the nineties of last century. In recent years there has been a decided tendency on the part of the grain-growers themselves to wish to undertake this business. Last year, for instance, the most modern type of grain drying plant and silo was put up beside a relatively small creamery in North Tipperary, by the joint efforts of the co-operative society and a large private milling concern.

The three western counties have an unhappy history so far as co-operation is concerned. In the early days an over zealous desire to see societies founded at all costs led to many imprudent, under-capitalized and badly managed small co-operative stores being started. One by one these failed and the money then lost and the hopes then disappointed have made this part of the country very unkindly disposed to co-operation. A single bad failure of a society does incalculable damage and its effects last for years. Farmers whose fathers lost money in these early failures still remember with a certain understandable bitterness the sense of having been fooled and led astray. That is the very worst soil and climate for the planting of the seed of co-operation, at the best of times a delicate and contrary plant to grow. However, a recent effort, initiated and strongly supported by Macra na Feirme, to "co-operativize" the large raw wool trade of Galway and Roscommon gives some hope that co-operation may once more return to these districts : a wiser and chastened co-operation.

The Role of Farmers Organizations

by LOUIS P. F. SMITH, M.A.

FARMERS are often criticized for interesting themselves over much in politics to the exclusion of other forms of organization, particularly, the vocational organization of their own industry. It is almost equally forgotten that, under existing conditions, our fathers were probably right in giving this priority. There was little or nothing to be gained by improving production of marketing methods while insecurity of tenure and unstable rents might take away the fruit of any improvement.

Sir Horace Plunkett's campaign among the farmers was launched probably at the earliest possible time for a constructive movement. The Land Acts of 1881 and 1885 had gone a long way towards removing the objection that all improvement was only for the benefit of some 8,000 landlords. Coinciding with this was the positive incentive given by the entry of Denmark as a major competitor for the English market and its threat to our existence as an exporter. In spite of many difficulties due to poor standards of education, acute capital shortage and low incomes, the co-operative movement was launched and spread extremely rapidly : 800 societies were formed between 1889 and 1906 and by 1920 the number had risen to 1,100.

To say that Sir Horace was the founder of the Irish co-operation is to narrow unduly his achievement. He pictured the local co-operative as supplying not only goods but ideas. In its first Spring the I.A.O.S. showed extraordinary versatility, introducing minor revolutions such as the first threshing machines, sponsoring field tests for crops and the use of such things as potato spray against blight. It seemed that Ireland was to follow, or to lead, along the extraordinary democratic vocational farm organization most highly developed in Denmark, where advisory services, and breeding policy, as well as marketing, were and are run by co-operatives.

Plunket's view of this role was expressed when he said that " In Ireland the transition from landlordism to a peasant proprietary not only does not create any corporate existence among the occupying peasantry, but rather deprives them of the slight coherence which they had as tenants of the same landlord. (*Ireland in the New Century,* p. 49).

The co-operative was to be the new focal point for all activities. By holding together and by controlling the policy for farming through the societies which were to carry it into practice, it seemed that the agricultural community had forged an instrument for progress.

Yet in 1934 there were only 467 societies and 70% of the business done was in the single item of dairy produce. To-day the co-operatives are stronger ; the growth of the non-dairy sections is satisfactory and even spectacular ; there has even been a revival of interest in agricultural instruction. But there is no direct control even over the dairy industry in marketing, in grading or in general policy. In the Artificial Insemination centres, started as lately as 1945, the farmers have local control but have not direct authority at the centre with regard to national breeding policy. This position is repeated in almost every section of the industry, in bacon, seed potatoes, grain, poultry, etc. It is particularly evident in the matter of agricultural research and advisory services, where county committees, at least nominally composed of farmers, have control, but research and policy is the prerogative of the central authority alone.

George Russell (Æ) dreamed of a new rural civilization which would not have " flared up on a few acres of brick and mortar ", but would be built by the people for themselves, which would give them dignity by responsibility and wealth by the realization that success depended on their own efforts. Why has his dream faded so rapidly ? Is it partly because there has been so little farmer control of the industry, and so much reason to depend rather on government prices and policy than on constructive effort, that Irish agriculture has spent fifty years in the doldrums ?

The I.A.O.S. can claim to have been the first and largest of the farmers' organizations. Plunkett hoped that in a few years there would have been a co-operative affiliated to it in every parish. When in 1900, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was set up and he became its head, his aim was still to establish contact with the farmer through his societies.

The Recess Committee, on whose recommendation the Department of Agriculture was instituted, was clear that the farmers must partly control its action if it was to be successful. " It is an essential portion of the theory or organisation which we have been endeavouring to explain, that the agricultural classes should be represented in the administration. Commonsense indicates that a system of State aid which seeks for the co-operation of the agricultural calsses cannot be successfully applied without the opinion of that class being directly brought to bear upon the central Government."

Since Plunkett ceased to be Secretary of the Department in 1907, relations between the I.A.O.S. and the Department, in spite of financial grants paid at most times, have never been as close as was intended and have at times reached a level of open warfare. There is a fundamental conflict of ideas and methods : one seeks progress through individual initiative and responsibility, the other through paternalism. The

I.A.O.S. has been forced gradually to yield its functions of agricultural instruction though latterly some co-operatives have resumed the work. Even central co-operative marketing and its control have been taken from the farmers. This centralization seems to have been a matter of policy, though it must be admitted that farmers have not vigorously opposed it.

The sequence of events is, perhaps, best illustrated in the dairy industry. Here the co-operatives and other creameries were disorganized. Two particular reforms were needed : the first was the reorganization of areas and the closing of redundant creameries ; the second was a standardized grading and marketing system.

Similar problems confronted our competitors as the shape of the dairy industry crystallized. The optimum size of a creamery is constantly increasing as methods change, particularly in transport to the creamery and in packaging of butter. Therefore the number of creameries needed is constantly falling. In other countries the reduction in numbers of creameries has been carried out by the farmers in response to economic argument, and is still proceeding rapidly. In Sweden the number of creameries was reduced from 1672 in 1933 to 701 in 1948, though the number of farms supplying had doubled. In Denmark the same trend appears. In Ireland the Government did it by compulsory purchase and consolidation with the idea that all creameries would be purchased back by farmers' co-operatives. This second purchase took place only to a limited extent : the Dairy Disposals Board still operates 25 per cent of all creameries. Apart from the closing of a few creameries there has not been much further effort to consolidate. Even propaganda for larger units, based on published costs in creameries and resulting prices paid to farmers, is unknown.

One major reason for the stereotyped Irish dairy industry is the fact that all the central functions of marketing and supervision have been removed from the co-operatives, which in fact have only a parochial

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[1] The following table illustrates the economies to be expected from consolidation, though the costs as between countries are not directly comparable. In Sweden technical efficiency is also found to be greater in larger creameries :—

Country		Cost in Smallest Creameries	Cost in Large Creameries	
Sweden 1	...	257 Öre	144 Öre.	per 100kg. milk
Denmark 2	...	579 Öre	498 Öre	„ „ „
New Zealand 3	...	29/9½	22/1½	per cwt. butter
Ireland 3 ...	...	54/11	36/8	per cwt.

i. Driftsanalyser. S.M.R. 1948, p. 41 ... ... 100 Öre = 1/4
ii. Danmarks Mejeri Statistic, 1953, p. 48 ... ... 100 Öre = 1/–
iii. Professor Lyons, "Agricultural Ireland", June 1954.
(*Quoting Annual Ashford N.Z. Dairy Board, 1952*).

jurisdiction. Even at local level differential payments for quality, cleanliness, etc., are prohibited by regulation, except on a butter-fat basis. The legality of a dividend to members as opposed to non-members is debated. The I.A.O.S. had, by the 1920's, established the system of butter grading now used. So that the general reputation of Irish butter should not suffer, it was essential that the quality should be uniform, that is that grading and inspection be compulsory. But where other countries delegated all, or most of the authority to the industry, represented by marketing boards or federations of creameries, in Ireland all powers of licensing, etc., were given to the Government under the Creameries Acts. In marketing, after the failure of a voluntary scheme, various Government compulsory schemes have been operated through the Department or through nominated bodies.

Some such regulations were necessary. I do not say that any of them were bad. The fault, and the difference between Ireland and most other countries, was that the farmers lost power to regulate their own affairs. As a result constructive thought, or action, except on a purely local level, was atrophied. Comparatively little was at stake whether the Kerry creameries were Government or co-operatively owned : there was little point in propaganda for consolidation of creameries when a license could be, and has been, refused for the amalgamated body.

This pattern has been repeated in many sections of the agricultural industry. The natural corollary to a doctrine that a Department has final responsibility is that farmers have not a feeling of responsibility. If, in contrast with other countries where prices are negotiated with the home government and farmers representatives take part in international agreements, the Irish farmer finds prices and policy fixed in an apparently arbitrary and variable manner, he becomes even less likely to take a constructive attitude. In such circumstances expenditure to increase production is a gamble, not an investment. So we find a tendency to set up organizations of the type recommended by Mr Lemass at the Agricultural Society's recent Inaugural at U.C.D., organizations designed rather to advise the Government than to take independent action.

To criticize the action of the Irish Government as over reaching its proper sphere of action is not to say that the Departments, such as that for Agriculture, have not themselves a vital part to play in agricultural development. The State must care for the common good ; it should see that no harm is done to the country's interest, by subordinate bodies e.g. by sale of inferior goods ; it may collect information ; it may enforce regulations made in the interest of all. But it should aim to foster voluntary bodies, not to take over their functions. Where the ordering of affairs is beyond the power of purely voluntary organization, the State should rather delegate power than supplant the lesser

group. Recognition of " functional or vocational councils representing branches of the economic life of the people " and determining their powers is allowed for in the Constitution (Act, 15. Sect, 3 ; 1, 2.). The desire to control all forms of agricultural education, to direct not merely policy, but research and higher education, together with a large scale entry into trade, has made the work of a modern Department unwieldly. It is unsatisfactory in itself, chokes the growth of any other body likely to do the work, and kills the sense of responsibility among those it serves.

There is now a Second Spring of the farmers' organizations. Since the war there has been a growing realization that all is not well. The farmers have had just sufficient prosperity to raise them from the physical and mental depression of the nineteen-thirties and they are anxious to consolidate that position. The opening up of new horizons through accounts of post-war progress on the continent and the reports published by O.E.E.C., E.C.A., etc.—has given us fresh vision.

The results of research applied to practical problems in the Danish pig breeding (*e.g.* the decrease in fodder consumption per lb. gain in weight by about $\frac{1}{3}$ between 1904 and 1950) or in New Zealand's grassland dairying, have been compared with the virtual absence of much basic information or research in Ireland. The politely scathing report on our Advisory Services by an O.E.E.C. delegation *[Agricultural Advisory Services in European Countries, 1950]* cast a ripple over the tranquility of our stagnant agriculture.

Two new influences now seem about to change the shape of our agriculture. Farmers have realized that new methods and research have in fact proved themselves under Irish conditions. The metamorphosis of the Sugar Beet industry to its position of international eminence was less by factory re-organization than by a dynamic attitude to growing the crop—accomplished in half a decade. The actual achievement of certain farmers in reaching New Zealand standards of dairy production have made many people re-assess their judgments of Dr Henry Kennedy as a grassland crank, and revived some hope for the future of the dairy industry. These successes have been indispensable as a boost to morale.

The second influence has been the interest in education, the constant interchange of ideas, fostered by Macra na Feirme. As in Denmark with the High Schools, as in Antigonish with the university extension courses, the result of education has been a realization of problems and an effort to deal with them.

The problems facing agriculture, while they may be the result of government action in many cases, cannot be cured by Act of Parliament. Not indeed that there is any evidence of a revolutionary frame of mind among those responsible for making policy. Yet such figures as we have available for comparison indicate that only a revolution, not a

mere improvement of 10 or 15%, can place us in a competitive position on world markets. The co-operative movement, emasculated by Common Law and native Acts, has not shown itself fully adapted to this purpose. It has done a great deal in local matters, but has not managed to co-ordinate its 300 independent co-operative republics. Having concentrated on processing and marketing, little progress could be made when total output was static and when no delegated power to regulate the industry could be obtained. This attitude to delegation and the Common Law doctrine on agreements in restraint of trade gave contracts among Irish co-operatives, in contrast to those elsewhere, only the strength of gentlemen's agreements—and an industry composed solely of gentlemen has yet to be found. In other countries a farmer cannot become a member of a co-operative unless he binds himself by contract with the other members to sell all his produce of a particular type to the society. The local co-operative similarly binds itself to the central societies. In Ireland a member is not bound to his co-operative. Similarly the Irish societies are not able to give power to their central body. In such circumstances little can be dont by the farmers to regulate the industry through the present co-operatives.

Almost an exact parallel exists between the present disorganization of Irish farming and that in the Sweden of 1930, where there was a considerable amount of disunited co-operative effort. The first falls in agricultural prices made the farmers see this weak position compared with other sections of the community. Before any progress could be made a general plan had to be set out. This was developed by a group which met at the manor of Sänga Såby (now the co-operative residential college), and, under the guidance of Ludwig Nanneson, Professor of Agricultural Economics, evolved a scheme for a Farmers' Union which would be better fitted for dealing with matters of policy and would, by support for the co-operatives and for marketing schemes worked through them, give new life to that movement. The master plan was accepted, with alterations. In seventeen years 188,000 (75%) farmers had joined the Union. The co-operative share of the milk and meat industries had risen from 77% and 40 %to 98% and 72% (1948) respectively.[1] In these and other industries associated with agriculture a complete reorganization had taken place, but, as a result of increased efficiency, it was claimed that no unemployment was caused. The enlarged production made this possible.

In Ireland Macra na Feirme has followed the same course but the task is more difficult. Instead of dealing with an industry on a fairly healthy basis as regards production, we find that the economy is unsound throughout. Production per head has trebled in Sweden in 60 years, in Denmark in 50 years, while output per cow and per acre have very

[1] *Förening srörelsen*. Hilding Röstin, p. 9 : 2.

roughly doubled. In Ireland, as far as we know, total output is constant, and only because of a falling number engaged can we claim increased output per head. Therefore, when Macra set up study groups to consider the major farm products prior to launching a farmers' association, it was necessary to look to the very foundations of production. These groups are composed of farmers with a particular knowledge of practice, together with professors and those engaged in marketing. So far Dairy Products, Beef, Pigs and Bacon, Vegetable, Grain, Fertilisers, Tractor Taxation, Educational sub-committees have been formed, and the Wool Group already launched a co-operative marketing scheme successfully last year.

The task is one of appalling difficulty. Marketing alone (dismissed by the majority Report on Post Emergency Agricultural Policy (1943) in two pages) is disorganized and wasteful enough to warrant long and detailed study. If one adds the even greater problems of production, and those of education, any group would hesitate were it not that the need is vitally urgent. When these reports are drafted, they will be discussed by local groups in counties and clubs. It is reasonable to suppose that this will not only bring to light the faults of the reports, but also set the farmers thinking. The result should be evident in policy and in action.

Without some preliminary thought and debate the proposed National Farmers' Association would certainly waste its energies. It must also have somebody to carry out the intention formulated. There are some 30,000 members of Macra na Feirme (not all farm owners), 100,000 Creamery Milk Suppliers, 30,000 organized Beet Growers, together with other smaller bodies and country unions. There is a basis on which to work which was largely lacking to the Swedes in 1929 (though such local associations as Lantmännens Producent Förbund did prepare the ground). Till now there has been nobody qualified to speak with authority—Mr Walsh, when Minister of Agriculture, complained that to consult the farmers' opinion he had to get in touch with twenty-seven organizations. [Speech to the Agriculture Association of Ireland, February 1954]. The specialist associations took a one-sided view and many commodities such as grain or beef, not to mention the farmer, as a consumer of fertilizers and machinery, were completely unrepresented. In such circumstances it is not surprising if the farmers' view was often ignored.

The functions of the National Farmers' Association should be those carried out by the Borenbund Belge, the Riksförbundet Landsbygdens Folk, and the farmers' unions which take varying forms in every advanced country, agricultural or industrial. It must present the farmers' case to the government and departments of state. This does not involve entry into politics, on which the Irish Farmers' Union of the 1920's

split. Like all the other Unions it should stay neutral and put its view by argument and by lobbying. It should also negotiate with other organized trades and have a voice in representing Irish agriculture abroad and in trade treaties. It should carry out investigations on marketing and other matters necessary to put the farmers' case and to create an informed rural opinion. It should promote education, social life and entertainment as is now done by the Macra na Feirme Clubs at parish level.

This new movement may very easily fail as others have done. It differs from the others in an approach based on some previous thinking and education, and in its timing. Like the Swedes in 1930 we have had a period of comparative prosperity and are now facing falling prices in agriculture. Unless we can lower costs, we must live less well. Farmers are beginning to realize that they are being left behind in efficiency and that the Government has not significantly improved production and cannot hold up prices in an export market.

The object of this development is not only increased material welfare for agriculture and the State, though that is essential, but also the proper development of the person. As Severin Jorgensen in expressing the ideal of the Danish co-operatives (1912) said :—

> The fact that the broad sections of the population who used to have little say in the management of their affairs have now taken them into their own hands, enjoy the fruits of good management and suffer the ill-effects of bad management, gaining practice, knowledge, and experience in the most varied ways and spheres through this self-management of their joint economic enterprises, has had tremendous educative significance for the people. And through their work in these joint undertakings the representatives of the people have been trained to govern in other fields, even to take charge of the country's leading affairs. There are men in the highest offices of the land who undoubtedly would never have sat there had they not acquired the requisite training through their work in the Co-operative Movement. And it is obviously to be expected that these men especially, with all their power, will watch over the right of the people to the management of their own affairs, well knowing that the good use of it has been of great benefit to themselves and to the country.

Irish Manufacturing Industry: The Future

by LOUDEN RYAN, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in Economics, University of Dublin

THIS essay has two aims: first, to state the future economic objectives of the Irish community; second, to explore the alternative methods by which these may be achieved, especially in the industrial sector of our economy. In pursuing these aims, it would be both utopian and dangerous to ignore the history of the recent past: for the economic objectives of the last twenty years, and the manner in which we have tried to achieve them, have helped to shape our present. Further, past policies have left a legacy of unfulfilled (though reasonable) expectations, which limit our choices for the future. We shall begin, therefore, by briefly stating the objectives, describing the methods and reviewing the results of the industrial policies of the past twenty years. A critical examination of these will set the stage for our treatment of the objectives and policies for the future.

During the last two decades, at least four economic objectives were pursued by the Irish community. These were: first, to provide employment for Irish people in the Irish Republic; second, to make the Irish economy as self-sufficient 'as possible'; third, to maintain social amenities (*i.e.* social services, housing, roads, etc.) at a level roughly comparable with that of the United Kingdom; fourth, to arrest both the rate of emigration and the rate of migration from the west to the east and from the country districts to the towns. The first and second objectives, and to some extent the fourth, were formulated explicitly during the election campaign of 1931–2, and frequently stated in the Dail thereafter. The third may reasonably be imputed to many enactments of the last twenty years.

These objectives were pursued by tariffs, quotas, import licences and import and export prohibitions, by guaranteed prices and subsidies, and by direct government enterprise. Thus, there was a five-fold increase in the Irish tariff-level between 1931 and 1936; by that year, almost all imported consumers' goods, and many semi-finished goods, were subject to duty. By the end of 1937, thirty-seven groups of commodities were subject to import quotas. Large areas of economic activity, mostly in the 'service' industries, have been nationalized.

The changes that took place in the Irish economy during these years may be summarized briefly. Total employment remained virtually stable, the increase in the numbers at work in industry being roughly balanced by the fall in agricultural employment. The volume of production by manufacturing industry increased by 150 per cent, but both gross and net output in agriculture remained more or less the same. The volume of our imports increased, though their character changed : imports of finished consumers' goods fell progressively, but imports of semi-finished goods and raw materials for processing by our industries rose. Our imports have been paid for mainly by our agricultural exports and in recent years to an appreciable extent by foreign disinvestment. Both emigration and internal migration have continued in the same directions but in greater strength. General observation and the available statistical information confirm that in recent years a growing proportion of annual net investment expenditure has been directly undertaken, or indirectly sponsored, by the Government.

It might appear, then, that the four objectives mentioned above have not been achieved. The increase in total employment has been trifling ; the Irish economy is no more self-sufficing than it was in 1926 ; social amenities and social services still lag behind those in the United Kingdom, and both emigration and migration continue at high levels. We must not conclude, however, that all our policies were wholly unsuccessful, for they were not the only forces at work shaping our economy. In the middle and late nineteen-thirties, there were the economic ' war ' and the general world recovery from the Great Depression. The economic disruption of the second world war forced us to rely almost solely on our own resources, and as an economy to which international trade is important, we have not been immune to its aftermath. There is no logical method by which we can apportion praise and blame between our domestic policies and these external changes ; any attempt to do so would require the exercise of an individual judgment, and others might see in the results only the expression of prejudice. More important, to make any such attempt would imply our acceptance of the economic objectives of the recent past. Their ' rightness ' cannot be granted, and we shall examine them critically as a prelude to suggesting objectives and policies for the future.

The ends and means of the recent past were both understandable and fashionable in the context of the times when they were formulated. It was almost 1931 before the full force of the world economic depression reached the Irish Republic, mainly because of the secondary character of much of its agricultural production. This, together with the weaker incentive to emigrate to the United States and the virtual completion

of certain of the Government's public works schemes (especially the River Shannon Hydro-Electric Scheme) increased the numbers of the unemployed. Consequently, in the Irish Republic as elsewhere, increased pressure was exerted on the Government to provide employment. Here, as elsewhere, it was commonly held that the quickest means of doing so was by dissociation from the world economy, though political dissatisfaction with the preponderant importance of the United Kingdom as a source of our imports and market for our exports, raised the quest for self-sufficiency from a mere means to increased employment to an end in itself. The vicissitudes of the American economy helped to repel Irish emigrants, and thereafter the United Kingdom became their main destination. The agricultural depression probably helped to exacerbate the ' drift from the land '. While emigration and internal migration had for decades been viewed as ' problems ', dissatisfaction with them became more vocal in the conditions of the early nineteen-thirties. The desire to improve social amenities and social services became stronger : it may have owed some of its strength to the desire to reduce the rates of emigration and migration, though its mainsprings were probably elsewhere and its *ethos* more general. What was true of our objectives was true also of the measures by which we sought to achieve them. The devices by which these ends were furthered were not peculiar to the Irish Republic : tariffs, quotas, licences, prohibitions, etc., were the weapons used by most governments during that period to deal with substantially similar problems.

The fact that our economic objectives were relative to their times neither wholly explains nor justifies them. Each of the objectives that we listed earlier, with the possible exception of the second, focussed attention on a consequence that might be expected to follow from economic development, and it is probable that they were frequently viewed in this light. If economic development takes place—that is, if there is an increase in real income, both *in toto* and *per capita*—then there will generally be an increase in the numbers employed, though the occupational distribution of the population may alter drastically. The improvement in social services has historically followed economic development, and the provision of social amenities has been linked with the process of development sometimes as cause and sometimes as consequence. In so far as the roots of emigration are economic, a more rapid rate of economic development here than in the countries to which our emigrants habitually go, may help to reduce it. An increase in the real income of agriculturists would attract ' service ' industries to country towns and villages, though this might not offset the higher rate of disemployment in agriculture that would accompany economic development. It might even be argued that our second objective might also be a consequence of development, for there is some

evidence, albeit somewhat ambiguous, that as an economy develops it becomes relatively less dependent on imports. It would be unwise to assume, however, that politicians had this latter notion in mind when they spoke of their desire to make the Irish economy 'as self-sufficient as possible'.

Confusion between the process of economic development and its effects, while not in itself a serious matter, may become so when the effects are sought by measures that inhibit the process. And this is what happened in the Irish Republic. The Irish economy is richly endowed with the requisite resources for secondary agricultural production ; it is relatively poorly endowed with the raw materials needed for industrial production. An expansion in our standard of living is, therefore, the more likely to be achieved by concentrating on the development of the former rather than the latter : for a given quantity of productive effort will yield more of the goods and services we want, either directly or indirectly through their exchange for imports, if devoted to agriculture than if used in industry. The choice, of course, is not a crude one between agriculture and industry : rather, the choice lies between allowing agricultural development to induce further development, mainly in food-processing industries and in tertiary activities, and attempting to develop manufacturing industries directly. In the nineteen-thirties, the latter course was chosen. The success of the new industries tended to be measured by the employment they provided, rather than by their efficiency. Agriculture must have been hampered by the higher costs that followed indiscriminate protection : its development was retarded or perverted by successive agricultural policies that favoured primary agricultural production. The net effect of all these measures may have been that there are now more jobs than there would have been without them ; but many of the activities in which jobs were provided were unsound and few of them are likely to be viable. Our economy is still dependent on imports : one main effect of all our policies has been to reduce our ability to pay for them by current exports. If our policies did succeed in providing employment, much of the increase was at the expense of economic development rather than a consequence of it.

The economic conditions of the nineteen-thirties may excuse the emphasis that was placed on manufacturing industry. The prevailing agricultural depression, exacerbated here by the economic 'war', must have made any viable agricultural development seem futile ; the numbers of the unemployed must have seemed ample justification for any project that promised to provide employment. It is less easy, however, to excuse continued emphasis of the development of manufacturing industry at the present time, and for two reasons. First, a

majority of the manufactured products that bulk large in our consumption are already being made, processed, assembled or packed in this country ; to extend the list might force us into activities for which we are even less suited. Second, if we tentatively assume that the rate of economic development in the countries with which we trade will not be seriously interrupted in the future by cyclical depressions, we may look forward to an increasing demand for the agricultural products that we are best suited to produce.

We may condone the choice of industrial development as a major economic objective in the past. It is less easy, however, to excuse the methods by which this objective was sought. The fact that a finished product was being imported in quantity was taken as a sufficient reason why its production in the Irish Republic should be encouraged. The size of the import duty that was imposed seems to have been determined by what an existing or prospective firm thought necessary to ensure its production here. There is no evidence that producers had to prove their efficiency before protection was granted. Nor is there evidence that the size of the tariff imposed was related to what an efficiently organized firm would require to render its operations reasonably profitable. When the first consequences of this haphazard and hasty protection made themselves felt in the higher prices that had to be paid for the protected commodities, price controls were introduced. In controlling prices, however, the manufacturer's costs tended to be taken as data, so that inefficiency remained unpenalized.[1] It should not surprise us, therefore, that the industries that have been developed during the last twenty years make only a negligible contribution to our current exports. Indeed, the impression given by the trade statistics may be too rosy, for a large part of our industrial exports in recent years was the result of transient circumstances : our exports of chocolate crumb depended on administrative confusions in the United Kingdom, and our exports of meat products to the dollar area are to be explained mainly by the Korean War. That a few of the new industries seem likely to develop a continuing export trade, without the aid of external accidents and despite the methods by which they have been encouraged, can only be attributed to the triumph of nature over nurture.

The Future : Possible Conflicts between Objectives

It is now generally accepted that a prime economic objective for the future must be to increase the real income of the Irish Republic—both *in toto* and *per capita*—as rapidly as possible. In this section we

[1] On this subject, see the author's article, *Protection and the Efficiency of Irish Industry*, *STUDIES*, Autumn 1954.

shall concentrate on two kinds of problem that follow from the acceptance of this objective : first, the possibility of conflict between this and other social objectives ; second, the methods by which manufacturing industry might be encouraged to play its part in achieving it.

In this country, real income might be increased in both senses either by setting unemployed resources to work, or by an improvement in the efficiency with which existing enterprises are being run. For the moment we shall concentrate on the latter. It is probably true that improvements of the latter kind occur most frequently as a result of the introduction of new techniques of production. The rate at which real income will rise depends mainly on the rate at which new techniques are introduced, and this in turn depends, at least in part, on the community's willingness to accept the adjustments that economic development entails. We shall briefly glance at a few of these. Historically, there has been associated with the introduction of new methods of production a process of organizational change. Thus, the medieval manor gave way to a more specialized and larger scale agriculture ; the guild system and the domestic system were supplanted by the factory system. At the present time, the full utilization of modern machines and methods in Irish agriculture may be hampered by the small size of the average farm and by peasant-proprietorship. For historical reasons, however, both these are valued for their own sakes, and the brake they place on the rate of development can only be partly eased by agricultural co-operation. The introduction of those modern methods and techniques that would be profitable in manufacturing industry in this country would probably favour larger firms, and thus lead to a higher degree of concentration in many industries. The proliferation of small firms in most industries might be (and probably is) valued for social reasons. Our object is not to denounce these other values, but rather to indicate that their existence forces the community to choose. One reason for the high rate of increase in real income in North America is the relatively high value that is placed on increased production, and the willingness to accept the social adjustments it requires. If we place a similar value on more production, we too must accept the necessary changes.

Secondly, the introduction of new techniques may (and generally does) render some workers and some skills redundant. This is true both for agriculture and for industry. The workers who are disemployed will not generally be able to find jobs requiring their existing skills, and they may be loath to acquire new ones. This unemployment is a ' price ' that has to be paid (in the short-run, at least) for the increased output. It would be misleading to speak of it as a ' transient ' phenomenon, for many years might elapse before the workless are absorbed in other

activities. As a result of the new techniques, the community ' as a whole ' will ' gain ' immediately, and will ' gain ' even more ultimately, from the enhanced output ; the unemployment and redundancy are, however, concentrated on particular people and skills, in particular places, and over periods of time that may be short or long. Those affected may oppose the improvement, and thus arrest the rate of rise in real income, and the community as a whole may support them. This is the more likely to occur the more important is security as a social objective. Here, again, our purpose is not to choose, but to indicate the existence of a choice. The higher the value we place on more production, and the lower the value we put on securing to each worker his existing job, and to each capitalist his existing source of income, then the higher the rate of economic development that we can achieve.

Thirdly, the process of economic development may alter the geographical distribution of national income and output. A new enterprise might be more efficient—that is, might yield a greater output per ' unit ' of resources—if located in County Dublin. If it is forced to choose the Gaeltacht, its unit costs of production will be greater. By forcing or inducing it to go there, we are rating the geographical distribution of real income more highly than we rate its size. Lastly, a host of choices of the same kind continually present themselves, and we need not examine them in detail. There is, for example, the choice between opulence and self-sufficiency, whether the latter is justified by defence or other considerations. There may be a choice between a higher real income achieved by non-Irish enterprise and control, and a lower one that relies wholly or mainly on domestic talents.

These conflicts between objectives that we have examined have one thing in common : they all pose the choice between the increase in the size of the national real income and its distribution, whether geographic, occupational or personal. Emphasis on socially acceptable distributions diminishes the former ; if we emphasize the former, the distributions that emerge will be the less desirable. Our purpose is not to suggest how these conflicts *should* be resolved ; but only to show that some resolution is necessary. Some of the problems that arise may become clearer in the next section when we examine the future development of manufacturing industry in the Irish Republic, and how it might be encouraged.

Policy for New Industries

We have already sketched the growth of manufacturing industry in this country, and we have suggested that the measures by which it

was encouraged were not such as to promote its efficiency. In this section, we shall do two things : first, suggest methods of encouraging new manufacturing industries that would avoid as far as possible past 'mistakes' ; second, suggest measures by which the efficiency of the industries we already have might be improved.

The I.B.E.C. Report[1], after a detailed examination of the present state of the Irish economy, concludes that the industries with the brightest prospects of development fall into three categories : first, those that process domestic raw materials ; second, those that show promise of being able to export ; third, new industries to produce some goods that are at present being imported. The development of the first group pre-supposes an increase in the supply by Irish agriculture of the materials for processing, and how this might be effected is dealt with in another article in this issue[2]. The industries that might develop an export trade are most likely to be found amongst those already in existence, and we shall examine later how they might be encouraged to do so. On page 61 of the Report, there is a list of commodities whose production in the Irish Republic might be started or expanded : the list includes cotton, woollen and artificial silk textiles and fabrics ; cutlery and hardware, cement, tinplate containers, apparel, electrical appliances and apparatus, paper manufactures and medicines. Accepting this list, how should these new activities be encouraged ?

We shall accept the fact that encouragement of some sort is necessary. It is generally accepted that a protectionist policy will effectively achieve non-economic aims, but its effectiveness in furthering economic development has frequently been challenged. While we do not propose to resuscitate the free trade *versus* protection controversy, the following may be adduced in support of *some* kind of protection in this country. First, in Great Britain as elsewhere, the industrial and commercial 'revolutions' were not spontaneous developments : rather, firms were protected by public policy or by restrictive practices, organized and policed by themselves. This should not be surprising, for it might be argued that in human affairs generally defensive tactics are the pre-condition of an offensive strategy—that to induce a firm to expand and develop it must be guaranteed the fruits of its labours. There is a growing willingness to admit that the rate of technical advance (and therefore at least the potential economic development) may be greater where there is monopoly. The more rapid advance is partly explained by patents and copyright and the various institutional devices that ensure that the fruits accrue mainly to the innovator.

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[1] *An Appraisal of Ireland's Industrial Potentials*, 1952.

[2] See the article by J. J. Byrne, *Supra*. pp. 17—40.

Second, there is the 'infant' industry argument. In logic, the argument is a strong one, though in practice the infant's growth may be inhibited by the methods by which it is protected: too frequently the manner of its birth renders it permanently spastic. Thirdly, the argument against protection in any form would be strong if it could be established that *no* Irish industry that relied on imported raw materials and machines was likely to achieve viability in its maturity—that is, be able to sell its product at a price no higher than that of an imported good of similar quality. Now the price here of imported raw materials may exceed the price at which they can be bought by English firms in the same line of business by the costs of transport to the Irish Republic. And it may be that their price here net of the additional carriage and handling costs exceeds that at which they can be bought by British manufacturers[1]. On the other hand, however, the volume of ancillary services (welfare, pensions, subsidized meals, etc.), that a firm is obliged or expected to perform is, on balance, smaller here than it is in the United Kingdom. In many (but not all) trades, money wage-rates here are below those in Great Britain, so there is the possibility that Irish enterprises might enjoy some net advantages in wage-costs if they use the most up-to-date methods of production.

Finally, in Great Britain, which is the main source of our industrial imports, there are wide differences between the efficiency of the firms within most industries, and if the imported product is a staple commodity its price will tend to be near the level that covers the costs of its least efficient producer. If a firm is established here to produce that commodity, and if it uses the most efficient techniques, there is no reason why its costs, and therefore its prices, should not compare favourably with those of the imported product. A developed economy can afford the luxury of inefficiency—indeed, it may be one of the ways in which it chooses to enjoy a rising standard of living. As a community seeking development, this luxury is beyond our means.

Having accepted the necessity for encouragement, we must decide in what form the encouragement should be given. Other things being equal, the method that promises to minimize the present and future costs of encouraging our industry is to be preferred. These costs are likely to be smallest if the following two conditions are fulfilled. First, a request for assistance should only be entertained if accompanied by

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[1] However, the Fiscal Inquiry Committee in its Final Report, dated November 1923, pointed out that essential raw materials and fuels could often be purchased more cheaply in Ireland than in England, because of through transport rates.

an undertaking to use the method that promises minimum costs of production in the Irish Republic. Second, the assistance should be given in such manner as to provide the maximum incentive to keep its costs to the community as low as possible.

There is no necessary connection between the non-fulfilment of the first condition and tariff protection, though local circumstances often establish one. During the nineteen-thirties, it would seem that the production costs of existing firms were taken as data in determining what size of tariff to impose. As new firms entered a protected industry, there was no incentive, other than the desire for profits, to choose production methods that promised least costs. A glance at many (but not all) of the industries that have been developed during the last twenty years shows either that this incentive was often weak, or that those impelled by it were often ignorant of modern methods, or that the pain-cost of getting an increase in the degree of protection was less than that involved in lowering production costs. Even if the first condition is fulfilled, and the size of the tariff to be imposed was made equal to the difference between the c.i.f. price of the import and the lowest price at which the good could be produced and sold here, there would be some continuing disadvantages. Experience shows that politically it is well-nigh impossible to reduce tariffs once they have been imposed and that it is equally difficult to deny increases to preserve employment in the protected industries. The 'income-raising' effects of tariffs on employment and output are concentrated and measurable ; their 'income-lowering' effects are widely diffused both in time and space and can never be unambiguously shown to be consequences of this form of protection. For these reasons, tariffs are unlikely to fulfil our second condition : if in practice 'revenues' are clear and measurable and 'costs' ambiguous and immeasurable, the incentive to minimize the latter will be weak.

We propose, therefore, that new industrial development in the Irish Republic should not be encouraged by tariffs, but by direct financial assistance. In Northern Ireland, new industries have been encouraged in this way since 1932. By enactments of 1932, 1937 and 1945, the Ministry of Commerce is empowered to assist financially new industrial development by way of grant and loan. The size of the grant depends on the amount that the promoters plan to spend on buying fixed assets and on the volume and kind of employment that is to be provided. In addition, the Ministry may also provide industrial premises or sites. By December, 1952, 154 projects had received assistance, and these were giving employment to 21,708 workers. At that date, many of the projects assisted under the Industrial Development Act (N.I.), 1945, were not yet in full production : it was expected that their completion

would give jobs to a further 6,000 people[1]. As far as possible, assistance was concentrated on undertakings that used local raw materials or produced commodities with a high value in relation to their bulk—that is, on activities that had good prospects of quickly outgrowing the need for assistance. Amongst the industries developed since 1932 are aircraft, industrial ceramics, optical components, drawing instruments, nylon hosiery, radio, tabulating machines and toys. In addition, local authorities may grant complete exemption from rates for not more than ten years to undertakings that have been assisted by the central government.

The ways in which manufacturing industry in Northern Ireland has been helped have obvious advantages. From its beginning, each new industry is a potential export industry, for the prices of its products cannot rise above those of comparable free imports from the rest of the United Kingdom. The costs of providing assistance must be met from monies voted by Parliament: there is therefore a greater incentive to see that they are kept to a minimum, and that the beneficiaries are as efficient as possible. It is true, of course, that the Government must in some way raise the money to pay the grants and build the factories, and that in that way the costs will be diffused throughout the economy. But the indirect economic effects are likely to be much less unfavourable, whether the money is raised by direct or indirect taxes or borrowing, than they would have been had assistance been given by tariffs.

Under the Undeveloped Areas Act, 1952, the government of the Irish Republic has power to assist industrial development in the Gaeltacht in much the same way as the Ministry of Commerce may assist industry in Northern Ireland. It is desirable that these powers be extended to cover industrial development in the whole country. They might well be exercised by the Industrial Development Authority, which already has certain responsibilities for developing new industries and expanding old ones. The monies needed to assist industry in this way might well be found by reducing government expenditure in other directions. There is ample scope and very good reason for doing so, for it has been argued, frequently and cogently, that too large a proportion of the existing investment expenditure by the central government goes on projects whose influence on the volume of production is indirect, long-term and problematical. There is no reason to suppose that assistance

[1] *Ulster Year Book*, 1953, pages 112–4. Lord Glentoran, the Northern Ireland Minister for Commerce, in the course of a speech on 18 January 1955, at Portadown, said that 230 projects had received assistance; new jobs had already been created for about 32,000 workers, and when these schemes come into full operation the number of new jobs would rise to 42,000. In addition, a further 15 schemes were expected to reach the production stage in the near future and to provide employment for a further 5,500 workers. See *Portadown Times*, 21 January 1955.

of the kind given in Northern Ireland should be less effective in providing employment than that given by tariffs. There is every reason, however, to suppose that the former will mature 'infant' industries more cheaply and more rapidly than the latter.

Policy for Existing Industries

A wide range of industrial activities has been inaugurated in the Irish Republic since 1924, mainly with the aid of tariffs and other import restrictions. It is impossible to measure their efficiency in absolute terms, and it is difficult to suggest any standard by which to judge whether they are becoming more or less efficient. In this section, we shall adopt a very rough measure : we shall say that a firm (or industry) has become more efficient if the price of its product is reduced relatively to the c.i.f. price (excluding import duty) of a good of the same, or closely similar, quality imported from the United Kingdom. This measure is perhaps less crude here than it might be if applied elsewhere, for the Irish and British economies are affected by similar economic influences. There can be no doubt that improved efficiency (in this sense) is desirable : it would tend directly or indirectly to lower costs of production in other lines of activity and thus assist our export industries, and it would bring our existing manufacturing industries nearer to a position in which some of their products might be exportable. Our main task in this section will be to suggest policies to promote an increase in efficiency in this sense.

Efficiency might be promoted by the use of more modern production methods, which reduce unit costs of production and thus make possible lower selling prices. It has frequently been argued that depreciation allowances, that must for income-tax purposes be calculated on an original cost basis, hamper the introduction of new methods by making it more difficult for firms to build up reserves from profits for replacement and new investment. There is some strength in this argument, but a depreciation allowance based on replacement cost need not, by itself, effectively promote the use of the most efficient techniques. There would still be no guarantee that old machines were replaced by better machines, for firms might not be aware of the latest developments. Even if they were, there would be no guarantee that new techniques would be introduced as rapidly as the necessity for increasing the competitive power of our industry demands. For these reasons, we should not expect too much from a revised income-tax code. To promote efficiency it must be supplemented by full knowledge of what new techniques are available, by direct financial assistance to promote

their use and by a climate of competition that induces firms to acquire the knowledge and make use of the assistance.

The Irish Government for many decades has tried to bring the existence of new methods to the attention of agriculturists. There is no reason why the government should itself provide the same service for industry, for knowledge of new production methods can be bought from British and American consultants. The costs of acquiring such knowledge might be met by all firms in each industry or by the Government.

Once the knowledge is there, the next problem is to encourage firms to make use of it. In Northern Ireland, the Ministry of Commerce is empowered by the Re-Equipment of Industry Act (N.I.), 1951, to make grants towards the modernization of machinery and equipment, and towards other work, such as the provision or reconstruction of buildings, that re-equipment and modernization might entail. Before giving financial assistance, the Ministry must be satisfied that the project will increase the firm's productive efficiency and promote the industrial and economic development of Northern Ireland. By 31 December 1952, 91 schemes for re-equipment had been approved: their estimated cost was £5,300,000, of which about one-third would be met by the grants.[1]

We propose that similar assistance be provided in the Irish Republic to reduce the expenses incurred by firms in undertaking cost-reducing investment. Firms should be invited to submit detailed projects. Before a project is approved for assistance, there should be some evidence that in the light of local conditions and known techniques it promises the greatest reduction in unit costs of production. To ensure this, only those projects that had already obtained the endorsement of a firm of independent consultants should be accepted; or the government might itself be responsible for having all projects vetted by consultants and assist only those that received their blessing. It is not possible to compute what a policy along these lines would cost, but it is clear that its cost would vary directly with its success. If projects are carefully vetted, then the costs of assisting them might properly be financed by government borrowing.

There remains the problem of ensuring that these facilities would be used if they were made available: the disappointments that have attended agricultural policies that aimed at increasing efficiency show that this problem is a very real one. The same kind of problem faces most countries: in its general form it is that of promoting a continuous

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[1] *Ulster Year Book*, 1953, page 114.

increase in productive efficiency. That the problem does not present itself so urgently to the American economy is mainly due to its ' sharp and urgent competitiveness '. If the Irish economy were imbued with the same spirit, it is probable that the problem, as it faces us, would be less acute.

It may be that both the wish and the will to compete cannot be created by acts of Parliament, and that their mainsprings lie deeper in a country's historical, cultural and social development. If this be so, then the best we can do is to frustrate the will to avoid competition. To achieve this, however, the electorate must first be convinced that competition effectively promotes efficiency. And it is to be feared that the possibility of doing this is remote in this country.

We shall assume, nevertheless, that competition is (or becomes) socially and politically acceptable, and examine how the attempts by firms to avoid it may be frustrated. A reduction in tariffs may be ruled out as being politically impossible. There remains then measures designed to prevent firms within an industry from combining to restrict competition. As a beginning, we propose that all trade associations and all trade unions and professional associations should be obliged to publish all rules, regulations and agreements that bind their members. This by itself would act as a deterrent and acquaint the public with the extent and character of restrictive practices. Secondly, we propose that the Fair Trading Rules made by the Fair Trade Commission should be given the force of law, so that any failure to observe them becomes an offence. Even this will not curb restrictive practices unless the law is strictly and continuously enforced.

If firms are thus prevented from not competing with one another, there must as a corollary be some change in the official attitude towards profits and price controls. High profits are commonly viewed as an inherent evil and as an inevitable consequence of high prices. It is true that high profits *may* be earned by charging high prices, and it is probably true that their co-existence is most likely to occur where competition is restricted. In the Irish Republic, price-controls were mainly designed to protect consumers from some of the effects of high import duties. In controlling prices, however, a firm's costs were taken as data ; as a consequence, the intentions of the price-controlling authority could be thwarted by ' flannelling ' costs, and thus turning price-controls into profit-controls. If firms can be induced to compete with one another, and especially if there is price competition, then price-controls become unnecessary. The profits earned by firms that compete with one another must be rated differently from those earned by combination or collusion, for the profits in the former case are ' earned ' in a sense in

which those in the latter are not.[1] If restrictive practices are eliminated, then there is no more ground for controlling prices and limiting and appropriating profits than there is for controlling wages. To improve our economic prospects, improved efficiency is necessary in manufacturing industry; competition in a rough way ensures that those firms that increase their efficiency most rapidly will receive the greatest rewards.

Conclusion

In this essay, we have not examined the industrial resources of the Irish Republic, nor tried to list the industries that might be founded or expanded: that task has already been admirably done by the I.B.E.C. Technical Services Corporation. We have concentrated, rather, on suggesting how new industrial development might be encouraged and existing industries made more efficient, for it can be argued that these problems are crucial. Its natural resources, climate and position make the Irish economy well-suited for secondary agricultural production. Our best hopes for raising our standard of living lie in making the best of these, and the experience of other countries suggests that we may do so by a higher rate of investment in agriculture —investment in knowledge and its dissemination, in land, buildings and equipment. Technical advance has entailed a decline in the numbers directly employed in agriculture—and may do so in the future. The processing of agricultural produce for home-consumption and for export has provided work for some that have been disemployed in that way. It might have been expected that the spending of the higher income per head of agriculturists would have helped provide employment for all the remainder, but this has not happened. They have either swelled the numbers of the unemployed or emigrated. Indeed, it might be argued that emigration was the method by which an acceptable rate of increase in real income per head was achieved for those that remained.

In these circumstances, the demand that industrial activities be fostered is understandable. The question is not whether protection should be given, but how it should be administered. We must import much of the fuels and most of the raw materials that manufacturing industry requires, and these must be paid for mainly by agricultural exports. To encourage industry by measures that hamper agricultural exports is, therefore, a short-sighted policy, and perforce a temporary one. Tariffs, however, partly by their nature and partly by the manner

[1] For a fuller treatment of some of the topics dealt with in this paragraph, see *Protection and the Efficiency of Irish Industry*, in *STUDIES*, Autumn 1954.

in which they were used here, have tended to do this : higher prices for many protected goods have, either directly or indirectly, increased agricultural costs and hence prices, and recent history shows that it is not at all difficult to price our produce out of the British market. The policies we have suggested would reduce, though scarcely eliminate, the burden imposed on agriculture. They have an incidental merit in that they would ease (or at least make no greater) the economic difficulties in the way of the achievement of another social and political objective, namely, the abolition of partition.

Industrial Efficiency and Management Practice

by MICHAEL J. MacCORMAC, M.A.
Assistant Lecturer in Economics and Management,
University College, Dublin

The growth of Irish industry in the last thirty years has been substantial and, since the end of World War II, the pace has been a steadily increasing one. The pattern of industry which is developing has never been very clearly defined but it has been obvious that a reconsideration of the general economic justification of the new structure is being carried out. The establishment of the Industrial Development Authority and the fact that for a time at least, it became responsible for the setting and administration of tariffs are pointers to the general nature of the examination. It is in this background of general industrialization policy that the importance of management and the administration of our industries must be considered.

The general effect of the industrialization drive lies in its economic setting and its contribution to the economic and social betterment of the Irish people. Its justification is, therefore, any related economic improvement which has since taken place in the Irish economy and the necessity for efficiency lies in any further direct contribution which industry can make.

The development of industry in a country, which was basically an agricultural one, brings striking changes in the economic picture. One of the main objectives in the establishment of a range of industries beyond those based on the Irish raw materials such as brewing, bacon-curing, biscuits, creameries, woollens, etc. which had propsered before 1922, was the expansion in employment facilities inside the country. Has this objective had a great effect on the employment structure and therefore on emigration?

Some of the figures for those engaged in production other than agriculture provide illustration of this effect. In 1926, 164,00 were so employed ; in 1948, 198,000 ; in 1950, 222,000 ; in 1953, 226,000. Employment which declined slightly in 1952 recovered in 1953 and between 1946 and 1951 employment increased by 35 per cent. These increases in non-agricultural employment are undoubtedly satisfactory

but the development did not solve the total unemployment problem. In 1953 unemployment was at the rate of 9.6 per cent insured persons on the live register, and the number of persons who found employment in industry was considerably less than the number of emigrants. The industrial revival has, therefore, made a contribution to this basic employment problem, but it has not provided the complete solution. Does this lie in extending the range of industries to give further employment or does it lie in the development of the existing ones? Many industries have reached the limits of expansion within the home market, and others, when present plans are fulfilled, will have reached this limit. The future growth of industry depends in a large measure on its ability to find a wider market in exports. This will entail competitive pricing and, therefore, a standard of efficiency at least equal to, but more likely better than, that of industries of other countries.

Ireland suffers from the disability that most of the raw materials for industry must be imported. Nearly three-fifths of out total imports consist of raw materials for industry and this proportion is increasing according as the industrial structure develops. Not alone does this mean that raw materials for industry are dearer here by virtue of transport costs in comparison with countries which possess indigenous supplies, but it also indicates the limitation and nature of the basic contribution which Irish industry can make to the external trade problems of this country.

By reason of the tariff barrier which protects Irish industry, the value, which it adds to imports in terms of Irish resources expended can be at a greater cost than the comparative resources put into production in other countries. While not advocating a reduction in the numbers employed in individual industries, the cost per unit of the product must be held to an absolute minimum both to justify any protective measures that may be necessary and also ensure that the product may become competitive in overseas markets. How can this reduction in costs be practically realized? The main answer lies again in efficiency, a cutting in selling cost, a reduction in material waste, more efficient production methods, and in the application of modern management principles.

The current interest in and the necessity for management studies implies the existence of some body of principles or knowledge which exists in a form which can be of use to the practising manager. The evolution of this body of thought has been an astoundingly quick one from its modest beginnings towards the end of the nineteenth century to its elaborate framework in 1955. During the 1870's occasional articles are found in technical journals in Great Britain which could

be described as coming within the management category. These dealt mainly with cost analysis and some aspects of engineering as applied to production. They are interesting in that they show the first development in the subject coming from the two main modern specialist wings —accountancy and engineering. By the end of the nineteenth century few major advances had been made on this side of the Atlantic and little thought had been given to the organizational aspects of management in industry. Some books had been published which included a reference to management in their titles but they were mainly either accounts handbooks or closely related to engineering aspects of production.

In the U.S.A. during this period, Taylor, Gantt, and Gilbreth, to pick out the most well-known among many, were doing pioneer practical work to increase productivity. They were not theorists or teachers but they were concerned actively with the American economic problem to increase the proceeds of industry and, diverting attention from the labour struggle over the division of the proceeds, to the mechanism of increasing the " total cake available ". Taylor and his contemporaries in America concentrated on better planning and the development of incentive methods as a direct aid to the will-to-work. Their efforts, therefore, were directed towards developing production control techniques, methods of time and motion study and other management tools which are essentials in the modern factory. These Americans are best known for their pioneer contribution in these fields and are not looked upon generally as doctrinaire thinkers. Taylor's tombstone bears the words " Father of Scientific Management " and his right to the title has not been challenged. By his writings he publicized the methods which he evolved and wrote in terms of the " art of management " which could be based firmly on scientific principles.

> Many of the elements which are now believed to be outside the field of exact knowledge will soon be standardized, tabulated, accepted, and used as are now many of the elements in engineering. Management will be studied as an art and will rest upon well-recognized, clearly defined and fixed principles instead of depending upon more or less hazy ideas received from a limited observation of the few organizations with which the individual may have come in contact.[1]

This penetrating comment on the evolution of the body of knowledge which is now available seems to be the keystone on which further research must be built.

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[1] *Shop Management*, F. W. Taylor, p. 63, embodied in " *Scienitfic Management* ", Harper & Bros., New York, 1947.

Recognition came easily to the Americans working in this field as public interest developed in aspects of their work which are easily understood. Its exact relevance to productivity is quickly appreciated and publicity in Great Britain brought with it the natural hostility of the leaders of the trade unions who looked upon the methods as " speeding-up ". They generated an emotional opposition in organized labour circles which is at the root of the general trade union suspicion in the twentieth century of modern management methods. This legacy of doubt has taken many years to dispel.

On the continent the major contribution to the evolution of the science was made by Henri Fayol. Fayol had a long executive career as general manager of a mining concern in France during which he gave long thought to basic organizational ideas. He was the first to write on the subject of management principles as distinct from techniques. He reviewed mainly the processes which went to make up his everyday work as a manager. Fayol read a paper in 1908, (translated into English much later) dealing with the basic concepts of management, which he considered as composed of five main elements : planning, organization, command, co-ordination and control. These elements are still embodied in the present concepts of the nature of managerial functions. Fayol's main contribution to the development of the subject lay firstly in his systematic analysis of management procedure as distinct from management techniques, and secondly in that he firmly advocated that management could be taught. These ideas were startling in 1908, and even in 1925 when his work gained international recognition, the concepts were still revolutionary.

Another aspect of the subject was brought into prominence and developed by Mary Parker Follett, who in the years from the beginning of this century to 1924 gained an extensive experience of the human element in managerial activities and in social problems generally. She wrote extensively in the years immediately after 1924 on the fundamental aspects of management with emphasis on the human factor and the development of the personnel function. She illustrated her work copiously from practical events and was concerned with the attempt to elucidate basic principles and the interrelation between the manager and the worker. The collected papers published under the title *Dynamic Administration* reflect the thread of sound principle which runs throughout her work, and her analysis of the personnel function remains as valid to-day as when she developed her theories from her own practical work.

It is remarkable that the conclusions which Mary Parker Follett reached were closely in line with the results of the Hawthorne Experiment

conducted by the Western Electric Company of Chicago. These experiments attempted to correlate the trend in output with the psychological background of the worker and were, in fact, the first controlled experiments in what is now known as industrial psychology. There is no evidence that Mary Parker Follett had any contact with these experiments yet her searching observation shown in the development of principles is strikingly similar to the Hawthorne situation analysis. These developments on the human relations side of industry are the major result of the period up to 1930. When the principles evolved by Fayol were combined with the techniques of the earlier Americans, a body of knowledge in related subjects began to emerge.

This body of knowledge in the 1930's led to a great interest in the many aspects of management studies. The output of literature in this period up to 1939 was substantial but much of the work was repetitious in character. Nevertheless useful research was carried out into business practice and much thinking was done on the nature of administration. The universities began to take an interest in this new and developing sphere of science. Much of the published material was of a descriptive character. The usefulness of this descriptive matter lay in its contribution to a systematized scientific approach. It provided the background of fact against which the theories could be measured and tested. As evidence of the various lines of thought which were being pursued and of the nature of the developing science, it is interesting to note the widespread use of the term ' administration ' in the same connotation as management and organization. As in every science, the difficulty of developing a terminology which can be accepted was a live one and one which has only been solved, to an extent, by the growth of centralized and international management bodies.

During the 1930's some writers began to stress that the main feature of management lay in co-ordination. Not alone does the nature of management lie in the techniques which it uses such as work study, budgetary control, production engineering and control but it embraces the control and " managing " of a community and the welding together of that community into an efficient productive unit. The development of some body of management principles was slow and was looked upon with a degree of suspicion. Now, when the principles are fairly well-known and accepted, the manager has come to realize that just as in accountancy or engineering or medicine or any branch of knowledge the necessity for a connecting theory is an essential attribute of developed and accepted practice.

Personnel techniques and industrial psychology contributed the main advances in management techniques during World War II, due

to the interest in the need for incentives and the development of the will to work. In the post-war period, with the emphasis on productivity and the great strides which industrial production has made, the specialist techniques of management have now been improved to an advanced stage, such as work measurement by time-study, motion study and job study ; production engineering which is the optimum use of men, machines and materials to achieve maximum productivity ; industrial psychology ; the management and training of personnel ; the organization of office staffs and office machinery ; financial techniques such as budgetary control and standard costs. Much specialist work has gone into the development of these techniques and the publicizing of new methods. The output of literature from the professional engineering, accountancy and other such bodies has made the results of this work available to the practising manager. Dissemination of the methods and knowledge has given rise to the need for and the creation of management institutes in most countries. They are usually organized on a voluntary basis among industrialists, but are frequently in receipt of substantial government grants (*e.g.* British Institute of Management) which enable them to carry out their task more quickly and more efficiently. The Irish Management Institute was officially launched at the end of 1952 following on the co-ordination of numerous groups who were actively considering the propagation of management techniques in this country.

Business executives and managers at all levels are frequently technicians such as chemists, engineers, physicists, accountants, etc., who make extensive use of the various management techniques which have been developed. They learn their expertness from many sources—universities and technical colleges, professional bodies and in private research foundations but they do not learn how to manage. Management does not consist only of technological skills ; it consists of the technique of managing the experts and managing those who possess no specialist skill. It stems in essence from the ideas of Fayol with his emphasis on co-ordination. Scientific management, as it has been called, is not only the development and use of management techniques but also the application of management principles. Industrial management is in part an art and in part a science. The art is largely part of the individual's basic build-up and can be developed only by practice, but the scientific approach and methods which have been developed can be applied to situations and enable the manager to practise the art with greater skill.

The keystone of management seems to be its responsibility for the guidance of activities of other people working together as a purposeful community. The group of people is a complex one with relationships which not alone run up and down the organization by virtue of different

degrees of responsibility but run across by virtue of specialization in techniques. The study of these relationships and the principles of delegation of authority are at the root of management.[1]

The roots of a study of administrative principle are to be found in the partially mapped areas of economics, sociology, and psychology ; administrative action must be based on a knowledge of these related fields. There is no satisfactory case which can be made for the divorce of management studies from the other university disciplines and the interconnection between them cannot be overstressed. In the evolution and teaching of administration there exists a great field for co-operation between industry and the universities and it is worth recording that that co-operation is very much in evidence. The provision of material for case study and the steady investigation of business methods, which can be the effect of such collaboration, is the basis of further development.

Although formal education for management has existed in America for many years, on this side of the Atlantic only very few enthusiasts before World War II had any belief in its efficacy. More attention has been given in Great Britain and on the continent to the possibility of developing natural talent by formal training. The establishment of the Henley Staff College in 1948 and its progress in the intervening years is symptomatic of the interest which British industry has in the problem of developing and training their senior executives in management. The course provides a systematic study of the principles of organization and attempts to " give the members a fresh awareness of the significance of their present work and to prepare them for higher responsibilities in the future ".[2]

Some universities in Great Britain are attempting the post-graduate course and summer school methods but progress in these directions is slow. In all cases the students must have at least some experience in business and are usually expected to be of managerial position. No precise estimate can be made of the results of these approaches to management training as the efficiency of the methods cannot be judged until their further work in industry can be appreciated.

On the continent similar approaches have been made, the most notable being in Italy, where a teaching institute was set up and staff

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[1] Charles Wilson in a recent publication *The History of Unilever* (Cassell : 1954) writes : " The history of a business like a man's life story is apt to take on the appearance of inevitability. Yet if there is any discernable reason why this business rather than another became a giant in an industry, it must surely be sought in the men who directed it—their tenacity, technical ability and powers of co-ordination."

[2] *Administrative Staff College Brochure*, p. 11.

was imported from America to adapt U.S. management principles to the background of Italian industry. The adaptation of principles to the basic psychological atmosphere in the industrial climate of our country is one of the main tasks which lie ahead of the Irish Management Institute in its approach to management training. No fixed body of scientific thought on the subject can be imported and an analysis of management practice within Irish industry and a further elucidation of principle must be undertaken in order to present a body of principles for Irish management.

Irish Writing To-day

by JOHN D. SHERIDAN

DURING the past thirty years, Ireland's economy has been dominated by the effort to establish and develop native industries and so cut down our imports. And considerable headway has been made. We now have our own electricity, our own sugar, our own razor blades, even our own ships. We are reaching out towards self-sufficiency in everything but the thing that matters most. Our people have enough to eat, and new factory chimneys spring up every month, but the great bulk of our reading matter, with the exception of the daily paper, comes from overseas.

The men who made possible the measure of control that we now have over our own affairs were not primarily economists : their first concern was with the mind and the soul, with things spiritual and cultural ; and their great weapon was the printed word. They stressed always the things that make us different from other peoples, the things that justify our claim to nationhood. And it is not a little incongruous that in these thirty years of economic progress our characteristics as a separate people have become blunted and blurred. As a people we are less articulate than we used to be, less concerned about our cultural integrity, and dangerously complacent about those things which, in the days of fiery idealism, were regarded as the greatest obstacles to the national revival.

These are difficult times for small nations. The great powers tend to dominate not only commercially and militarily but also culturally, and the little ones are in danger of being overlain. And we, amongst small nations, are especially vulnerable, since we have no barrier of language. Unlike Norway, Holland, and Sweden, we are an open market for the printed matter of Britain and America, and we are being pressed down by it. But though half-submerged we are quite happy. We stir Irish sugar into our tea, switch on power from the Shannon, and take comfort in the fact that our adverse trade balance is not as high as it used to be.

I am not working towards an appeal on behalf of the language revival—that many-sided and complex undertaking which is never short of appeals. Nor am I suggesting—as is suggested hysterically from time to time—that there should be a ban on all imported print. I realize that in spite of all we might do there must always be a preponderance of imported print. But I do suggest that there should not

be a monopoly of it, and at the moment there is a virtual monopoly. We have our own newspapers, and little else. Except for school texts we produce pitifully few books, and apart from the monthlies published by religious orders—to support the missions—our magazines could be counted without going far into double figures.

I do not know how all this can be changed, but until it is changed it is fatuous to talk about self-sufficiency. Admittedly we are now able to feed ourselves and dress ourselves, but these are tiny achievements if we are making no move towards becoming articulate, if we do not think for ourselves and speak for ourselves, if we are content to be eyes and ears for the rest of the world. And that is what we are fast becoming. Our bookshops, so far as content is concerned, might well be Birmingham bookshops, and our newsagents' counters are cluttered with the foot-square picture covers of imported glossy magazines. We debate the language revival, forgetting that it is only a part of and not essential to (thank heaven it is no longer national apostacy to say this) a bigger revival which no one is bothering about, forgetting that all the trashy romantic novels in all the little paper-shop libraries from Malin to Macroom are the very novels that are being read in Wigan.

We have few books and magazines of our own. We still have writers, but most of them—and nearly all the good ones—publish abroad. They run mail-order businesses, posting their manuscripts and getting royalty cheques in return, and they might be described as literary lodgers. Their work, however, despite its merits, does not sum up to an Irish literature (in the sense that there is a French literature and an Italian literature), since it is not written for the home market and does not run the gauntlet of the home public. It is not authentic in the way that French books published first in Paris and then in New York are authentic, since it by-passes the only market that can judge its authenticity. The danger of this type of book is that it may not only cater for the foreign market but pander to it, that it may give the world not the real Ireland but something as deliberately tailored and coloured as a catchpenny Hollywood script. There was once a "hidden Ireland" that was served by Gaelic poets, but there is no one to serve the new hidden Ireland. It remains unknown and obscure, whilst we are presented to the world—and by ourselves—as a priest-ridden, repressed, and dirty-minded people. The old Stage Irishman—that rollicking, eye-glinting, broth of a boy—is dead and gone, but the new is even more of a caricature and not nearly so lovable.

The depressed state of Irish publishing is often blamed on lack of enterprise amongst Irish publishers, but Irish publishers are engaged in a very desperate venture and they have good reason for caution. In England and in America the publisher can hope to have at least one big seller in his annual list, and there is always a chance of a best

seller, so that one book that hits the hundred-thousand mark may carry several failures on its back. But in Ireland the publisher has no hope of recouping his losses on one outstanding success, since the gap between a book that does reasonably well and the book that heads the list may be no more than five thousand copies. That is why Ireland has few publishing firms proper. Most of our publishers have another business that pays the rent, or confine themselves to publishing Irish editions of English or American successes (and these mainly religious books).

It might appear, then, that Irish writers who publish abroad do so in order to earn higher royalties than they would earn at home, but on the other hand none of our Irish writers is in the best-selling class, though some of them are big sellers, and the sales of a moderately successful book are no higher in England than in Ireland. The real attraction of English publication may well be the hope of reviews in the *Observer* and *Times* and of American publication afterwards. Part of the gamble, however, is the danger of a complete flop, as a book which does not get away to a good start is likely to be overlooked in the crush and may sell no more than a few hundred copies. In Ireland, on the other hand, because of the small number of books published, the sales of an unsuccessful book will usually struggle up to a thousand copies.

One unfortunate effect of the fact that so many of our Irish writers publish in England is the growth of a literary shoneenism which looks on the imprint of an English house as a guarantee of merit. The books that are discussed are the ones that are published in England, and literary small talk smacks of the Thames. Nor are our newspapers and their reviewers innocent in this matter. Imported books get space and place, whilst the home-produced book is dismissed condescendingly in a small notice badly placed on the review page. We have come to regard London as our literary capital, and we look eastwards all the time. There is a common notion that no Irish book is worth reading unless a London publisher thinks it worth publishing, and almost without adverting to it we have all become infected with this latest and most deadly form of shoneenism, which is not content with aping English dress and manners but bows to the English mind.

There are many, of course, who ascribe our inarticulateness to the censorship of books—and there are few questions more contentious or more marked by muddled thinking and insincerity. On the one hand are those who say that every book that even mentions sin or vice should be banned, and preach an Annie Smithson standard of literary propriety: on the other are those who condemn censorship outright because some books have been wrongly banned—which is like condemning the courts outright because district justices give wrong decisions

from time to time, and which confuses a principle with its application. A people has as much right to ban dirty books as it has to ban dirty milk. The difference, however, and the difficulty, is that whereas dirty milk can be recognized and detected by objective standards, there can be no such easy verdict on a dirty book. It follows inevitably that there will be violent disagreement at times about the banning of specific books ; but in all these debates the mistakes of the Censorship Board are trotted out, not as evidence of human fallibility, which is all that they are, but to bolster up the argument that in having any form of censorship we are old-maidish, obscurantist, old-fashioned, and, of course, priest-ridden.

And in these debates the loudest cries come often from Irish writers who exploit, not as writers but as salesmen, the graphic descriptions of physical sex relationships that the foreign market expects and rewards. It seems strange that having deliberately by-passed the home market they should complain when they are excluded from it.

Most Irish writers fall into one or other of two groups : those who write for the world market, adopt the world standard of morality, which is frankly pagan, and are no different in their attitude to moral problems and the literary treatment of them from pagan writers elsewhere : and those who, adopting the standard of the family book, avoid the problem completely. If we had a really representative native literature, by which I mean a literature Catholic in tone, and written, published, and read in Ireland, the gap between these two extremes would be filled and Ireland would have something distinctive to offer to the world. But at the moment I cannot think of any Irish novelist who reflects our cast of mind, our way of life, our attitude to moral problems.

Indeed even with things as they are it is hard to explain why we have not one such novelist, and it is just as difficult to understand why we have not produced one Catholic apologist of real stature. It is to be deplored that whilst we have devised machinery to keep out the wrong sort of book we have done very little towards producing the right sort, and that our approach has been entirely negative. The Catholic note is becoming increasingly evident in English and American literature, but it has not yet made its appearance in modern Ireland. It is still where Canon Sheehan left it, and no serious effort has been made to provide something that might fill the wide stretch of country between Smithson and Graham Greene.

It must be admitted too that we are not a book-reading people, and certainly not a book-buying people. There are many people in Ireland who never buy a book—except the one they buy at Christmas for the aunt in the convent. Take away from the average Irish domestic bookcase the " Collected Works " (bought under duress from importunate travelling salesman and never opened), a few Victorian novels, and

school texts of twenty years ago, and there is little left but Old Moore's Almanac and the ubiquitous green-backed volumes of D'Alton's "History of Ireland."

Irish writing, then, is in a sorry state. We read few books, we do not publish one for every ten thousand we read, and most of our writers are absentee writers in reverse—they live at home but their holdings are abroad. Publishing is not what it should be, a gamble and an adventure, with bankruptcy on one side and big profits on the other, but a matter of occasional safe bets at short odds.

But it is easier to describe the disease, and account for it, than to suggest a remedy. A remedy, however, must be found, or we shall lose our individuality as a people and our autonomy will extend to everything but the one thing that justifies autonomy. This need is far more urgent and fundamental than the language revival, and it will not be met by subsidizing the publication of books in Irish—which amounts to gathering straws while the wind is tumbling the stooks. It took us centuries to throw off what we used to describe as "the foreign yoke", but a few more decades like these and we shall wear a yoke without even feeling it. A country may live without a language—we lived without one for long enough—but it cannot live without a literature, and that is how we are trying to live now. As far as literature is concerned we have become practically a British province. What we need at the moment is a little more national self-respect, a little less shoneenism, a little more courage, and particularly a little more moral courage. It is time that we showed ourselves to the world—and to ourselves—as we really are and not as so many of our writers have painted us, and that can be done best through a really living native literature that runs the gauntlet of the home market before it seeks wider fields. At present, far from being able to solve our problem, we are scarcely aware that it exists, and in the smugness that comes with economic progress we have forgotten the spirit and the impulse and the beliefs that made this progress possible. Reducing our adverse trade balance will profit us little in the long run if we end up by having little to say and no urge to say it.

Scríbhneoireacht sa Ghaeilge Inniu

MÁIRE MHAC AN TSAOI

SARA ndéanfam aon trácht ar a bhfuil déanta nó le déanamh i dtaca le saothar liteartha i limistéar na nuaGhaeilge, b'fhéidir nár mhiste machnamh ar cad is fiú an Ghaeilge a shaothrú in aon chor? Nuair atá gluaiseacht na staire chomh mór san ina coinne, nárbh' é ba réasúnta dhúinn an teanga a ligint chun deire agus bheith réidh léi? Tá fuar againn bheith ag braith ar phietas na haithbheochana chun an cheist d'fhuascailt. Don nglúin seo againne taibhsíonn an intinn sin mós róléir, mós simplí. Fíricí agus fiúntaisí a measadh a bheith dochloíte hionsaíodh iad agus chrapadar. Nárbh' ealaí don duine gach cuntar míthuisciona idir chiníocha a chartadh as an slí sgus spiorad ghoirgeach na dtír mbeag a ligint i ndearmad? Nár dhíomhaoin é ár ngnó bheith ag dul ar an uaigneas? Ni hiad na deacrachtaí nithiúla is mó a chuireann dúluachair ar lucht páirte na Gaeilge ach an síordhabht maidir le fónamh bunaidh an tsaothair. Gabhaigí leor liom má thugaim faoina mhiniú cá bhfeicim féin an fónamh bunaidh sin.

Sarar tuigeadh, d'fhéadfá a rá, i dtíortha ar nós na hÉireann, an col leis an náisiúnachas ró-chumhang a bheith ann in aon chor, bhí timpeall lán an rotha feicthe cheana féin i dtíortha eile, ón náisiúnachas dob fhiata go múchadh iomlán na pearsantachta san a dhifríonn ó chéile an rud is náisiún agus an rud is stát. Do sháraigh éileamh an chórais ar chearta an bhaill, go dtí go bhfacthas gach eisceacht gheanúil a dhineann neach daonna den duine i mbaol a chealaithe. Ní hé is lú de na huafáis a leanann an claochló an comhionannas marfach so is geall le bás. Aon duine a mheabhródh an fhaisnéis air seo atá le léamh in iliomad tuairiscí pearsanta, ní bheadh aon amhras air faoin bhfiúntas ar leithridh a bhaineann le gach iarsma den tseanshaol malartach dathanach. Is geall le laibhín iad—ni féidir an taos a bheith éiritheach á gceal. Ni dóigh liom go bhfuil sé ro-áiféiseach an Ghaeilge d'áireamh ar an gcuid seo de shaibhreas an chine dhaonna. Is teanga í a thugann léargas ar mheon sinsireach dúchais atá chomh deoranta d'intinn an ollstáit agus dob'fhéidir a bheith. Ba mhór an feall é, ní hamháin ar mhuintir na tíre seo ach ar chorparáid na náisiún, í a ligint chun báis.

Agus an méid sin ráite, féachaimís ar stáid na Gaeilge inniu, ach go háirithe chomh fada le saothar scríofa de. Caifear admháil ná taibhsíonn an scéal ró-gheal ar an gcéad amharc: dornán leabhar a bheadh infhoilsithe ar an ngnáthmhargadh in aon teangain eile, agus orthu san b'fhéidir, dhá cheann nó trí a bhfuil bailíocht níos bunúsaí ná san le

lua leo. Ní chuirfeadh sé mustar ar dhuine ; ach aon duine a thug aon iarracht riamh ar an nGaeilge a scríobh, ní chuirfeadh sé iontas air ach oiread. Sé an t-iontas go gcoimeádann scríbhneoirí na Gaeilge ábhar le dhá mhíosachán liteartha ar leibhéal réasúnta ard. Siad so *Comhar* agus *Feasta*. Ba dheacair méid na comaoine atá curtha acu ar litríocht na nuaGhaeilge a mheas, agus an té nach raibh páirteach san obair níl aon chur amach aige ar na deacrachtaí a ghabhann léi. Ní hamháin go gcaitheann an scríbhneoir atá ag plé le téama comhaimsireach sa Ghaeilge a théarmaíocht fhéin a cheapadh de réir mar théann sé chun cinn, sclábhaíocht is measa ná briseadh cloch, ach níl aon tsiúráil aige go dtuigfear an rud atá breactha aige ins an chiall inar thuig sé féin é. Fágann san bacaíl ghránna ar a lán de phrós na Gaeilge. Ina theannta san, cé gurb' anamh athraíonn brí bhunúsach focail ó chanúint go canúint, athraíonn an-mhór an imir a chuireann sé i gcéill, agus is minic a tharlaíonn dá bharr san go dteipeann glan ar abairt tré mhearbhall nach bhfuil ann ach tionóisc. Is tríd seo a thagann an leithleachas agus an seirfean atá le haithint ar a lán de cheapadóireacht na Gaeilge inniu. Ceal caidrimh ar chomhleacaithe dá mhianach féin, nil aon tomhas ag an scríbhneoir chun éifeacht na canúna aige, bíodh nádúrtha nó tacair, a mheas i gceart, ná aon tsampla chun riail a choimeád uirthi.

Conas fóirithint ar an amhgar ? Dhéanfadh caighdeánú réasúnta cabhair. Le tuiscint agus le discréid tiocfaí ar mheán a thabharfadh a cheart do gach canúint. Ní féidir gan amhras d'aon rath a bheith ar aon scríbhneoireacht sa Ghaeilge nach bhfuil bunaithe ar mháistríocht ar chanúint bheo, ach an té go bhfuil sí seo aige, ní bheadh sé deacair air a chuid Gaeilge féin a scríobh i dtéarmaí an chaighdeáin. Is é mo thuairim gur thug caighdeánú an litrithe, neamhiomlán mar tá sé, tamall maith sa treo ceart sinn. Tar éis an tsaoil aon teanga amháin isea fós í an Ghaeilge agus ní ciorrbhú a dhéanfadh caighdeánú uirthi, ach cosaint ar mheath.

Do luas roimhe seo an chaolbhuíon leabhra Gaeilge a bhaineann le stór idirnáisiúnta na litríochta. Ceann acu an t*Oileánach*. Is fiú a thábhacht d'iniúchadh arís eile, gan beann ar aon tuairim gur scéal seanphléite an cúrsa. Sampla é seo de mheán léirithe atá ag freagairt gan cháim don ábhar a phléann sé. Is é an t-ábhar féin d'fheistigh an chanúint, agus tá údarás iontach dá chionn le braithstint ar an bprós. Léirítear anso córas marthana a théann siar go dtí saol na Meánaoiseanna, ach atá oiriúnach ar fad do riachtanaisí na ndaoine a bhaineann leis, pátrún atá ar an am gcéanna daingean agus daonna. Tá an pictiúir á tharraingt ag duine a bhí rannpháirteach sa tsaol san agus nárbh eolach dó a mhalairt, aibiúlacht intinne thar an gcoitiantacht sa duine sin, agus bua nádúrtha stíle aige. Is léir go bhfuil feiniméin anso atá ní foláir gan a mhacasamhail eile i litríocht na hEorpa inniu. Sé

rud é ná an chéim dheireannach de thradisiún feasach liteartha a thuirling ó bhéal go béal. Tharla go mba litríocht chluaise i gcomhnaí litríocht na Gaeilge agus gurbh' fhéidir ar an ábhar san dona lán de dhignit an léinn oifigiúil marachtaint faoi choim an bhéaloidis. Is anso ba cheart dúinn bunús a chuardach do stíl liteartha chomhaimsireach a mbeadh neart agus grásta ó phréimh inti.

Dá chomharthaí sin ní miste tagairt anso do scríbhneoir Gaeilge a bhfuil canúint bheo den nGaeilge curtha in oiriúint aige do chuspóir liteartha de chuid an lae inniu. Is é féin an Monsignor Pádraig de Brún. Ins na haistriúcháin atá déanta aige ó chlasaicí an domhain chuir sé droichead ar fáil a thabharfadh an Ghaeilge slán ó aigne na meánaoise go dtí síbhialtacht Eorpach an lae inniu. Do thug sé don nGaeilgeoir ina theangain féin an chuid is bunúsaí d'oidhreacht chultúrtha an iarthair. An dá locht is mó a bhíonn ar scríbhneóireacht na Gaeilge inniu, saghas bréagthútachas don leith amháin agus iomarca teicniúlachais nuacheaptha don leith eile, tá sé saor ar fad orthu. Trua agus a leithéid ar fáil go gcaitheann furmhór ár ndaltaí scoile agus ár ndaoine fásta aithne a chur ar na clasaicí trí leaganacha Béarla nach bhfuil na buntáistí inneachúla céanna in aon chor ag roint leo.

Iompaímís anois ar údar eile i ngleic leis an iarracht an Ghaeilge d'úsáid mar theanga ilfheidhme. Is fada ó mhúscail aon údar Gaeilge oiread aighnis agus atá déanta ag Seán Ó Ríordáin. Áitítear go bhfuil sé ar an bhfile Gaeilge is tábhachtaí dá dtáinig, agus tá glactha ag an bpobal chomh fonnmhar san lena shaothar san mbailiúchán bhéarsaí leis a foilsíodh trí bliana ó shoin, *Eireaball Spideoige*, gur léir go bhfreagraíonn sé d'éileamh áirithe comhaimsireach. Ar a lán slite is deacair an fháilte roimis a thuiscint. Tá rudaí fónta ins na dánta, ach is tearc orthu atá slán folláin i gcáilíocht aistí neamhspleácha filíochta. Chím dhá phríomhchúis leis an leathchuma pheanaideach so. Siad san easpa máistríochta ar an dteangin agus easpa tuisceana do scóp meadaireachta na Gaeilge.

Ceann de na deacrachtaí a bhaineann le scríobh na Gaeilge gur teanga bheo í. Ni féidir dánaíocht thar meon a dhéanamh uirthi gan díobháil dí. Sé toradh a bhíonn ar a leithéid ná comharthaí nach féidir a léamh gan eochair. Chím an dainséar so ag bagairt ar Ó Ríordáin. An fhad agus a bheidh a chuid Gaeilge ina calc ar an mBéarla níl aige ach saghas Esperanto. Tá an ceart aige nach móide go bhfuil aon ghné d'intinn an lae inniu nach féidir a chur in iúl sa Ghaeilge. Sé is baol dó ná a cheapadh go bhfuil smaoineamh léirithe aige nuair nach Gaeilge in aon chor atá scríofa aige. Ceist cháitréiseach eile isea ceist na meadaireachta—ceist chluaise. Nuair atá uirlis/faoina láimh ag an bhfile atá chomh so-ionramhála agus atá líne mheadaireacht na n-amhrán sa Ghaeilge, is trua é bheith i dtaoibh le sodar bhéarsaíochta an Bhéarla ins na seanleabhra scoile. Sé subháilce atá in easnamh

air ná an fhrithrithim a dhineann béim an chomhrá i bhfilíocht na Gaeilge le béim na meadaireachta, cosaint luachmhar ar chomhbhuille an ghliogair.

Maidir le hábhar na filíochta aige b'fhurasta a cheapadh ná raibh aon chur síos speisialta le déanamh air : gnáthscrupaill choinsiasa beagán falsaithe de bharr culaith Ghaeilge a chur orthu. Ní mór géilleadh, áfach, go bhfuil éifeacht dá chuid féin ag roint leis an ndearcadh fíorchaol, fíorphearsanta, a nochtann an file seo. Luadh le déanaí Emily Dickenson i gcomparáid leis agus tá an comórtas dlisteanach. Sa dá údar tá léargas ar shaol folaigh, iata, féinchruthaitheach, achar éigin i leataoibh ón mbeatha nithiúil, agus ag an mbeirt acu tá friotal ar leith chun an saol so a chur in iúl, teanga a cothaíodh sa leabharlainn agus nár ghabh trí choimheascar bríomhar na daonnachta laethiúla. Má sea tá an méid seo a dhealaíonn Mac Uí Ríordáin ó bhean uasal Mheirice agus sé sin go bhfuil gach dealramh air nach bhfuil seisean ach i dtosach fáis mar fhile. Furmhór an ama ins na blianta atá gafa tharainn ó foilsíodh an leabhar leis, tá sé caite aige i nGaeltacht na Mumhan. Chuige seo, is fiú a áireamh, fuair sé cabhair airgid ó Chomhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge. Is cinnte go bhfuil tábhacht an deontais seo an-ard, agus tá creidiúint ag dul araon don té a thairg agus don té a ghlac. Cítear a thoradh cheana féin ar na dréachta déanacha de chuid an fhile. Tá saibhreas nua le haithint ar a chuid Gaeilge agus anál an amhlachais ar a mheon. Is lón gan díleaghagh fós a lán de seo, ach is geallúint chun ratha é.

Ag rith trím aigne feadh an ama, tá an smaoineamh go bhfuil gach a bhfuil á thriail ag Ó Riordáin déanta go breá roimis ag file eile, ag Máirtín Ó Direáin. Tá briste i bhfad níos glaine aige le seanfhuirmeacha an amhráin ná mar tá ag Ó Ríordáin, ach tá cloíte go dlúth aige le ceol nádúrtha na Gaeilge. Ní gá aon fhórsáil a dhéanamh ar rithim na cainte chun pátrún scaoilte na línte aige a leanúint. Ni gá aon fhórsáil a dhéanamh ar bhrí réasúnta na bhfocal chun ciall a smaointe a thuiscint, agus go minic tá na smaointe sin lán chomh nua sa Ghaeilge agus atá aon inspioráid de chuid an Ríordánaigh. Samhlaítear dom gurb' é seo an difríocht idir an dá fhile ; ní féidir an Ríordánach a thuiscint gan Béarla ná Máirtín Ó Direáin gan Gaeilge. Ciacu acu is mó gradam ? Ba dheacair a rá, ach ní gá dul chun seanabhróga léi mar argóint.

San dán is deireannaí de chuid Uí Dhireáin, a foilsíodh i *bhFeasta* mhí Eanair seo caite, tá treise nua lena acmhainn. Dán fada atá ann, rud is annamh sa Ghaeilge, agus an t-iomlán ar aon airde feabhais tríd amach. Neamhchoitinne an ábhair agus cumas na hinsinte is comhchuid shuime iad. Glacann sé saol thiarna talúin san iarthar, boc beag áitiúil d'aicme na n-athmháistrí ach sloinne Ghaelach air a

théann siar roimh ré na díleann. Ar an mbuntsreath doicheallach so adaíonn sé tragóid na daonnachta go léir, mistéir agus cruachás an uaignis. Níor mhór aibiúlacht agus dánaíocht intinne chun an coinceapt so a chur i gcrích. Mar bhreith air déarfad an méid seo : níl léite agam ó Lorca nó ó Aragon filíocht dhrámatúil is fearr ná í seo.

Tugaimís aghaidh anois arís ar an bprós. I limistéar na gearrscéalaíochta is mó atá an Ghaeilge inchomparáid le teangacha eile an domhain. Tá an chuid is fearr de shaothar Mháire mar shampla ar aonchéim le Maupassant ar shlacht agus ar ghéire, agus is tuiscionaí agus is daonna go mór í. Tá giorranál éigin áfach ag roint lenár gcumas scéalaíochta, agus níl ach an t-aon úrscéal amháin sa Ghaeilge gur féidir a mhaíomh go bhfuil uilíocht na mórlitríochta ag roint leis. Róluchtaithe, róládáltha, ceanntrom do shnáithe an scéil ann fiú má tá, tá *Cré na Cille* fós ar an aon-ní sa Ghaeilge, seachas an t*Oileánach*, a bhfuil toirt agus tábhacht thar raon na coitiantachta ann. I bhfianaise fhéith chruthaíochta atá chomh doshéanta leis an bhféith a thaispeánann Máirtín Ó Cadhain, níl de rogha fágtha ag an léirmheastóir ach an umhlaíocht. Féadfaidh sé miondealú a dhéanamh, ach aithníonn sé fiúntas atá beagbheann air. Maireann saothar an Chadhanaigh de bheatha atá gan buíochas do chlisteacht liteartha. Faoi mar tá *Les Landes* ag Mauriac tá *Cois Caoláire* ag Máirtín Ó Cadhain. Ní thagann sé i gceist an mbaineann an pictiúir le fírinne. Tá sé beo go neamhspleách ann féin. Ní haon scríbhneoireacht shaoráideach, ná scríbhneoireacht thaitneamhach í seo. Dúthaigh iargúlta an ceantar a cítear dúinn, agus dream duairc aonraic an mhuintir, iontaithe orthu féin agus ar deighilt ó chaidreamh daonna, ach tá an t-iomlán ar tinneal le cumhacht dhiamhair nach bhfuil a macsamhail dar liom le fáil ag aon scríbhneoir Eireannach eile inniu. An té a chuirfidh aithne ar na scéalta so, ní go réidh a ligfidh sé i ndearmad iad.

I ngach teangain tá scríbhneoirí a bhfuil bua saoráide acu, nach gceiltear fiú ar an té nach bhfuil léamh na teangan sin ach go cuíosach aige. Ardaíonn an insint léi tú, gan beann ar ghluaiseanna ná ar fhoclóirí, agus téann ceart agus oiriúnaí dosheachanta na cainte i bhfeidhm ort dá gconlán féin. Ina aonar, b'fhéidir, i measc scríbhneoirí Gaeilge an lae seo tá an cumas san éascaíochta ag Liam Ó Flaithearta. Dosaon go leith scéal atá sa chéad leabhar dá chuid a foilsíodh sa Ghaeilge agus, cé gur mó is aistí agus strabhreacaithe a bhfurmhor seachas scéalta déanta, is leor go fairsing iad chun a chur ar ár súile an feabhas is féidir a thuar nuair a thagann dúchas, féith na scéalaíochta agus aithne na ceirde le chéile san aon scríbhneoir amháin. Is é barr ábaltachta an Fhlaitheartaigh gur féidir leis an uilíocht a chur in iúl trí mhinléiriú ar thréithe agus ar nósa aon dreama amháin daoine ar leithridh, léiriú atá chomh cruinn pointeáilte agus a déanfaí i dtráchtas eolaíochta, ach atá san am gcéanna beo le greann, le trua agus le

comhbháidh. Is geall le cuid de mharthain an údair féin na radharcanna so ar shaol na tuaithe, ar údarás agus ar spionnadh a n-aithris. Comhartha ní théann amú air sa chuntas. Is nithe iad a bhaineann le seanaithne a áiríonn sé, ach i gcónaí tagann an uain ina bhfágann sé an paróiste ina dhiaidh chun tabhairt faoi chion ranna an ' condition humaine.'

Tá ainmneacha eile ba mhaith liom a lua anso, filí agus scríbhneoirí próis, Tomás Tóibín, Donncha Ó Céileachair, Siobhán Ní Shúilleabháin, agus tuilleadh nach iad, ach go gcoisceann an spás orm é. Tá ainm foilsitheora ach go háirithe nach mór dom aire a tharraingt air roimh scor. Aon chomhlucht amháin, Sáirséal agus Dill, a thug dúinn saothar Uí Chadhain, Uí Ríordáin, Uí Dhireáin, agus Uí Fhlaithearta. Pé bláthú atá feicthe againn ar litríocht na Gaeilge ins na blianta deireannacha so, siad a thug chun eolais é. Siad is mó faoi ndear é má tá súil dóchasach anois seachas riamh le leabhra nua sa Ghaeilge, le leabhra nua agus le gach gáirdeachas croí a leanann iad.

The Future of the Irish Theatre

by GABRIEL FALLON

THERE is a Russian proverb which says that every day learns from the one that went before but no day teaches the one that follows. With limitations it may be applied to the theatre. While it is possible to see in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* not only a reflection of the form created by the Greek dramatists but the moral content of the Medieval Morality, it is difficult to accept as heirs and successors to " the mighty scene " Mr Rattigan's latest cleverness with characters in action or the turf-scented humour of some newly-found Abbey comedy. Yet all are of the theatre. On the other hand, surely it is permissible to see in the theatrical testament of Yeats, in the emergence of Eliot and Fry and in the English theatre's re-discovery of Shakespeare, the stirrings of another and a brighter day.

Forty-two years ago Mr John Palmer ventured to write a book (which he dedicated to Granville Barker) on *The Future of the Theatre.*[1] Since, as he said, nobody had the faintest idea what the state of the English theatre would be in five, ten or twenty years—" the dramatic critic or expert least of all "—he made his work an essay in the optative mood. He decided to see what he wished to see. The result is curiously interesting. He saw the restoration in the English theatre of a type of play loosely constructed after the English or Shakespearean fashion—" the play of simple motives, rapid movement and poetic rendering of to-day's passion in the raiment of forever." And he saw it as " the flower of a great spiritual revival whose signs are even now showing." He was convinced that by 1950 naturalism in the theatre would have settled quietly to its dust and given place to " a mightier music, a catholic art which would arise from a recognition of the necessity and value of conventional simplicity and would in material be ruled by a national re-assertion of the laws of morality and the dogmas of religion." Alas for Mr Palmer's hopes, as previous as they were pious.

Yet, is his play of simple motives, rapid movement and poetic rendering of to-day's passion in the raiment of forever, so far removed from the aspirations of Yeats, or from the goals sought by Eliot and Fry ? Naturalism, Palmer held, was unfitted to the English temperament. Yeats clearly believed that it was unfitted to the Irish one. Yet naturalism seems to be even more strongly entrenched in the Irish theatre to-day

[1] *The Future of the Theatre.* By John Palmer : G. Bell & Sons, 1913.

than in the English theatre. Yeats failed only where he could not have succeeded.

Dear Craoibhin Aoibhin, look into our case.
When we are high and airy hundreds say
That if we hold that flight they'll leave the place,
While those same hundreds mock another day
Because we have made our art of common things,
So bitterly, you'd dream they longed to look
All their lives through into some drift of wings.[1]

But the flight could not be held. The art of common things had to have its way. And so, a quarter of a century later, the man in the golden breastplate under the old stone Cross was left lamenting

But actors lacking music
Do most excite my spleen.
They say it is more human
To shuffle, grunt and groan,
Not knowing what unearthly stuff
Rounds a mighty scene.[2]

Any attempt to write about the future of the Irish theatre must be an essay in the optative mood. It must at the same time be an attempt to wrest from the events of yesterday and the habits of to-day the outlines of to-morrow. One of the difficulties facing this operation is the assumption by the average playgoer that the attitudes and practices of the contemporary theatre are things necessary and permanent in the drama itself. Modern naturalist drama is only a phase in the drama's long and varied history. Yet the belief that the theatre has always been a place in which one may eavesdrop on somebody's kitchen or sitting-room, with one wall down, is a belief which dies hard—if it dies at all—in the mind of the average playgoer.

When the Abbey Theatre was established Yeats wanted for it plays that would make it " a place of intellectual excitement—a place where the mind goes to be liberated . . . " He wanted in writers and audience " a stronger feeling for beautiful and appropriate language than one finds in the ordinary theatre . . . " He wanted actors who would help to restore words to their sovereignty, make speech even more important than gesture, and delight the ear with a continually varied music. " Greek acting " he wrote " was great because it did everything with the voice, and modern acting may be great when it does everything with voice and movement. But an art which smothers these things

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[1] *At the Abbey Theatre.* Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats. Macmillan & Co., 1952.

[2] *The Old Stone Cross.* Collected Poems.

with bad painting, with innumerable garish colours, with continual restless mimicries of the surface of life is an art of fading humanity, a decaying art."[1] Armed with these pronouncements how easy it is to assault current Abbey Theatre practice, by conveniently ignoring the fact that the drama's laws the drama's patrons give, and that a theatre must learn to live even before it learns to live graciously.

When George Russell (Æ) drew Yeats's attention to the work of the two brothers, William and Frank Fay, who had gathered about them a band of amateurs and had been in the habit of putting on plays and farces in their spare time, Yeats at once saw in their acting something he had long wanted to find. The Fays gave Yeats the acting he desired. Of the many companies of players that have passed across the stage of the Abbey Theatre none had the power and the beauty of speech of the Fay-trained actors and actresses. When the Fays left the Abbey Theatre their gifts went with them. But by that time they were no longer needed. Naturalism had already begun to assert itself. Actors lacking music were in the ascendant ; the shuffling, grunting and groaning school, of Moscow Art Theatre origin—excellent of its kind—was more immediately suited to the type of play being presented. Whenever in later years the plays of the foundation were presented, there was always something lacking. What was lacking had gone with the Fays.

The power of the audience in the moulding of a theatre is a power which most authors, actors and theatre-managers are inclined to underestimate. Yeats acknowledged this power when he wrote " We were to find ourselves in a quarrel with public opinion that compelled us against our will and the will of our players to become always more realistic, substituting dialect for verse, common speech for dialect."[2] This indeed was true. An audience always manages to get the theatre it deserves. Yeats declared his intention to fight. " If at all possible " he wrote " I will keep at the theatre till I have seen produced a mass of fine work. If we can create a taste for translated work—which we have not yet done—we can carry on the theatre without vulgarity ".[3] (At this remove it is interesting to recall that here lay the heart of the difference between Yeats and the Fays; Willie holding that " no theatre on earth could be kept going on a policy of producing nothing but native works, for there are not enough good plays written each year in any country to supply a national theatre in this sense of the term ".)[4]

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[1] *Samhain,* September 1903.

[2] *Dramatis Personae.* P. 180.

[3] *Dramatis Personae.* Pp. 101–102.

[4] *The Fays of the Abbey Theatre.* By W. C. Fay and Catherine Carswell : Rich & Cowan. 1935. P. 235.

Well, the theatre was carried on, whether with or without vulgarity is a matter of opinion. The audience grew, made its presence felt, and inevitably got the type of play that was nearest to its heart's desire. Yeats had declared that the mere growth of the audience would make all useless, " for the Irish town mind will by many channels, public and private, press its vulgarity upon us ". And he went on to say " if we should feel that happening, if the Theatre is not to continue as we have shaped it, it must for the sake of our future influence, for the sake of our example, be allowed to pass out of our hands, or cease. We must not be responsible for a compromise ".[1] That threat was never put into effect, despite the fact that the Theatre could not be said to have continued as Yeats had attempted to shape it. In other words Yeats compromised. Nor was his example in founding the Abbey, nor was the future influence of that foundation in any way jeopardized by his compromise.

As Dr Una Ellis-Fermor points out in her scholarly history, *The Irish Dramatic Movement* " If to-day we have in England and America a group of playwrights who can write poetic drama with the full and necessary confidence that it will find a hearing upon the stage, part at least of their recovery of their rightful privilege may be traced back to the fight of the early Irish pioneers ".[2] And it may well be that Yeats's example and Yeats's influence is the fulcrum on which the English-speaking theatre of to-day is turning from naturalism towards a resumption of its poetic heritage. (The part played by another Irishman—George Bernard Shaw—in holding the British Theatre in the grip of naturalism is treated at great length by Mr John Palmer in *The Future of the Theatre.*)

Strangely enough, it was Yeats and Lady Gregory who, whether they knew it or not, helped to keep the Abbey from breaking with naturalism. Whatever we may think of its merits as a play, Sean O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* was a definite attempt to break with naturalistic form. So was Denis Johnston's *The Green Jacket* (which subsequently, and for obvious reasons, changed its title to *The Old Lady Says No !*) Both dramatists had come within the formative influence of the Dublin Drama League, an organization founded by Yeats for the production of the works of modern continental dramatists. Both these rejections, O'Casey by Yeats, and Johnston by Lady Gregory, mark a turning point in the history of the Abbey Theatre, a turning point which pinned down the Irish theatre to a further term of naturalism.

To-day the position is that the Abbey Theatre, having celebrated the Golden Jubilee of its foundation, is living away from home in a

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[1] *Dramatis Personæ.* Pp. 101—102.

[2] *The Irish Dramatic Movement.* By Una Ellis-Fermor : Methuen & Co., 1939. P. 7.

state of economic desperation which compels it to have recourse to " long-runs " of popular comedies, and to turn aside from its primary function of re-considering the principles of its foundation and training playwrights and players in the light of these principles. Plans have been prepared for the building of a national theatre on a fitting scale ; the Government has promised to underwrite the task and there the matter rests. A small group of play-writing poets, none of whose works has been accepted by the Abbey, constantly harks back to the first principles of Yeats and blames the present Directorate for the condition of the Irish theatre. They make the point that only the box-office is being considered and in doing so close their eyes to the fact that one cannot ignore the box-office, that even Yeats had to consider it, and that authors and actors without audiences do not constitute a theatre. They seem also to ignore the fact, at first ignored by Yeats, " that there are not enough good plays written each year in any country to supply a national theatre in this sense of the term ". They seem to ignore the formative power of an audience.

In 1913, Arthur Griffith, following a performance of *Mac Na Mná Deirce* (a translation of Seumas O'Kelly's *The Shuiler's Child*) wrote in *Sinn Fein* : " The silliest opponent could not sit at the performance of this play and at the end of it say that the Irish language he had listened to, ringing in a hundred shades of human stress, passion and emotion, was a dead, doomed, or outworn tongue. When the smoke of politics vanishes, the historians recording what our years were memorable for, will place against 1913, not the second passing of a Home Rule Bill but the birth of a great Irish Drama—speaking to the world in the tongue of Ireland ". Nine years before Yeats had written : " We can hardly do all we hope unless there are many more of these little Societies to be centres of dramatic art and the allied arts . . . If we are to push our work into the small towns and villages, local dramatic clubs must take the place of the old stock companies . . . These clubs would play in Gaelic far better than we can hope to, for they would have native Gaelic speakers, and should we succeed in stirring the imagination of the people enough to keep the rivalry between plays in English and in Irish to a rival in quality, the certain development of two schools with distinct though very kindred ideals would increase the energy and compass of our art ".[1]

But the birth of a great Irish drama, speaking to the world in the tongue of Ireland, is still to come. Dramatists there are and actors, as competent as any writing and speaking in English, and there is money and to spare in the form of generous grants, but there is as big a lack of

[1] *Samhain,* December 1904.

audiences for plays in Irish as there is for poetic plays in English. We could have a virile theatre in Irish if we wanted it, just as we could have a poetic theatre in English if we wanted it. But we—and by " we " I mean Irish audiences—do not seem to want either at the moment. The fact is one which enrages Gaelic enthusiasts as well as poets but it is a fact which must be faced if we hope to do anything to bring about an Irish or a poetic theatre. Dramatists are necessary and actors are necessary and grants are helpful ; but without audiences the idea of a theatre is little more than an idea. Until we can find audiences anxious and willing to give life to a Gaelic Theatre ; anxious and willing to bring back the habit of poetry to a theatre in English, our pious hopes and our occasional execrations will avail us nothing.

The local dramatic clubs which Yeats hoped for have developed far beyond his expectations into a wide-spread, well organized amateur dramatic movement with regional drama festivals linked together in a national council. But by and large the movement is merely a reflection of the Abbey Theatre. A little of it operates through the Irish language and by far the greater part specializes in putting on Abbey Theatre plays. There is little experiment and even less poetry. Yet the movement thoroughly fulfills itself in providing an interest for rural audiences and an activity for rural actors and producers. Yeats had foreseen much of this. " The greater number of their plays," he wrote in 1904, " will, in all likelihood, be comedies of Irish country life, and here they need not fear competition, for they will know an Irish countryman as no professional can know him ; but whatever they play, they will have one advantage the English amateur has not ; there is in their blood a natural capacity for acting, and they have never, like him, become the mimic of well known actors. The arts have always lost something of their sap when they have been cut off from the people as a whole ; and where the theatre is perfectly alive, the audience, as at the Gaelic drama to-day in Gaelic speaking districts, feels itself to be almost a part of the play. I have never felt that the dignity of art was imperilled when the audience at Dr Hyde's *An Pósadh* cheered the bag of flour or the ham, lent by some local shopkeepers to increase the bridal gifts ".[1] However much the rural audiences of to-day may feel themselves to be part of a play, the Irish amateur movement has, for good or ill, assumed a dignity which transcends that of the cheering audience of *An Pósadh.*

In speaking of the Irish theatre past, present or future, it is inevitable that the mind fastens on one institution only—the Abbey Theatre. With all due respect to the excellent accomplishment of the Gate and other theatre foundations, and to the influence which the work of Messrs Edwards and MacLiammóir has had on certain aspects of Abbey

[1] *Samhain,* December 1904.

Theatre presentation, the Irish theatre is the Abbey Theatre. If the Irish theatre is to change, if it is to become a Gaelic theatre or a poetic theatre, the Abbey Theatre will need to become a Gaelic theatre or a poetic theatre or, possibly, both. What Gaelic theatre we have is working in the main in the current Abbey mood, though its efforts lack co-ordination, and are to be found at the Taibhdhearc in Galway, at the Abbey Theatre itself, as well as in the hands of a number of other subsidized organizations. What amateur theatre we have is wholly a reflection of the Abbey. So that it is reasonable to assume that when the Abbey Theatre changes, the course of Irish theatre will change with it.

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This is an essay in the optative mood. It is difficult to believe that Irish audiences will ever desert the theatre. What William Smith Clark describes as their passionate individualism will continue to cry out for that satisfaction which only the art of the theatre can provide. In his recently published study *The Early Irish Stage* Mr Clarke finds outstanding among the numerous paradoxes in the history of the Irish the paradox that their extraordinary flair for acting did not produce a native theatrical tradition. This failure he finds in part explained by the unsettled conditions of Irish life, in particular the recurrent anarchy and military violence which prevailed for over 400 years until the English had subjugated the island. Nevertheless he maintains that Ireland in proportion to her human resources has enriched the art of the stage and the screen in the twentieth century more than has any other segment of the English-speaking world. "Her extraordinary contributions" he writes in his Preface, "have been the outgrowth of dramatic traditions which date back at least five centuries. These traditions though dominated by English influence until the last years of the nineteenth century, none the less effectively cultivated the theatrical temperament of the island's inhabitants and formed an indispensable preparation for the conspicuous flowering of Irish stage genius under nationalist impulses after 1900".[1]

Gerard Fay, of the *Manchester Guardian* (son of Frank Fay), recently summing up the theatre of the half-century finds it "full of life and spirit and hope". "On the British stage" he writes, "the standard of acting is rising fast and (after a good deal of borrowing from France) lively new dramatists are rising. State patronage is established (the Abbey was the first state subsidized English-speaking theatre in the world). The Old Vic, Stratford-on-Avon and Sadler's Wells flourish, and the actor-manager—Olivier, Wolfit, Clements—is with us again . . . Everywhere the theatre has entered the second half of the century

[1] *The Early Irish Stage.* William Smith Clark : Oxford University Press, 1955.

in good heart—perhaps with more promise than it faced the first half".[1] Can as much be said of the Irish theatre? Here acting and production has reached the highest point it is possible for them to reach in the naturalistic mode. What is more, the Irish temperament has imparted to naturalistic acting a poetic turn of speech and a deeper—possibly a more spiritual—insight into characterization than is to be found elsewhere. This is evident not only in the professional theatre but in the amateur theatre as well. There is little sign, however, of the promise of lively new dramatists. Most of the works now provided in the Irish theatre lie in those flat lands which have always and in all branches of literature provided a causeway between one masterpiece and another.

What then of the future? What of the possibility of seeing that apex of beauty rise upon its base of realism? I do not think that one can sufficiently overstress the fact that a people gets the theatre it deserves, and that the present condition of the Irish theatre reflects the condition of the Irish people. The nationalist impulses which led to the foundation of the Abbey Theatre are no longer with us and seemingly we have nothing to take their place. In those days we knew what we wanted; to-day we seem not to know what we want, or to want things which are diametrically opposed to a flowering of great art in the theatre. It is true, of course, that we have continued to subsidize the theatre and indeed have added subsidies to subsidy although we have not yet reached the standards of France in this matter where the Comédie-Française receives an annual grant amounting to £380,000 p.a. (not to mention the £55,000 a year of public money given to the Théâtre National Populaire). But money is not everything though it is a very important thing, nor can grants alone give the Irish theatre, professional or amateur, Irish or English-speaking, what it most needs at the moment.

The Irish Theatre lacks vision because we, its audiences, lack vision. Perhaps nothing short of a spiritual revolution will supply that vision which we lack. From time to time the case has been made that it is strange that this Catholic country of ours has not yet produced a Ghéon or a Claudel. I do not think that this case is a very important one. Yet it points to something which is, I suggest, primarily responsible for the fact that a theatre begun in poetry should find itself after fifty years deeply sunk in the pit of naturalism. The poets (and they are few) who clamour outside its walls are mistaken in indicting those individuals who at the moment are said to control that theatre's destinies. You and I and all of us control these destinies; the poets should indict the nation. The charge of mediocrity which the poets

[1] *The Changing Stage.* Gerard Fay. Golden Jubilee Edition *Irish Independent.* Pp. 64, 65.

level at the theatre should be levelled against themselves and the rest of us.

This is an essay in the optative mood. I believe that the mediocrity which besets the theatre, which besets us, will pass. I believe it will pass when, through a revolution in our spiritual lives, we become a people in search of beauty. Having an end clearly in view, we will have no need to quarrel concerning the means. It is possible that we will return to the first principles of Yeats and use them as he intended they should be used—to bring upon the stage the deeper thoughts and emotions of Ireland. (Consider what we see in the theatre to-day as a reflection of our deeper thoughts and emotions and we will not only see the theatre for what it is but ourselves for what we are). I believe that when we become a people of vision we will clearly know what we intend for our native language. Gone then the expedient political sentiment, the conspiracy of silence, the fanatical intent. If we want the Irish language (and the mere declaration that we ought to want it is not the same thing) we will have what Yeats believed we could have, a rivalry in quality between plays in Irish and in English, or what Griffith dreamed of, a great Irish drama speaking to the world in the tongue of Ireland.

We will have a building worthy of our ideals, a fitting memorial to the founders of our National theatre, and we will endow it to the full measure of our vision. It will be most likely what Yeats hoped it would be " a place of intellectual excitement—a place where the mind goes to be liberated ". All these things will come to pass naturally and without fuss by virtue of the fact that our end will quietly determine our means. But in the meantime we must suffer that theatre which we have made, that theatre with (to quote Yeats once again) " its continual restless mimicries of the surface of life . . . its art of fading humanity, its decaying art ". How is it possible to read these words and fail to realize the need for a spiritual revolution, for that upsurge of deeper longings which will herald a theatre which Yeats by virtue of his poetic vision saw one whole generation before we did. The destinies of such a theatre are in our hands. Its failure will be the measure of our failure ; its success the measure of our success.

The Visual Arts in Ireland

by JAMES WHITE

I

STRICKLAND'S dictionary of Irish Artists is one of those remarkable examples of devotion to a cause which keeps alive the spirit of optimism. Without it as evidence few would realize that for three hundred years artists have been painting and sculpting in face of incredible difficulties. Nevertheless the absence of criticism and informed writing on the visual arts has resulted in a state of indifference or ignorance the effects of which are still mounting. " Pictures and figures not made as commissioned portraits must have been created for fun " —this summarizes the position in the minds of most people. The best landscapes of George Barret, who once commanded high prices on the English market, are now sold for Richard Wilson's. Richard Rothwell's portraits are sold as Lawrences and every other 18th century costume piece is passed to America to become a Gilbert Stuart. Meanwhile the dealers from England and the U.S.A. blatantly advertise for works of art to export and our dollar-earning experts conduct them on their expeditions. Apparently the old bones had not been completely stripped when the landlords left. The forgotten pictures of our wintry past have acquired English names to make new profits. With the assistance of ' The Friends of The National Collections ' occasional paintings and sculptures can be acquired for our galleries but where the chance of a good price in Christies or Sotheby's offers we must stand hopelessly by and see the proof of our little tradition dispersed for want of a few informed collectors.

When in 1949 Professor Bodkin wrote, in his ' *Report on the Arts in Ireland* ', " The present apathy amounting almost to an antagonism, towards Art in Ireland is largely attributable to that lack of opportunity for study of the Arts at a high level from which our best minds have suffered for so long ", he was advocating the history of the Fine Arts as a proper subject of university education. He put his finger on the root of the disease which he diagnosed by pointing out that the establishment of a Chair or Chairs of Fine Arts in the Universities would result in the spread of culture which would " percolate downwards, creeping through every crevice, gap and channel until it effects the mentality of the whole community ".

Apathy was perhaps an understandable weakness in a country awakening from a civil war but could one find words to excuse the

vacillatory attitude of a Government which, faced with the report referred to, merely set up an Arts Council whose functions as defined in the Act of 1951 confined their activities to those of a wet nurse employed to keep an unfortunate offspring from showing its deficiencies to the visitors ? In other words the Arts Council shall ' stimulate ', ' promote ', ' assist ', ' organise ' the arts in general but never apply itself to the reorganization of art schools, museums and the various urgent matters underlined in the report. Indeed we have recently seen an ideal building like the Rotunda rejected as a Concert Hall and Exhibition Gallery by all whose business this ought to be. Those responsible for the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art still refuse gifts of works of art by world famous artists. Surely it is clear that the acceptance of such gifts on behalf of the citizens places no compulsion on anyone to exhibit them unless time canonizes the gifts in question and justifies the taste of the donors. As a race we have a remarkable tradition in the ancient art of sculpture yet we have no museum of sculpture. When an exhibition of Renaissance Bronzes was held last year it was horrifying to discover that few understood the medium and only one critic reviewed the exhibition. At the National Museum, works of international importance still recline in confusion in cases amongst lesser works of little consequence and it is still impossible to purchase postcards or booklets referring to the principal exhibits.

Though one might truly say that the Arts Council carries out its restricted functions well, it is doubtful if it has been permitted to advance matters much. All the time the main issues remain. The constitution of our museums, galleries and teaching institutions precludes smooth working or proper provision for the acquisition of new works. A National Portrait Gallery should be housed separately from the two main galleries and the National portraits from each shown in it. The important paintings of the nineteenth century should pass from the Municipal to the National Gallery and an effort be made to turn our Municipal Gallery into one where the best of contemporary Irish as well as international art could be seen. As it is the lecturers in both the Universities must give lengthy explanations to students from abroad, visiting our summer schools, to justify the absence of the work of those Irish artists which has been made known abroad as a result of the exhibitions organized by the Cultural Relations Committee. One of the most important recommendations made without result by Professor Bodkin was the introduction of distinguished independent artists as part-time teachers in our schools of art in order to introduce lively and new ideas.

Apart from the unwieldy organization of our art institutions, the most urgent need for the future is a greater understanding of the special

nature of curators, historians and critics of art. It is not enough that a man should have taste and a gift for self-expression to fill such posts. It takes some five years study to acquire a background knowledge of the history of Art and at least another ten years of concentrated practice and travel to become an expert. On the other hand artists possess almost every quality which renders them unfit for such services. Above all they are by nature individualists unable to assess the merits of other artists whose work is based on different standards and methods. Yet our advisory committees and governing bodies are dominated by their presence. Our modern collections are one-sided and deficient in certain respects because of their influence. But for Sir Hugh Lane we should not even have the hope of possessing paintings by Manet, regarded by many renowned authorities as the greatest master of the nineteenth century. To-day certain friends of art have decided to alter their decision to bequeath important modern paintings to the Municipal Gallery because of its policy of reaction against contemporary styles. This policy of reaction is rivalled by that of certain provincial cities in England but is in direct contrast to the policy of the modern galleries in all the important capitals of the world. The remedy, let it be once more repeated, lies with the Government who must eventually call in an expert to draw up a new Bill to remove anomalies and alter outmoded constitutions adopted from the British at a time when such matters could not be seen in proper perspective.

II

For a very long time the idea existed that the visual arts in Ireland were not practised from the end of the Celtic era to the middle of the seventeenth century when the development of towns, as we now know them, was commenced. However the remains of murals, certain manuscripts and the discovery of some woodcarvings indicate that there was a degree of activity all the time.

From 1670 when the Cutlers, Stainers and Engravers Guild was formed we have records to guide us. It is quite remarkable to note how, in spite of penal laws and the general restrictive conditions of the times, Irishmen were able to provide pictures and designs for silver, glass and cabinet makers and coachbuilders. Naturally the taste of the ruling classes had a dominating influence and art from this period grew up in the shadow of London fashion. Still, Irish-born architects like Johnston and sculptors like Smyth were quick to find a personal style which gave character to their work. A continuous stream of portrait painters emerged from all parts of the country and many of them rose to the top of the profession in England. Some artists like Maclise

achieved great fame and wealth while others, such as Hamilton, Mulvany and Robert Fagan, were highly gifted but their work is unknown outside a small circle of Irish collectors.

The sculptors Foley and Fagan preserved the noble ideals of classic form in nineteenth century subjects with more subtlety and less sentiment than many of their English counterparts. This is hardly a cause for trumpet-sounding since the representation of landscape has been the basis of English art and though English artists have excelled in the sphere of potraits and conversation pieces they have never succeeded in the major subjects without being a little ridiculous. One has only to think of Blake and the Pre-Raphaelites to understand why when Irish artists began to aim at poetic grandeur in the visual sense France was the source of inspiration. It is true that Turner and Constable played their part as Englishmen in the development of impressionism into an international style but it took the French to clarify the principles involved.

Instead of mixing his colours on the palette, the impressionist painter had to select several complementary tones and place them separately, side by side on the canvas so that the eye of the beholder might see them impinge on each other and then merge beneath his glance (thus gaining in the process a sense of halation and vibration which accords with experience when coloured objects are observed in sunlight). When Walter Osborne in the 1880's began to experiment with these methods he had the advantage of contact with a fellow Irish painter Nathaniel Hone, who had spent almost 17 years in Barbizon in close touch with the Fathers of Impressionism. Neither of these fine artists can have guessed that when they employed the 'divided tones' method they were handling the most revolutionary theory in the whole history of painting. Soon the strips and spots of paint were to make way for cubes and triangles of paint which depended not on the shape of the object they composed but on the personal taste of the artist for their significance. However these ideas did not affect the Irish scene until some thirty years later. Meanwhile John Butler Yeats was creating a personal style of painting portraits quite distinct from that of his contemporaries. By aiming at a loose and somewhat tenuous texture he achieved a tender effect which evoked the sympathetic atmosphere for each sitter according with his view of the dignity of man whom he regarded as fundamentally nobler than the materialist role normally accorded him. There was in his style something of the subtlety of Whistler and the diffuse colouration of Degas, which directly contrasts with the usual method of rendering heads by showing them in naturalistic flesh tones illuminated by glancing light which never appeared to penetrate the surface.

Neither Hone, Osborne or Yeats *père* were appreciated as they might have been. This was due to the way in which the English Academic tradition dominated the Metropolitan School of Art and the Royal Hibernian Academy which was no more than an Irish variant of Burlington House. Sir William Orpen and Sir John Lavery had both made great reputations and were rightly regarded as a credit to Ireland. Orpen was an immensely gifted artist with the power of a Piazzeta. Like most great technicians who view life and nature as a challenge, he aimed rather to embellish the thing seen than to transform it into a personal vision. He taught in the Metropolitan school and had some brilliant pupils, amongst others John Keating now President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, Leo Whelan and Harry Clarke our first eminent stained glass artist.

The Academy in Ireland included then, as it still does, W. J. Leech, a fine lyric painter who, one might say, has adapted impressionist theories to his own needs and Jack B. Yeats, the only Irish artist who has created a quite individual style enabling him to project his visions in the language of paint which seems at times to illustrate the underlying thought and at others to have called forth this thought from the beauty of the material which he had been laying on the canvas. While they were evolving their private art, the other Academicians were passing on their methods to the new generation of artists, teaching them to depend on the model from which they copied and encouraging them to render the falling light as a glancing transparent wash in contrast to the grey film representing the shadow.

III

When Mainie Jellett and Evie Hone returned from Paris some twenty-five years ago they found that Yeats and Leech were hardly noticed in artistic circles, and that the Parisian idea of using colour and form independent of the theme to create sensation and to aid the artist to express emotion rather than to illustrate hardly aroused indignation. However the ground had been prepared by the presence of the fine paintings of Hone, Osborne and Yeats *père* and by the continual inventions of Jack B. Yeats who had enormous prestige outside conservative art circles. Soon Miss Jellett had a school, and soon active young artists looking out to the continuous tradition of European art were escaping to the Continent. This was just the sort of impetus which was needed to stimulate the position of the visual arts so long regarded as a necessary but uninteresting corollary of literature. Exhibitions were no longer places where one tried to estimate if Mr X had succeeded in approaching the degree of technical mastery necessary to one's minimum requirement of what constituted an artist. No, now exhibitions

were possibly modernist outbursts of temperament where it was impossible to tell if the young person could really draw, but where the influence of Van Gogh or Picasso or Bracque was not hard to find. Soon a new gallery in Leinster St. was organizing exhibitions of atrists who had studied with Lhote in Paris and was regularly showing the new and exciting works of Jack B. Yeats. Evie Hone had given all her time to mastering the art of Stained Glass, and portrayed the religious themes with a line which seemed close in spirit with the Gothic masters and yet displayed an underlying rhythm and arrangement of shapes based on the contemporary absorption with abstract values.

Needless to say, artists like John Keating, Leo Whelan and Séan O'Sullivan did not lose any of their technical virtue just because the new art of the world had come to Dublin. Their followers tended to seek a semblance of difference by the addition of sentimentality of expression or by an honest liking for anecdote. The pictures of Bougerau were now beginning to fetch high prices in Paris again. In London's Bond St., Victorian conversation pieces were coming into demand and the whole academic movement had taken on the air of period. It was no wonder then that when the younger group of artists held the first exhibition of Living Art in 1943, the battle had been won. The exhibitions of Jack B. Yeats's work were not only the centrepiece of the year at Dublin's principal commercial gallery : he was honoured by being shown at both the National and Tate galleries in London and in many public galleries throughout the world. The Irish Government invited Mainie Jellett to design murals to illustrate the industrial development of the country at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1937 and Evie Hone was commissioned, also by the Government, to make a window for the Irish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939.

IV

The future in Ireland is no more easy to predict than it would be in any of the world's capitals. Unquestionably, mood or emotion appeals to the contemporary painter more than precise images. The development of psychology has found its greatest interpreter in the German painter Klee and it seems that the artist is bound to be influenced by the determined assault on the unravelling of the mind's complications. Such concentration on realist themes is likely to give rise to a new need for the formulation of classic images. But the new classic style is an austere one in which subject matter is confined to geometric arrangements of lines and forms suspended halfway between dream and reality. Beautiful surfaces, tender colours and textures resembling the grain of wood, the shine of metal, the interplay of

arc lights on the arena—these are the materials of Thurloe Connolly's pictures. In the work of Gerard Dillon the images of the great stone-carvers of the Celtic era are suggested in the costume pieces of the West, which he weaves into picture or tapestry to recall once again the calm appeal of nature calling to townsmen. For Dillon, like Joyce the exile, is living in London.

Many of the mature young painters of Ireland have compromised between the style of Yeats and that of the impressionists, using the appeal of colour and light and mystery to envelop their Celtic twilight interpretations in pictures which are concerned with their situation in the world as people, but which take on the international characteristics of abstraction. That is to say that they are not marked by clear stylistic qualities as is the art of past times. Louis Le Brocquoy's clinical studies of family life might be painted in France and Nano Reid's tone poems of place belong as nostalgically to Bloomsbury as to Fitzwilliam Square.

The intention to equiparate subject matter and sensation by the boldest use of colours and forms marks the work of almost every promising young man and woman. Yet those sculptors whose figures seem to contain a unique and striking shape based often on coincidence or caricature (one thinks of Oisin Kelly's carving of a traditional dancer who achieves the upright stance by the rigidity with which the arms are pressed down) take their place much more surely in the sculptural tradition than those who depend on the play of light and surround their figures with a turgid mass of indeterminate points. It is necessary here to interject the thought that Baroque sculpture never reaches the heights of Baroque painting and presumably the impressionist-type carving referred to is similarly at a disadvantage. However the search seems to be for a clear cut image which will bypass the sentimentality of the mirror-image and yet be capable of so impressing the mind with the force of its message that one will hardly be able to see the eyes for the intellect behind. Indeed Hilary Heron has made several figures of this kind which like the early works of Barlach seem to be 'body' bent on describing the force of pain.

Twenty-five years ago, a handful of painters and sculptors lived a somewhat remote life from the people of the country and were understood by a minority. To-day hardly a week passes without a couple of exhibitions by individual artists. Three major group shows are held in Dublin and as many as ten group shows are held in cities and towns outside the capital. The work of our principal contemporary artists has been shown in North and South America, in Canada, France, Italy, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Belgium and Holland and

will be shown in other countries in the future. Artists like Scott, Dillon, Hanlon, O'Neill, Middleton and those mentioned already, are known and regarded with interest in countries where art is a tradition as old as memory. The main reason is that they use an international idiom or style deriving from the Paris school. This style is applied to the interpretation of Irish subject matter.

Gradually our administrators are becoming aware that the visual arts are together with music and the dance the only ones which transcend language barriers. There is consequently a growing demand for the work of our visual artists and international standards of taste are being imposed on us. But curiously enough the work of one group is being used to advertise our artistic capabilities and that of another is being preserved in our modern galleries. Surely the time has come when we ought to ask ourselves, Why ?

The Future of Irish Music

by DENIS DONOGHUE

IT is quite possible that Irish music may have *no* future existence, and this possibility should be examined ruthlessly and urgently. The notion is an unpleasant one and therefore all the more likely to be sidetracked by politicians and optimists, determined to present encouraging interim reports. It is true, of course, that far more concerts were given in Ireland in 1954 than in 1934 or 1944 : it is also agreed that our sole professional orchestra now gives more competent performances than it did, say, ten or twelve years ago. These are happy facts and should not be concealed or distorted : they indicate that *in certain important respects* the musical life of Ireland has improved considerably within the past fifteen years. The facts do not, however, justify any more joyous or far-reaching conclusion.

The frequency and standard of concerts in Ireland are not the primary issues : the real question concerns the vitality of Irish composition, the actual music being written here to-day. On this major issue I see no grounds for optimism : quite the contrary.

There are about thirty-five composers in Ireland to-day, that is, thirty-five musicians who at some time or other have written or arranged a piece of music. It is worth remembering that in his recent *Music in Ireland* Professor Aloys Fleischmann lists twenty-nine Irish composers whose works received first performances in the period 1935–1951. If this statistical fragment means anything, it indicates that during those years anybody who had any opus whatever lying around had it performed in public regardless of merit : for nothing is more certain than that Ireland does not possess twenty-nine talented composers whose works are worth hearing. No country in the world to-day has twenty-nine composers worth listening to : much less little Ireland. Of Professor Fleischmann's twenty-nine, I should estimate that six could in 1955 produce evidence of some degree of recent creative activity : to this number may be added the names of three or four young composers such as Gerard Victory, A. J. Potter and Seoirse Bodley who do not figure in Professor Fleischmann's count. Avoiding for a moment the thorny

question of merit, therefore, we may say, with due gravity, that there are ten composers in Ireland at the moment.

This number sounds impressive : but consider one or two additional facts. A few years ago an international musical festival was held at which works from fifty-eight different countries were performed : the fifty-eight did not include Ireland. Even more recently, Brian Boydell's *Violin Concerto* was the sole entry for the Carolan Prize (£100) offered by Radio Eireann. One could go on producing dismal facts of this kind but it is unnecessary since the conclusion is obvious : internationally, contemporary Irish music does not exist.

At this stage let me offer a few blank facts : there is in Ireland to-day no composer whose works an intelligent European musician *must* know, in the sense in which that musician must be familiar with the work of Walton, Hundemith, Vaughan Williams, Sibelius and other composers. It is unlikely that Ernest Newman, for instance, has heard a single bar of modern Irish music, but nobody would consider Newman's musical education defective on that account : a different moral is to be drawn. Life being short, an international musician such as Professor Newman must concentrate on the best : and that excludes Irish music.

The picture of Irish music which I am trying to draw is a gloomy one and it seems to me that nothing is to be gained by amusing ourselves with the notion that music in Ireland is progressing satisfactorily. To return to our ten composers : of these, four are still to be regarded as student-composers, varying in talent ; Edgar Deale has written some splendid songs but his total output is still very small ; Fred May's best work was written fifteen years ago ; three others can be discussed only on a trivial level ; we are left with Brian Boydell. Within the past few years it has become clear that Brian Boydell is the most active composer in Ireland : in my opinion he is also the best. I believe that if Irish music is to have any future he will form an important part of it, or rather, that if it is to develop at all it will do so on lines which he represents. Much (but not all) of his pre-1945 music is experimental and trivial but, starting with his Joyce songs, he has in the meantime written works of fine quality such as the *String Quartet* (1949), the *In Memoriam Mahatma Gandhi,* the Suite *The Buried Moon,* and the recent *Violin Concerto.*

II

There are many reasons for the relative poverty of contemporary Irish music, and the reasons are so tenacious that they cast doubt on its future vitality : here and now I wish to consider only two reasons which,

if they continue, will undoubtedly complete the process of musical decline which I have indicated. I regard these two factors as the really deadly ones.

The first reason is the lamentable fact that many Irish composers have fallen into the trap of folk-music : the phrase may sound offensive but it represents an important truth. A consideration of the work of Irish composers during the years 1935-1955 shows that many of them have totally failed to see the dangers in the use of folk-music as the formal or expressive basis of composition. This is the most charitable way of stating the fact : in certain overpublicized cases I suspect that the composers have seized on Irish folk-music to conceal the absence of genuine creative gifts. It is all very charming of the late Sir Arnold Bax to write that " of all countries in the world Ireland possesses the most varied and beautiful folk-music " and the estimate may well be true, but there is an even more insistent truth in the view that folk-music does not answer any of the problems of a composer. Those composers who are led (by misguided nationalism or the lack of creative talent) to use folk-music as the basis of their work can produce, at best, only clever pastiche : unfortunately, this particular brand of the spurious has not only been welcomed in this country but *officially* encouraged. For a number of years past it has been common knowledge that the only way by which a composer may make any money from his trade in this country is by arranging Irish folk-songs in versions suitable for small orchestras. Hence the number of available Fantasias, Suites, and what-not.

My view of this matter is that music is an international language : if a composer wishes to speak the language in such a way that he may be understood by a native of France, England, Chile or Canada, he must first learn it. This means the willing reception and keen study of every kind of idiom in contemporary music, all the forms, styles, tonal combinations of which the music-language consists. Sir William Walton speaks that language, so do Boris Blacher, Michael Tippett, Leonard Bernstein, Poulenc, any international composer you care to mention. The variations in manner, tone, inflexion recorded by each composer are evidence of personal, social, geographical and other differentiating factors, but it remains essentially a single international language, a creative Esperanto. There can be no doubt that these differentiating factors exist : for instance, it may be possible (though on the whole exceedingly difficult) to recognize certain features of contemporary music as being characteristically French or German or English. In a sense, the differences between the Poulenc and that of Blacher (to take two easy examples) are to some indefinable extent related to the differences between France and Germany : but that is as much as one can say.

The real point is that the recognition of these complex differences must not be allowed to obscure the fundamental unity of the contemporary music-language which these composers speak. If an Irish composer evades the issue by quoting folk-songs, he can hardly object when his music is condemned as insular and irrelevant. Within Ireland this kind of music has a wide low-brow appeal for sentimental reasons as a reminder of our glorious past : outside the country, it is unknown, and if it *were* known it would be regarded as a rather silly joke.

For the future of Irish music, therefore, I would strongly suggest that our composers should begin to look on our folk-music not as grist for a financially profitable mill but as a precious heirloom which one would not dream of using. In the face of folk-music, Irish composers should admire and do otherwise. After all, if a composer who speaks the international language of music lives in Ireland and enters into the life of the country, his music will be ' Irish ' in a much more important way than any of the folk-based offerings which flaunt their Hibernian origin so crudely. I should therefore hope that Radio Eireann would come to see that we now have more Suites of Irish Airs than we can reasonably use, and that the best way to encourage Irish composers is not to have them writing broadcast-talks but to commission them to write quartets, symphonies, songs and operas.

That is one part of the desired programme for the future of Irish music as I see it : the second part concerns the best means by which Irish composers may learn the international music-language.

III

Most people who are actively concerned with the future of Irish music have agreed that we need a concert-hall in Dublin, a music publishing agency and four or five other benefits : granted, these would be considerable advantages and the sooner they come the better, but it would be childish to imagine that these amenities would alter the nature or improve the quality of Irish composition to any significant extent. It is becoming more obvious every day that what Irish music urgently needs is the presence in Dublin, for a period of several years, of a composer of international significance who would train young Irish musicians. At present the only tuition available to a young composer in Ireland is purely academic, leading to a primary university degree : at its best, this is very valuable, but it is no real substitute for that relationship at the working, creative level between a pupil and a composer of proved significance. There is all the difference in the world between a professor who happens to compose and a composer

who happens to teach. To put this quite bluntly, while we need a concert-hall in Dublin we even more urgently need a Vaughan Williams or a Hindemith. The presence of even one composer of international repute would have tremendously beneficial effects on Irish music : it would make available tuition at the most advanced international level and would establish in Ireland a centre of contemporary musical activity.

But is this a practical proposition ? Well, in the past ten years Ireland has spent a considerable amount of money in buying the services of foreign conductors and instrumentalists. If two of the finest conductors in contemporary music (Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt and Jean Martinon) could be persuaded to work in this country, I see no reason why a first-rate composer might not similarly be attracted.

The arguments which I have been presenting in this essay will fail unless it is agreed at a serious level that the state of Irish composition at the moment and in the future is the primary question. If any reader believes that it is just as important for Ireland to have a good singer or violinist as to have a first-rate composer, then that reader and I have no ground on which further discussion is possible. As far as I am concerned the issue is quite clear : the musical reputation of a country depends on her composers. Irish music will become internationally known and respected only if our composers can be trained to enter fully into contemporary musical activity : at present they have no part in it.

A further point which arises immediately from all this : if the future of Irish music depends on our composers, that future must also contain the development in Irish audiences of a less insular sense of values. Too many of us still gaze in admiration at a young musician who wins a composition prize at the Feis Ceoil : it is time we developed the discipline of seeing ourselves and our achievements in the light of wider, international standards. Our special neurosis is an almost pathological reluctance to face facts : which is just another reason why we need a Hindemith.

It takes two to effect communication : the composer must provide the music, and the audience must offer its share in understanding and appreciation. It is quite clear that Irish audiences are slow to acquire that sense of discrimination which is a major part of artistic appreciation, The truth is that while Ireland is full of failed pianists, the number of mature, appreciative listeners is still comparatively small. I earnestly wish that Irish parents would once for all give up the ridiculous affectation of having their children indiscriminately taught the piano: the snob-value of this petty stratagem has certainly declined, and its musical

value is nil. We can manage well without piano-dabblers, but we cannot do without appreciative audiences.

It has been shown that musical appreciation can be taught and the task is enormously facilitated by the development of long-playing records. Some schools have recently shown an interest in musical appreciation but others could do a great deal more. If parents and teachers could be persauded to regard an enlightened appreciation of music as a more important accomplishment than the ability to bang out a few piano-pieces, a huge obstacle in the way of Irish music would gradually be removed.

Reviews

[Owing to the number of articles in this special issue, far fewer pages than usual are devoted to reviews. In the Summer and subsequent issues we propose to devote more than thirty pages to reviews. Ed.]

IRISH LANDSCAPE. By R. Lloyd Praeger. Dublin : At the Sign of the Three Candles.

POETRY IN MODERN IRELAND. By Austin Clarke. Dublin : At the Sign of the Three Candles.

THEATRE IN IRELAND. By Micheál Mac Liammóir. Dublin : At the Sign of the Three Candles.

THE FORTUNES OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE. By Daniel Corkery. Dublin : Fallon.

EARLY IRISH SOCIETY. Edited by Myles Dillon. Dublin : At the Sign of the Three Candles.

ART IRLANDAIS. By Francoise Henry. Dublin : At the Sign of the Three Candles.

This series of booklets is being published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland. " The aim " we read in the introductory note " . . . is to give a broad, informed survey of Irish life and culture, past and present ". From the authors' imposing names it is clear that the Committee was really concerned to make the survey well informed and the brevity of the treatment ensured that it should be broad. The booklets, as well as being attractive to look at, do indeed fulfil the end the Committee had in view ; and, although designed perhaps primarily to catch the eye of the stranger, the Irish reader, if he does not find them informative, will at least see in them useful, short and cheap summaries of knowledge he can easily forget.

It would be hard to find a better guide to the land in which the Irish live than the late R. Lloyd Praeger. When he speaks of Ireland it is as if one

had the vision of some fabulous hawk ; one sees vast tracts of the country at once, while, at the same time, being clearly aware of the details. In this booklet he deals with the climate, geology, geography and fauna of Ireland, but there is surprisingly little about his beloved flowers. It is enough to say that this is more or less a summary of the author's *The Way that I Went.* Except for its villages, Lloyd Praeger loved every inch of Ireland and, although he preferred the unmotorized country of his youth, he wrote even of modern Ireland with enthusiasm. The photographs are not impressive.

Mr Austin Clarke and Mr Micheál Mac Liammóir trace the development of drama and poetry as we have them to-day. Because drama and poetry met in the young Abbey Theatre their accounts overlap in an interesting way. Yeats and Douglas Hyde are, perhaps, the two main links between the sister arts. Mr Mac Liammóir hails Yeats as the first to break in on the course of genteel drawing-room drama that started with Goldsmith and Sheridan, and the other stream of whimsical stage-Irishry (represented by Boucicault at its best), with a current of lyricism. This lyricism continued, with an occasional Shavian irruption, until the influence of Douglas Hyde's *Love Songs of Connacht* introduced a more realistic and more genuine folk flavour into both drama and poetry. O'Casey's tragi-comedies (often treated by Dubliners as simply comedies) were the culmination of this realism, and Mr Mac Liammóir believes that their influence was so great as to fix Abbey acting in essentially brilliant realism. Irish music hall and other dramatic projects in Dublin, Galway and the Provinces are not neglected but, naturally, he has most to tell us about the Gate Theatre and Longford Productions. It is interesting that Edward Martyn in his Hardwicke St. theatre (followed by the Dublin Drama Group round about 1919) was the first to offer contemporary European plays to the public as a deliberate policy and so was the forerunner of the Gate Theatre. As well as experimenting in his choice of plays Mr Mac Liammóir has developed new techniques of production. He can now make the proud claim, tempting to potential dramatists, that technique in the Gate, both in acting and production, is so developed that it only awaits the great Irish dramatist for its full realization. Mr Jack B. Yeats, it appears has written plays that have the iridescence of his paintings, but, alas, even allowing for the brilliance of Mr Denis Johnston, the Master has not yet appeared. For the future Mr Mac Liammóir feels convinced that " it is not . . . the violence of opposition that we should fear in Ireland so much as indifference, stagnation and that inability to distinguish between a fine and a spurious thing that is the outcome of a fundamental dishonesty in the Irish artist, and of an idle and sentimental prejudice in the public taste ". With that, I think, all must agree.

Mr Clarke, as I said, covers some of the same ground when dealing with poetry. Yeats sent our poets to find inspiration in the ancient literature, and his early poetry is a late flowering of romantic lyricism ; *Oisín indiaidh na Féinne.* The national inspiration became more realistic after the appearance of Douglas Hyde's book and the growth of the Gaelic League (neither Mr Mac Liammóir nor Mr Clarke point out that Yeats' celticism was unscholarly and as spurious, in its way, as Boucicault) so that the poets that wrote now produced work nearer to the Irish mind. A city poetry was also appearing

in Sean O'Sullivan, Joyce and Stephens. But the best of these poets, Pearse, Mac Donough and Plunkett were shot ; and after the War of Independence and the Civil War a silence descended on the exhausted country. When poetry insisted on breaking in again it was found that the course of Irish verse had not been interrupted. The most astonishing development was the new Yeats ; kaleidoscopic and revolutionary from this time until his death. The new poets (Higgins, Robert Farren and Mr Clarke himself) drew on the national heritage for their poetry with a sounder scholarship, a better understanding and a greater assurance. In particular they set out to use the modes of the old poetry. They are working now and with very considerable success to use assonance, internal rhyme, half rhyme and cross-rhyme in poems of great beauty, whether they deal with the great stories of the past or with the Ireland around us. I hope the light-hearted and witty line drawings by Louis Le Brocquy and Norah McGuinness in these two booklets are not overlooked by the reader.

Professor Corkery's pamphlet leads us back from modern Ireland to the most ancient times. Readers of *The Hidden Ireland* will know how well this history is written ; conducting us through the Irish story as it affected the fortunes of the Irish language. His comments are decided and trenchant. Speaking of the part played by Daniel O'Connell in the death of the language he has no doubts that, while O'Connell's anglicizing influence on the country people might be exaggerated, his influence on city Catholics who were beginning to climb the social scale was very great and very disastrous as far as the Irish language was concerned. These were the people who treasured and repeated the *obiter dicta* of O'Connell about the uselessness of the Irish language.

Professor Myles Dillon with infectious enthusiasm in a sprightly talk (these papers were first broadcast by Radio Eireann) traces the history of the Dublin School of Irish Studies up to the time of Bergin, and indicates something of the fascinating world revealed to the student of the old language. The other papers are by David Green, M. A. O'Brien, D. A. Binchy and James Carney. From these papers the reader will form a picture of ancient Ireland that will fill him with nostalgia for the past. It was an aristocratic society but the head was not far from the foot ; tribal, rural, hierarchic and based on the family. A special place was reserved in the hierarchy for the men of art, the *aes dána*, who were men of special gifts, not merely poets and musicians but also lawyers and leechs, wrights, jewellers and historians. These were the good old days.

Mlle Henry's beautiful little essay on the art of Ireland in the seventh, eighth and early ninth centuries is the most ambitious and, I think, the most successful of these booklets. It demands a far fuller and more thoughtful review than space here will allow. I shall try to deal with one fascinating idea that runs through the essay. Mlle Henry finds that early Irish art is the most satisfying and perfect manifestation of non-representational art Europe has known, while pointing out that it was the sketch of western religious art. From the earliest object she describes (the Broighter collar), with its lovely design of apparent assymetry and disorder, to the Book of Kells (" this enormous work this world of ornament ") she sees the same

artistic principles at work. The Celtic artist, whether monk or layman, always inclines to disconcert, while charming, by rhythms that are unforeseen and hidden. The genius of the Irish artist was far removed from realistic description and strove always to create a " universe on the margin of reality ". Speaking of the Book of Durrow Mlle Henry draws attention to " the deliberately abstract and perpetually inhuman character of the decorations. Here is a play of wit that rejoices in waywardness, in a disconcerting balance of form and colour . . . It is never an illustration of the text . . . the design made up of symbols that brutalize the real form and reduce it to a series of masses and arabesques . . . " And of the Book of Lindisfarne she says, " If the appearance of the animals is less rigorously alienated from reality than in the Book of Durrow, the decorative treatment obeys in an implacable way the taste for illusion, for optical mystification, which is a fundamental trait of Irish art ". The photographs are very good and plentiful. The decorations inset in the text are, like the rest of this booklet, delightful.

JOHN C. KELLY

BEING AND BECOMING. An Essay towards a critical Metaphysic. By D. J. B. Hawkins. London : Sheed and Ward. 1954. 176 pages. Price 10s. 6d.

SOMEONE has described metaphysics as a blind man's search in a dark room for a black cat which isn't there. A Renaissance satirist has called it, more brutally, " the pasturage of asses ". That subtle, elusive discipline, which shimmers wraith-like on the confines of exact science, is an easy target for witticisms. Its problems appear so futile, its discussions so unnecessarily intricate. What is reality? How can you say that anything *exists*? Do we realize the enigmas concealed in such commonplace notions as change, substance, cause? These are some of the questions treated of under the rubric of General Metaphysics. One need not prolong the catalogue, or outline some of the discussions, to understand the astonishment and ridicule of the hard-headed, practical man. He will more easily grant the utility of Special Metaphysics. Anyone can understand how important it is to answer such questions as : has man an immortal soul? is there a God? what ultimately are bodies made of?

Besides derision, serious argument has repeatedly been used to discredit the science of General Metaphysics and to show that its subject-matter is illusory, the product of illogical thinking, or, at best, an unjustifiable projection of our thought-processes into the sphere of reality. None of these exorcisms, however ably conducted, has succeeded in laying the ghost ; metaphysics has always returned to haunt the foundations of the sciences. The latest attempt has come from the logical positivists. And already, as Dr Hawkins points out, logical positivism is on the wane, while his own book, here reviewed, is solid testimony to the spectre's survival value.

Being and Becoming is not quite a formal initiation in ontology. It is rather a series of twelve meditations, brief and clear, on the main themes, written by one whom long reflection has given secure possession of the central, thomistic theses, a well-grounded personal viewpoint on debated issues, an informed and sympathetic appreciation of the opinions of modern adversaries,

and the capacity to get all this across in such lucid, direct, non-technical language as verily to make the subject come alive. Though its pages are ruthlessly shorn of footnotes and other pedantic trappings, this is a learned and rigorously-argued book. And withal it is a modest and friendly one. " Friendly " is an unusual adjective to apply to a work on ontology. But rarely has such a book been so free from " *odium philosophicum* ". The outstanding merit of the author, I think, is his sympathetic consideration of opposed doctrines. It is seldom that he fails to find something true and valuable in the views of his adversaries. And wherever he finds what seems sound, he gratefully acknowledges, accepts and uses it, thus admirably exemplifying the ideal expressed on page 61 : " The genuine philosopher tries, where possible, to understand and to make use of what his fellows were striving at, rather than to refute and reject them ". If, on one page, he must characterize certain bizarre views of certain unnamed authors as absurdities, he calls them " subtle absurdities " which, of course, almost takes away the sting.

What type of reader will find this book profitable ? The " general reader " will scarcely find the going easy, especially in the first six chapters which treat of *being ;* the last six, on *becoming*, are as a rule, less exacting. Dr Hawkins hopes that his work will enable non-scholastic philosophers to appreciate better, and perhaps embrace the Aristotelian tradition of metaphysics. Certainly if they devote towards understanding his pages a fraction of the effort he has given towards appreciating theirs, conversions may be hoped for. Students of scholastic metaphysics will find many of his chapters exhilarating. Beginning philosophy is often like walking out of a bright room into the dark night. For a while, often a considerable while, one sees nothing coherent. One reads definitions and arguments and seems to understand their meaning ; yet one knows, nevertheless, that they convey no vision. I think this book will help philosophic eyes to become accustomed to the dim light and gradually to discern an intelligible picture. It is not a book to be read at a sitting. The late C. E. M. Joad believed that few could profitably study philosophy for more than half-an-hour at a stretch.

Dr Hawkins' gifts as an expositor will perhaps make longer sittings possible. But most of his readers will want to pick up the book again and again, to reflect now on this chapter, now on that. The attractive print and handsome, durable binding will help to make this method more agreeable.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

SAINT THOMAS ACQUINAS. By Martin C. D'Arcy, S.J. Dublin : Clonmore & Reynolds. Pp. xii and 220. 18s.

LE THOMISME. Par Paul Grenet. Paris : P.U.F. Pp. 128.

IT is a pleasure to welcome a new edition of Fr D'Arcy's *Saint Thomas Aquinas ;* it is an added pleasure to congratulate an Irish publisher on the venture. In the twenty-three years since the first appearance of the book, St Thomas and his philosophy have been the subject of much learned research. They have also become more familiar to the cultivated layman, and to this growth in understanding Fr D'Arcy's book has made no small contribution. There is nothing of the text-book, nothing of the classroom in Fr D'Arcy's treatment

of his theme. The writing is always vigorous, always clear, always meticulously accurate ; yet nowhere is the pace slowed by laborious word-racking analyses. Here is an introduction to Thomist philosophy at once fresh, scholarly and readable : for the beginner, a sure and invigorating guide ; for the proficient, a stimulating reminder of, maybe, half-forgotten riches.

Professor Grenet's handbook is more restricted in scope then Fr D'Arcy's survey ; it is no less penetrating. *Le Thomisme* deals only with the philosophy of nature (cosmology and psychology) and with metaphysics (ontology and very succinctly—theodicy). There is no account of the life and times of St Thomas, nor are questions of moral and political philosophy treated. It is a model of condensation : lean without being arid ; brief, but not superficial. Seldom can so much meat have been packed into so concentrated, yet so digestible, a form. A short, excellently selected bibliography completes this outstanding popular presentation of Thomist speculative philosophy.

JOSEPH O'MARA

MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY. By Frederick C. Copleston. London : Methuen. Pp. 194. 7s. 6d.

THIS small book on Medieval Philosophy answers to a desire or need of many students of history, philosophy or current literature to know something about this often-referred-to subject and to examine the accuracy of the common views about it. Considerable progress has been made in this century in historical knowledge of medieval philosophy, so that a " new interpretation " was called for. The layman for whom this book is meant is an educated Englishman with at least a fair knowledge of history and perhaps of philosophy and with certain common prejudices. It is not a beginners' book, a primer of philosophy or of medieval philosophy. The titles of its companion volumes in the series : *How to Run a Small Farm, The Soviet Way of Life,* etc., and the announcement on the flap : " This work is a sketch of the development of medieval philosophy designed for students who have no previous knowledge of the subject " might lead one to form a different expectation, for the student is expected to have previous knowledge of other subjects. But for the reader for whom it is meant it is a fine piece of work. In 194 small pages (including index of names and subjects) it gives a wonderfully accurate presentation of " the philosophizing of the Middle Ages. Clearly the General Editor was fortunate in getting Fr Copleston to give of his best.

JOHN HYDE

JONATHAN SWIFT : A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By John Middleton Murry. London : Jonathan Cape. 1954. 30s.

THE MIND AND ART OF JONATHAN SWIFT. By Ricardo Quintana. London : Methuen. 1953. 21s.

IN the Preface to his new book Mr Middleton Murry writes :

" My aim has been to write a book which should be at once a life of Swift and a critical study of his works. The combination is not

> very fashionable nowadays. Criticism is one thing and biography another, we are told by many peremptory voices : and never again, if they can help it, the twain shall meet. I am unabashed in holding to a different view. I believe that where the materials for the biography of a great writer are available, the study of his life and work do fructify each other, and that to hold them rigorously apart is, very often, to refuse illumination."

Mr Murry is a very intelligent man : he has written admirably on D. H. Lawrence and on Keats, and his writings on other themes have considerable interest. Indeed, this new book is by far the best *biography* of Swift to date. It tells its story in a fuller, more detailed, and (apart from the too easy acceptance of the Stella marriage) more exact way than any other book. But I am disturbed by its claims as *critical* biography. Mr Murry's meaning in the passage quoted is quite clear : he claims that in this book he performs the offices of both literary historian and literary critic. The truth is, however, that while his work as history is first-rate, it is of negligible value as criticism.

The first work of Swift's that presents itself for consideration in Mr Murry's book is the early Pindaric ode to King William. Apart from a simple paraphrase of the poem, Mr Murry makes only two statements which could by any stretch of courtesy be regarded as literary criticism. These are :

> " It is not a bad poem,"

and

> " In a word, his first known poem, even though it was hopefully addressed to royalty, has a basic sincerity which redeems it from flattery ; and it has an odd, almost uncouth energy of utterance."

I am sure Mr Murry will not expect these assertions to be taken seriously as a critical analysis or evaluation of this ode : I am equally sure that many of the " peremptory voices " mentioned could speak to more purpose about the poem *qua* poem. The dismal truth is that Mr Murry is interested in Swift's writings only for what they reveal of Swift's mind at the time of composition.

Similar harsh comment is justified in regard to Mr Murry's " critical " observations throughout : I have found no statement of critical relevance in his account of the poem *To Sancroft :* of four pages given to the *Ode to Sir William Temple,* literary criticism is represented by one sentence :

> " The last line, at least, was as good as Cowley."

Throughout, Mr Murry contents himself with a prose paraphrase of what the poems ' say ' : that this amusement still passes as criticism proves that Cleanth Brooks's essay on *The Heresy of Paraphrases* is not as widely known as it should be.

Broadly speaking, one can distinguish two trends in modern approaches to Swift. The first (Eliot, Huxley, Shaw) may be called the Swift-as-Heathcliff view which sees his writings primarily as the expression of a demoniacal malevolence, the records of an unique and overwhelming contempt for Man and all his works. This attitude accounts for the widespread reading of *The Day of Judgement* as a compensatory outpouring of venom. If we hold this general view we inevitably flirt with the idea that Swift's obsessions were

determined by some physical or personal defect. It would appear that Mr Murry is representative of this first trend : his particular version is the exaggeration of the degree of truth in the idea of Swift as a hypersensitive artist frustrated and buffeted by Temple. Similarly, there is some exaggeration in his account of Swift's tendency to disgust : Chapter XXVIII is entitled *The Excremental Vision.*

The second trend is one with which I have far more sympathy : it concentrates on examining the writings themselves even to the extent of sidetracking biographical and psychological enquiries. The motto of this trend might well be Professor Sherburn's statement :

" It is Swift's rhetoric rather than his life that is thrilling." With varying degrees of consistency this attitude is represented by Sir Harold Williams, Herbert Davis, Louis Landa and Ricardo Quintana.

The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift, which originally appeared in 1936, is now reissued by another publisher. While recognizing the continuing importance of this standard work, many readers will feel disappointed that Professor Quintana has not found it possible to revise his book more drastically in the light of the Williams and Davis texts and of the many valuable contributions made by critics since 1936. It is relevant to note that the selective additional bibliography now supplied in this reissue includes 51 works, some of which have proved that certain views put forward by Professor Quintana in 1936 are no longer tenable. The selective bibliography itself is, I am afraid, unsatisfactory : no great harm is done by the omission of such works as Denis Johnston's *The Mysterious Origin of Dean Swift* (Dublin Historical Record, June 1941) but the title " selective " hardly applies to a bibliography that omits F. R. Leavis's splendid *The Irony of Swift* while including Edith Sitwell's 1937 novel *I Live under a Black Sun.*

I notice, incidentally, that neither of the books under review is deterred from commenting on *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* despite the weighty evidence of Professor Davis that the work is not by Swift.

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE IRISH DRAMATIC MOVEMENT. By Una Ellis-Fermor. Methuen. 18s. net.

THE first (1939) edition of this book was reviewed in ' Studies ' in December of that year. The reviewer, while welcoming Miss Ellis-Fermor's contribution to the history of modern Irish drama, lamented that she had covered the ground only up to about 1912 : a second volume was, however, promised. Miss Ellis-Fermor is now of the opinion that " the steadily increasing study of the Irish Dramatic Movement, with the many contributions made to its history, have made the projected second volume unnecessary ". I am afraid this ungrammatical sentence is a rose-coloured view of the scholarly and critical attention given to Irish Drama 1912-1939 : apart from Peter Kavanagh's eccentric account of a vast subject, much of the work on the period by writers such as Lennox Robinson, Paul Vincent Carroll, Michael Mac Liammóir, Mary Colum, Roger McHugh, J. C. Trewin and a few others has been merely occasional and fragmentary. Some of these writers have offered reminiscence rather than criticism, others have done work of considerable value, but it

must be obvious that an inclusive, thoughtful study of post–1912 Irish drama has not yet been written.

The only significant difference between this edition and the 1939 issue is that Miss Ellis-Fermor has attempted to link the early phase of the movement with the Irish drama of the years immediately before the 1939 war. In fact, she has added a mere twelve inadequate pages in dealing with the period 1912–1939, including four pages on Sean O'Casey, and two pages each on Denis Johnston, Paul Vincent Carroll and George Shiels. It is unfortunately characteristic of this new edition that Miss Ellis-Fermor has been content to end her book by repeating (except for the changing of " forty " to " fifty-four ") the following sentences, as if nothing whatever had happened in Irish theatre in the intervening period of fourteen years :

> For there are not lacking signs that even this is not the final phase and that a movement away from realism and towards imaginative fantasy is setting in again in the Irish drama of the present day. It is too early to prophesy whether this will bring back a new poetic movement or whether it represents only the last phase of that which began fifty-four years ago. But that the theatre created then by Yeats and Lady Gregory is alive to-day there can be no question. ' They have won much praise for themselves and raised the dignity of Ireland '.

These sentiments may have been acceptable in 1939 : to-day they are patently ridiculous.

A second change in the new edition is the withdrawal of the useful book-list given in the original issue : this might profitably have been retained in a revised and up-to-date form.

The publishers in preserving a pleasing format and type might well have eliminated the five numerical errors in the ' Contents ' page. The price has been increased by 7s. 6d.

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE IMAGE OF GOD IN SEX. By Vincent Wilkin, S.J. London : Sheed and Ward. 1954. 6s.

MANY who sing *Genitori Genitoque* at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament are unaware of the meaning of the words. They would almost certainly be shocked if told that they were praising the generative function in God ; and perhaps not very much relieved even if told at the same time that in God the function is undifferentiated by sex. The purpose of Father Wilkin's book is to shock mildly the reader into an appreciation of the holiness of sex and this he does by showing how sex derives and descends from the perfect mystery of generation where the Father is Himself an eternal act of generation. The booklet—it is little more—is really a commentary on the text of Genesis : " God created man to his own image ; to the image of God he created him. Male and female he created them ". In the light of this and other texts of scripture and of the Fathers, Father Wilkin studies the Incarnation, the Mystical Body and Christian Marriage. The union of the Word with human nature is a marital union of love. So is the union of Christ with His bride the Church : " this, and this primarily, is the truth about the Church. It is united with Christ in the same way that, on a lower plane of reality, a wife is united with

her husband." This lower plane is considered finally in two chapters: marriage in itself being dealt with in the first, and christian marriage in the second which is a fine appreciation, inspired in part by Scheeben, of the fifth chapter of *Ephesians*. " When Saint Paul says that the man is to the woman as Christ is to the Church, the recurring ' as ' must not be read ' as if '. There is no ' if ' about it at all."

Thus on a sound theological basis a lofty ideal is built. There is something very encouraging and ennobling about the author's whole treatment of his theme. As he is chaplain to the Catholic students of the University of Liverpool, I suspect that this book is the substance of lectures delivered to them. They are fortunate students.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

EARLY FATHERS FROM THE PHILOKALIA. Selected and translated from the Russian text Dobrotolubiye by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer. London: Faber and Faber. 1954. 35s.

EVERY slightest genuine tendency towards the unity of East and West must be welcomed and cherished by a humanity that is being crucified on the points of the compass. So we gladly welcome another series of translations from the *Dobrotolubiye*, the Russian nineteenth-century translation of the *Philokalia*. Messrs Kadloubovsky and Palmer's first collection of translations —*Writings from the Philokalia on the Prayer of the Heart*—was reviewed in STUDIES for March 1953. We recall briefly here that the *Philokalia* is an anthology of the writings of the Greek-speaking Fathers from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries first edited in 1792 by two monks of Mount Athos. Its Russian translation with some additions takes up five volumes—about 3,000 pages in all—and has had a remarkable influence on Russian spiritual life.

All the writers included in the present anthology, with the exception of Gregory Palamas, are pre-schism; and much of the material appears in English for the first time. It is a solid and appetising spiritual fare, whether we wish to understand what has gone to the making of the Orthodox soul or seek to fortify our own. Here is the common table of our ancestors. One notes with some regret that Cassian and *The Life of St Anthony* are not included. But there had to be some omissions and both are to be had in English dress even if the cut is somewhat dated.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

ADAM'S ANCESTORS. By L. S. B. Leakey. London: Methuen & Co. Pp. 218. 21s.

THIS is the fourth edition of a book that first appeared in 1934. Its subtitle describes it as an up-to-date outline of the Old Stone Age and what is known about Man's origin and evolution. It contains thirteen chapters, a bibliography, two appendices and a well-planned index; the parts beyond the chapters bring its pages to 235. The first two chapters are introductory to the whole subject; the next five deal with the use and working of stone and bone implements and the succession of the forms of these over the paleolithic period; there is a chapter on paleolithic art; and the last five chapters deal with human and simian paleontology.

When this book first appeared it was one of the best introductions to its subject in the English language. It still is. The author is a restrained evolutionist. His test for Man is not structural but functional—did this supposed human not only use but *make* tools? It is many years indeed since we first met Dr. Leakey at the Anatomical Society and the Anthropological Institute, showing us his Kanam jaw-fragments. Not all he claimed then has been accepted since by everybody; but he had started a fine series of excavations that has added a substantial amount to our knowledge of early man in Africa. He writes at first-hand about most of the major finds in the whole field of anthropoid paleontology. This familiarity with the bones of both ancient and recent types is paralleled by his equally first-hand knowledge of the ways of fashioning and using stone and bone with the kind of " tool-makers " probably at the disposal of our greatest grandfathers. His writing on this topic is quite exciting.

Dr. Leakey's book was published some weeks before the exposure of the Piltdown hoax. It is a mark of his judgment that he has repeated here his refusal to accept the brain-case and the famous simian jaw as parts of the same individual.

His account of the probable techniques of the cave-painters is short but thorough; and he is refreshingly undogmatic about its significance. The book is well illustrated—33 text-figures and 22 plates. He has also planted a family tree; we may take this as a piece of ritual piety, a kind of modern Golden Bough: it will doubtless be hacked at by some rival later. Prescinding from this tree, the book can be recommended as an introductory text for students and for the informed, general reader who wants to know what the more moderate of Them do say. M. A. MACCONAILL

CHOIR OF MUSES. By Etienne Gilson. Translated by Maisie Ward. London: Sheed and Ward. Pp. 192. 12s. 6d.

POETS AND MYSTICS. By E. I. Watkin. London: Sheed and Ward. Pp. viii, 318. 21s.

IN his *Dante et la philosophie* M. Gilson had already touched on the subject of the relationship of human love to artistic inspiration. He now gives the subject the honour of a book to itself. His method of approach is to examine certain concrete cases where devotion to a female " Muse " has been the driving force behind a great work of art. Petrarch's love for Laura is taken as the archetype of the succeeding cases, which include such diverse figures as Baudelaire, Wagner and Comte. Not everyone would agree with M. Gilson's canons of literary excellence; thus many English critics may think it an odd exaggeration to place Mr C. S. Lewis on the same level as John Bunyan. But all M. Gilson's opinions, even his eccentric ones, are vividly and clearly expounded.

The general conclusion reached by M. Gilson is that a woman who is an artist's " Muse " must be loved with a genuinely passionate earthly love; on the other hand, the Muse ceases to be a Muse if she becomes the artist's wife or mistress, for possession of her would destroy the tension and unsatisfied longing which, in a transcended form, provides the motive power for the work of art. It is strange to find a modern Scholastic philosopher enunciating a

view which seems to come direct from the Romanticism of the nineteenth century, while his views on the ultimate incompatibility of art and mysticism have an oddly dualistic ring. But the last chapter on " The artist and the saint " deserves careful reading, even if we may think it exaggerated for M. Gilson to pose the question : "—does not every great work of art involve to some degree a renunciation of God ? " (p. 188).

Mr Watkin's whole book is, in a sense, an extended discussion of the problem raised in M. Gilson's last chapter. Most of the volume is made up of reprinted essays, but they form a remarkable unity and all of them illustrate the main theme—the relation between artist and mystic. Mr Watkin, following his own formulations in *A Philosophy of Form,* defines aesthetic perception as " the perception of the beautiful " or " significant form " (p.1). The intuition involved in this perception is "—obscure and concrete " (p. 3), as opposed to the clarity and abstract nature of discursive reasoning. The first is the product of what Mr Watkin calls *anima,* the second of *animus,* but both are required for the production of a sustained work of art. In his second chapter, Mr Watkin uses this general classification to support an original interpretation of Shakespeare's genius. He suggests that Shakespeare was under the control of *anima* more often than of *animus,* sometimes with disastrous results, and that the consequent uneven quality of his work is shared by English writers in general. English literature is "—to an exceptional extent exclusively or one-sidedly inspirational " and is therefore " of imperfect and uncertain artistry "(p.36). Mr Watkin finds the dividing line between art and mysticism in the fact that the artist searches to apprehend form, whereas the true mystic transcends distinctions of form by his union with God. The same man may be both artist and mystic at different moments in his life but he cannot be both at the same moment. Mr Watkin makes a similar distinction as explanation of the difference between drama, particularly tragedy, and religious ritual.

The remainder of the volume is filled by various essays discussing individual mystics and writers, Catholic and non-Catholic. Among them may be mentioned the studies of Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe (whom Mr Watkin believes to have been a genuine mystic) and Dom Augustine Baker (suggested as the most practical guide for aspirants to a contemplative life within the world). Richard Crashaw's baroque piety and its unexpected antecedents in his Anglican father form two attractive chapters ; later Mr Watkin devotes attention to two modern figures, Sister Elizabeth of the Trinity, a little known mystic of St Teresa of Lisieux's generation, and Miss Ruth Pitter, a modern representative of the English tradition of mystical verse. Mr Watkin's book will certainly repay more than one reading.

JOHN B. MORRALL

A HOPKINS READER. Selected and with an introduction by John Pick. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press. 21s.

A HOPKINS READER shows the height to which the poet's reputation has risen in the thirty-seven years since his volume of poems was first published. The sale of that slender volume was slow at first ; the critics and poets were confounded by a talent so strange. In 1927 a second edition was called for and then the advance in recognition became rapid and enthusiastic. Soon all

his letters and papers were edited with patient scholarly care and published in fine editions. The primary purpose of these books was to throw some light on the origins and sources of a genius so original and seemingly so self-derived. But the publication of these volumes showed that Hopkins was a master of both crafts ; that he was not merely a great poet but also a great prose writer. His letters have been hailed as remarkable examples of their *genre* of writing.

Dr Pick has already deserved well of students of Hopkins. His study of Hopkins as a priest and a Jesuit has established permanently the essentially spiritual cast of his mind and poetry. The present volume is well conceived and well carried out. It contains a great part of the poems and selections from the letters and note books. The selection may be called artificial ; but it is made on definite reasonable principle. It is meant to enable us to get a deeper understanding of the man and the poet. The selections are brought together under different headings, to illustrate his observation of nature, his poetic theory, his practical criticism, his religious outlook. Those letters and notes have been included which throw light on the poems selected. The volume is a worthy addition to the rapidly growing library of books on Hopkins. It is an excellent introduction to a writer who is likely to remain an abiding challenge and source of interest and study. HUGH KELLY

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH TALK. Edited by James Sutherland. Oxford University Press. 18s.

PROFESSOR SUTHERLAND'S anthology of speech begins and ends with an eloquent lady : in 1417 Mrs Margery Kempe found her tongue the best defence against the charge of being " a ryth wikked woman ", and in 1949 Mrs Lilian Balch told her B.B.C. audience about a holiday she and her family had at the seaside. Mrs Balch is not nearly as good a talker as Mrs Kempe, and Mr John Betjeman is much less vivid in his speech than Malory's Beawmaynes. Indeed, on the evidence of this anthology, the liveliest parts of English talk were spoken before the 19th century.

In his search for the glowing word Professor Sutherland has tried all sorts of unconventional places : legal history was a particularly rich source and *A Compleat Collection of State-Tryals* (1719) yielded one of the most valuable items in the book. No pedant, Professor Sutherland does not go out of his way to avoid the obvious when the obvious is good (Shakespeare, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar and Boswell). Shaw, Walkley and G. K.C. turn up in lively form at the Select Committee on the Censorship of Plays (1909), with Lord Ribblesdale grimly clinging to a typically Chestertonian tangent.

In so far as it is possible (but how far is that ?) to coerce the flavour, the tones and the gestures of fine talk into cold, neat print, Professor Sutherland has succeeded admirably. DENIS DONOGHUE

THE MAKERS OF CHRISTENDOM. General Editor : Christopher Dawson I. The Western Fathers, translated and edited by F. R. Hoare. II. The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, translated and edited by C. H. Talbot. London : Sheed and Ward, 1954. 16s. each.

HERE is a new series which promises good things in many a volume yet to come. Mr Dawson has a fine sense of the Christian tradition in Western Europe,

and a fine sense also of the value of individual human lives. He has set himself to produce a series in which the oldest and most authentic biographies of the great men of our Christian tradition will be translated into English and made accessible to the general reader. In the first volume of this new series Mr Hoare translates the Life of Saint Martin of Tours, with three letters of the saint, and two short dialogues by Sulpicius ; the Life of St Ambrose by Paulinus, his deacon ; the Life of St Augustine by St Possidius ; the Life of St Honoratus by St Hilary of Arles ; and the Life of St Germanus by Constantius of Lyons. The names are sufficient to recall memories of the founders of Western Latin Christendom, though we miss such familiar names as St Cyprian and SS Perpetua and Felicitas, which are presumably reserved for a volume on the Acts of the Martyrs. Mr Talbot gives us an English version of the Lives of SS Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin, with the ' Hodoeporicon ' or pilgrim's narrative of St Willibald, now known to be the work of Hudeberc, an Anglo-Saxon nun of Heidenheim ; and a selection from the letters of the great St Boniface. If future volumes contain so many good things in so neat a form, and at such a low price, we shall be well served indeed.

AUBREY GWYNN

GEOFFREY CHAUCER. By Raymond Preston. London: Sheed & Ward. 1952. ' IN this book I shall try to interpret the work of Chaucer to the reader of to-day.' So runs the preface of Mr. Preston's book. But it becomes clear before one has read far that the author envisages a most uncommon modern reader ; one, you would think, for whom an interpretation was a superfluity, if not an affront. ' I shall try to keep out historical information which may be got from the editors ', he writes airly. ' Anyone who needs (let us say) a prospectus of Courtly Love will not have to look very long outside these chapters '. It is hardly necessary to add that the reader is expected to take the language of Chaucer practically in his stride.

When the language barrier has been surmounted and the reader is familiar with the social and literary background, what more is left for the interpreter to do ? and what does Mr. Preston understand by interpretating Chaucer to the modern reader ? Mr. Preston is addressing himself to the non-Catholic critic and student, and his object is to demonstrate the importance of Chaucer's Catholicism throughout his works. Without some understanding of Catholic principles it is impossible to appreciate Chaucer's irony to the full. Miss Eileen Power has shown that a knowledge of religious discipline is necessary to an understanding of the anomolous position of the Prioress in the *Canterbury Tales*. Mr. Preston shows how the point of, for example, *Troilus and Criseyde* is blunted, if not lost, through ignorance of the Catholic doctrine of marriage. What for the Catholic, as for Chaucer, is a satire on the theme of courtly love, for the modern advocate of free love is a tragic tale. Whether Mr. Preston's contention is sound or not, it is a legitimate contribution towards the interpretation of Chaucer ; and of the soundness of his contention there are few who can reasonably doubt.

Reasonable doubts, however, may be raised about the soundness of his method of presentation. Was it necessary, for instance, to quote fifty or more lines of text in illustration of some such trivial observation as : ' the Persoun

could hardly be placed to better advantage'; or ' the irony has precisely the right blend of sharpness to clean the system and leave it sweet ' ? Mr. Preston has a wealth of erudition which he uses to the confusion and embarrassment of the reader. Indeed, it is not the least of the qualifications demanded of the reader that he should be able to master Mr. Preston's elliptical, allusive and, at times, almost elusive prose. Chaucer is too vast a subject for his method of close textual analysis ; one cannot help feeling that he was more at home disentangling the intricacies of Mr. T. S. Eliot's poetry ; that, in fact, his *Four Quartets Rehearsed* was a more successful book than *Geoffrey Chaucer.*

CYRIL BARRETT

SEANCHAS ARDMHACHA : *Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society.* Vol. 1, No. 1. 1954.
COUNTY LOUTH ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL. Vol. XIII, No. 1. 1953.
CLOGHER RECORD. Vol. 1, No. 2. 1954.

ULSTERMEN have shown an especially lively interest in the study of their local history during the past few years, as will be plain from the titles that stand at the head of this review. *Seanchas Ardmhacha* is a newcomer, that deserves a warm welcome, for it fills a gap that has long been felt in Irish ecclesiastical history. No church in Ireland has prouder memories than Armagh, and here is a journal that is dedicated to the history of the great archdiocese. The subscription for members of the Society is £1 per annum, and they get a handsome return for their money in a volume which contains 200 well printed pages ; with a photographic survey of the High Crosses of Co. Louth by Miss Helen Roe, as well as articles on ' Armagh and Louth in the Twelfth Century ' (Father Aubrey Gwynn), ' The Franciscan Third Order at Dungannon ' (Father Canice Mooney), ' Patrick James O'Byrne, Dean of Armagh ' Mgr. Patrick Tohall), ' An Early Fragment on Saint Patrick ' (Father Paul Grosjean), ' The Northern Boundary of the Archdiocese of Armagh ' (the late Dr Seamus Ó Ceallaigh), a fine tribute to the memory of Father Laurence Murray by the editor of the Journal (An t-Athair Tomás Ó Fiacih), and numerous other contributions.

This concentration on the history of the diocese of Armagh might seem to threaten the prosperity of the County Louth Archaeological Society, with its history of active work for fifty years and more. But the latest number of its *Journal,* which has just been issued, is a more substantial volume than I have seen for several years past ; and it is notable for a contribution in which Father Columcille of New Mellifont prints the full Latin text, with English translation and excellent commentaries, of seven documents that have come down to us from the old Abbey of Mellifont, and are now safely housed in the National Library. The *Clogher Record* is more modest in its scope, and each number costs no more than half-a-crown. But its editor, Father P. Mulligan, has succeeded in filling its pages with a series of very valuable notes on the local history of the diocese of Clogher : beginning with an account of some Crannogs in North Monaghan by Father James Smyth, and giving several local inscriptions, biographies and an account of local customs in Farney.

To all three journals we wish Godspeed, a long life and a steady inflow of subscriptions !

AUBREY GWYNN

Evie Hone: Stained Glass Worker

1894-1955

by C. P. CURRAN, S.C., D.LITT.

THE death of Evie Hone on the 13th March last, as she was entering her parish church at Rathfarnham, deprived Ireland of an artist who has won the widest international recognition. It has also deprived the world of religious art of a figure of unusual significance—one who with great deliberation entered into and in her own way resolved the difficult problems which confront every serious modern artist but touch most acutely the ecclesiastical artist. Yet I imagine that all who knew her, however justly they prize her genius, think of her not solely as the modern master of stained glass but as an heroic figure whose art was enclosed in her spiritual heroism and was fed and sustained by it. It is not that the course of her artistic development was unusual. In its way it was typical of the tendencies of our day but the circumstances in which she worked were such as to leave with her friends the memory of exceptional, serene fortitude and of a tranquil will. One may justly speak of her heroism but hardly has one written the word when another figure appears, down-smiling inflated language with gentle irony. Her nature was deep and still, capable of great concentration, disciplined and self-controlled, but there was in her as much womanly grace and charm as there was of settled purpose. *Ex fortitudine dulcedo.*

She came of a family long settled in Dublin. Its first representative in Ireland was Samuel Hone born in 1632 who lived on Wood Quay. He was a wool merchant from Marlborough where wool was the staple and the association of the local trade with Flanders confirms the family tradition of a Flemish origin. Samuel's son, Nathaniel, continued trading on Wood Quay until 1743 and he had, amongst others, three sons, Nathaniel, Joseph and Brindley—a painter, a merchant and a pin manufacturer. To follow the ramification of their families is to perambulate our oldest streets and to enter alternately into counting-houses and studios. In their generations they were wool merchants, pin-makers, cloth makers, maltsters, bankers and railway directors, but also artists. The second Nathaniel was the unruly foundation member of the Royal Academy who in his turn fathered Horace Hone, the miniaturist of fashionable Dublin and John Camillus and Samuel Hone both portrait painters—another son more short-lived was hopefully christened Apelles. Nathaniel's youngest brother Brindley, the pin-maker, erroneously called Berkeley by one authority, was the

ancestor of Nathaniel Hone of St Doulough's, the landscape painter who survived into our own day. Son of another Brindley, merchant and director of the old Midland Great Western, the painter started life as an engineer but changing his terminus he forsook Broadstone for Barbizon and painted there side by side with Millet, Corot, Rousseau and Harpignies in the fifties and sixties of last century. The most distinguished of the painter-Hones, his landscapes, some austere and elemental, others lush with the fatness of north County Dublin pastures, are all of great power and assurance.

Evie Hone was the direct descendant of Joseph Hone the brother of the eighteenth century academician. Her earliest link with the art of stained glass is perhaps to be found in the 16th century Flemish craftsman Galyon Hone. Galyon Hone was the pupil of another Flemish glass-worker who had emigrated from Flanders to England and was King's Glazier in the opening years of the 16th century. Galyon succeeded him in the same office in 1517 and in that capacity completed the splendid series of windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge—the great east window and sixteen others. The family tradition of a Flemish origin, the trade relations with Flanders of its early members make this affiliation something more than a reasonable conjecture and if that is so it may take a place as a throw-back in genetics with the case of the French sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska one of whose forebears is said to have worked as a carver on Chartres Cathedral. In any event Evie Hone's family has given manifest proof over many generations and in our own day of initiative and of an unusual and vigorous versatility.

Evie Sydney Hone was born on 22nd April 1894 at Roebuck Grove, Co. Dublin. Her father, Joseph Hone, maltster, founded the firm o Minch and Co. and was a director of the Bank of Ireland. Her mother Eva, was the daughter of Sir Henry Robinson, K.C.B. Infantile paralysis which shadowed Evie's whole life came upon her at the age of eleven. It came suddenly, as one might picture a catastrophe to one of Paul, Claudel's heroines, causing her to fall across the altar of her parish church of Taney as she was helping to decorate it for Easter. Its course determined her early education and the conditions of her whole working life for although after a stage of complete disability there were periods of comparatively normal existence she lived the greater part of her days crippled and dependent on the constant assistance of devoted friends. After prolonged medical treatment but still lamed, she went abroad with her governess and lived for eighteen months at Ouchy, returning to London with her mind directed to art. She made another journey a few years later, this time to Venice and Florence where Giotto's work left a lasting impression on her mind.

In London, she had been passing laborious days between Harley Street and art schools beginning her studies at the Westminster

School of Art under Walter Sickert. After five or six lessons Sickert left the school and finding the other masters uninspiring she also abandoned it for an evening class in composition conducted by Byam Shaw. She was as yet unable to do the normal work of a painter but she remained at composition with Byam Shaw's growing approval until, still an invalid and requiring the constant aid of a personal attendant, she passed to the Central School of Art in Red Lion Square where she found a stimulating master in Bernard Meninsky of whom she always spoke with admiration. It was he who in 1922 advised her to go to Paris to continue her studies.

She went to Paris accordingly in the autumn of 1920, where some Swedish fellow-students had found rooms for her. She had already met her twin-soul and life-long friend Mainie Jellett at the Westminster School and Mainie followed her to Paris in the next spring. For ten years afterwards save for one considerable interval they pursued their studies together in France. Their first year was spent with André Lhote whose work is excellently represented in our Municipal Gallery by a canvas presented by the Friends of the National Collections. Discreetly cubist and working under the influence of Cézanne, Lhote excelled in construction and composition but his early and extensive activity as a professor and writer expounding the arcana of cubism stood perhaps in the way of his own artistic development. His classes from early cubist days were much frequented but it was typical of the intransigent spirit of the two Irish students that after two winters of study and scrutiny they should abandon his popular semi-cubist teaching to knock at the door of Albert Gleizes, a *cubiste intégral*, wholly absorbed in purely abstract painting and later to do considerable mural decoration in that manner. Gleizes was one of the earliest recruits to the cubist movement and its most intransigent. He was exhibiting as a cubist as early as 1909 and by 1912 he was its ardent evangelist, organizing its first exhibiting centre and writing its first treatises. Both as painter and aesthetician he was more uncompromising than Lhote and it was accordingly to him that the two students now presented themselves.

Gleizes has left an entertaining account of this first encounter from which I venture to quote. The date was 1921 when he was still immersed in his own technical problems with nothing further from his mind than the idea of teaching. The two friends said they wished to work along his lines and asked for lessons. Their quiet assurance and decided tone threw him into an agony of embarrassment. " Give you lessons ? But it is I who want lessons. What do you want me to teach you ? I have the greatest trouble in clearing up my own difficulties. How do you think I can tackle yours ? What have you done ? Where do you come from ? " They told him and went on to say that his work corresponded exactly with what they were looking for. He was more

and more terrified by their gentle tenacity and more and more anxious to escape. He pleaded his friendly relations with Lhote : he would not steal his pupils. " But we are at perfect liberty to choose our own master" *Evidemment.* He fought a losing battle against their polite persistence and the lessons were arranged. They would arrive early at his Puteaux studio and late in the evening all three left exhausted by the analysis, step by step, of the painter's every art. Master and pupils were inexorable in their search for a rational and explicit method of constructing a picture without recourse to representation or any aesthetic subterfuge. Gleizes freely confesses that, forced to clarify the theory of his practice, he profited quite as much from the experience as the two obstinate *irlandaises.* Out of it, in fact, came his study : *Peinture et ses lois* of 1922.

His manner of painting—in the absence of any Gleizes in our galleries—is clear enough in Mainie Jellett's early work. This non-figurative painting, from which the deleterious nominal subject is excluded makes its cadenced rhythmic approach to reality by what Gleizes called translation and rotation. It was not the result—I still quote Gleizes—of any arbitrary reduction of a classical design but was rather an evocation through signs drawn from the pictorial repertory, that took advantage of every suggestion that flowed from the linear organization of the picture. He saw in these abstractions the promise of great mural painting, disciplined to architecture and requiring solid knowledge from the craftsman. But movement and *l'objet réel* were the first aims of Gleizes and these early cubists. Their aims implied a two-fold repudiation : the repudiation of single perspective, that is to say of a single point of view and also of any necessity for the representation of nature. They challenged the work of the Renaissance. They did not deny that it had produced work of inestimable value but the cubist painter seeking a pure art which sang to the sight and, like music, obeyed only its own laws, found himself since the Renaissance fobbed off by irrelevant stage-settings. Like Delacroix in his *Journal* Gleizes speculated with his cubist friends on the possibility of painting which could dispense with nominal subject and rely solely like musical arabesque on the mysterious effects of line and colour. If the art did not lie in the subject it should lie in the object and the object should not be at the mercy of individual whims. It obeyed laws which had to be discovered. But further and against this, if figured reproduction was to be banished from painting what happens the human value ? Is it not lost or diminished and the painter's own sensibility at the same time imperilled ? Gleizes's answer is that the human act in itself is a more reliable witness to the dignity of man than any passive or, as Gleizes would add, hysterical reaction to his environment. The humblest

manifestation of the intelligence is of greater value than the most idealized image of the human form. What matters is the creative sensibility showing itself in the purity of its action. It is more evident there than in a sensibility which is provoked only by external accident or which may be in fact wholly uncontrolled. It operates through what Delacroix calls the mystery of line and colour and what Gleizes resolves into what he calls translation and rotation. Writing further in a more exalted strain to Maurice Reynal he speaks of the " religious conscience " this search for reality exacts and of its final goal in making concrete the sense, otherwise inaccessible, of the immutable divine in nature.

These hard nuts of knowledge were ground out by the two students as they worked with Gleizes between 1921 and 1931 in two spells for four or five months each year in Paris or in the Ardèche country, with a protracted stay in Spain where El Greco took his place with Giotto in Evie Hone's consciousness. There was a significant interruption in 1925 when she unexpectedly joined a community of Anglican nuns in Truro and for some time, to Mainie Jellett's distress, it seemed that she had broken completely with art. No one was more aware than this friend of the depths in Evie Hone's character. She knew she lived in a double allegiance and was convinced that she would find no lasting content in a *milieu* which gave little opportunity to the satisfaction of both. Her withdrawal from the world was, as it turned out, only a temporary breach with art and only a stage in her spiritual growth. When years later, she was received into the Catholic church Mainie Jellett was the first to recognize the logic of this step.

After this intermission which lasted more than a year she resumed her studies with Gleizes but presently grew tired of the dryness of abstract art. But though she parted with its exclusively abstract practice and found its proper place in her work for the figurative and representational, the influence of Gleizes may not be underestimated. It is now to us a commonplace that the freedom of the *Fauves* and the cubist discipline opened the way to much fine achievement in painting and decoration. It was eminently so with Evie Hone's stained glass. Her long dedication to abstract work bore its full fruit in her great window *My Four Green Fields*, (21′ x 8′) executed on commission for the Irish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. This splendid work now lies packed away subject to all vicissitudes—and I believe it has already suffered damage—in crates in the ruinous Kilmainham Hospital. Of this disgrace and loss I cannot write with patience—redemption may, perhaps, be found some day for it in the re-built Abbey. But accessible to all readers are five smaller symbolic windows in University Hall, Dublin. Here the abstract pattern make the structure and support the symbols with singular power and full rhythmic action : the *Ichthus*

window is, I think, particularly admirable, but all radiantly illustrate what Gleizes has more obscurely written.

As early as 1924 she had held a joint exhibition with Mainie Jellett at the Dublin Painters' Gallery, 7 St Stephens Green. While continuing to contribute to the Dublin Painters and other group shows her mind was now beginning to turn more exclusively to work in stained glass. She made three designs for small panels, an *Annunciation* and two abstracts and Mainie Jellett suggested she should ask Sarah Purser to let her carry them out at An Túr Gloine. Miss Purser was entirely discouraging and told her if she wanted to learn the craft to join Mr Child's class in the School of Art. She went there but found her own opinion of her proposed master no higher than his opinion of her designs. She went back to London where her cousin, Mr Joseph Hone, put her in touch for advice with Arthur Rackham. Rackham said if she had studied so long in Paris it was useless to go to the London College of Art but that she should seek out a craftworker. She went accordingly to Miss Wilhelmina Geddes, that gifted Irishwoman of whose work we have fine examples, notably a *St Christopher* window, in St Ann's Church, in Dawson Street, Dublin. Miss Geddes welcomed her and in her kiln Evie Hone converted her designs for the first time into glass.

Her next step confirmed her vocation if confirmation was needed. Introduced by her fellow-artist, Hilda van Stockum, now Mrs Marlin, she went across with her panels to Roland Holst, the Director of the Ryksakadamie in Amsterdam. Holst was a famous teacher as well as a celebrated stained glass artist—his work may be seen in Utrecht Cathedral. A master of design he painted murals, worked also in mosaic and was in charge of what was called the monumental art class in the Academy. It was typical that he saw to it that his pupils should, at one time or another, visit Ravenna. Like Gleizes, Holst was at first reluctant to interest himself in his sudden visitor, but when she fetched out her little panels, like Gleizes, he also capitulated. Impressed with her work he insisted that stained glass was her calling.

So armed she returned again to confront Miss Purser at An Túr Gloine. Others in the meantime had seen the panels. They procured for her her first commission, the memorial window in Ardcarne Church, Boyle, and were later bought by the Reverend Mr Monk Gibbon, rector of Taney Parish, Dundrum. Dundrum was a fitting home for them since part of the land on which the parish church is built was the gift to the church-builders of one of the artist's collaterals, still another Nathaniel Hone, High Sheriff of Dublin in 1798–9 and Lord Mayor in 1810–11. These commissions, however, did not smooth her way into An Túr Gloine. Miss Purser liked such things to flow through her own hands, not indeed for any selfish purpose but to be distributed as she thought judicious in the interest of a common enterprise and of a certain

anonymity. Clients thought otherwise and liked to make their own choice. So also did Michael Healy and Evie Hone. And so it is part of our legend that when the doors were forced in 1933, the new-comer was saluted as ' the snake in the grass '.

She remained at An Túr Gloine until Miss Purser's death in 1943, working in the studio bay next to Michael Healy and sharing with him the services of Tommy Kinsella, the glazier. Michael Healy, her senior by twenty years, was her real craft teacher. Healy was a reserved man but from the outset he watched with growing appreciation the unfolding of a talent, like to his own in its serious purpose, but quite different in its manner. There was something touching in this friendship and in the warmth with which each welcomed more than their own the praise of their colleague's work. They met at a good moment when larger commissions were enabling Michael Healy to put aside the simple frontal treatment of single figures in one-light windows for large scale compositions like his *St Augustine* window where his capacity for monumental but imaginative invention could be more fully displayed. Arezzo and Florence had formed his mind as Paris shaped Evie Hone's but they had a common meeting place in Chartres and the practice of the French medieval glass makers. Healy was also quick to appreciate Rouault whom Evie Hone brought to his notice and the value of the expressionist approach though not himself to be otherwise affected by either. Neither of them was a mere revivalist or given to pastiche ; they both were experimentalists. Evie Hone learned technique from Healy and a good deal too in the way of leading and window-setting from Tommy Kinsella's practical experience, but not even in her earliest work is there any imitation of Michael Healy and little trace of his direct influence. She came to stained glass as a master of design and fully formed artist. There is no apprentice work, though one may see in her windows of 1935—in the apostles of the Tara *Descent of the Holy Ghost* something of Healy's quiet grouping and at Ardcarne and Clonsilla the legendary, folk-lorish approach which was an early characteristic of An Túr Gloine. But even in these, her earliest windows, the individual note sounds clearly in the comparative fluidity of the design and in the place she gives to the abstract. Abstract treatment had its full and free development in the *Four Green Fields* of 1938 where the arms of the Irish provinces are freely treated in an otherwise purely abstract design, symbols and abstractions sweeping into a rich harmonious unity of assured authority. A somewhat similar advance is evident in the grouping of the *Pentecost* window of the Castle oratory, Blackrock College, a fine work undertaken after the New York Fair and Cork commissions, and after a period of serious illness and a grave operation. In the same year, 1941, the year also of Michael Healy's death, she took up for Clongowes Wood College the series of *The Seven Dolours* upon which he had entered. Healy had

finished three subjects but his work ended with the base and top of the fourth. She adjusted the transitions by means of the rounded arches and making no other compromise with the manner of her friend's work she continued the series through the fourth, fifth and sixth subjects in a most moving and affecting spirit of tragedy. Her design for the last subject, the *Entombment,* exists only as a cartoon.

Some years before this—in July 1937—she had been received into the Church at Blackrock College by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, who was then President of the College, and henceforward her work grew into ever closer relation with religious art. She was no longer poised between two loyalties too often in apparent opposition. Their fusion none the less involved problems which concern every Christian artist but which are eminently present to the modern worker in stained glass. They hardly arose in the case of her two great contemporaries. Michael Healy was her senior by many years and his forty working years were spent in a classic tradition tempered by his own special Irish tenderness and grace. Harry Clarke's span of work occupied but ten years. His brilliant genius took its first spark from a fleeting source but it reached its own personal unexampled perfection in the apocalyptic splendour of his Newport *Last Judgment* and one can only speculate on its still wider possibilities. But Evie Hone was part of the revolution in art which began in 1906—a date too recent to affect these others—and which seemed to be at the farthest remove from the ecclesiastical field. I have set out, very inadequately, the theories of her master who found but a very secondary place for figurative representation and whose search for reality attempted to formulate laws governing an art so pure and so abstracted from phenomena as to make communication well-nigh impossible to the simple. But stained glass windows in our churches have rightly and always been and must be scriptures for the unlettered. It was, I think, Evie Hone's search for reality—perhaps a not so very different reality—which turned her from cubist abstraction to the art where cubist discipline became the fruitful accessory to her own purpose. For the convert Catholicism enriches the religious life and subtracts nothing. So with Evie Hone's art it gave profundity without any deprivation. And this without any repudiation of her artistic convictions. To Gleizes's vocabulary and method she added a whole language and a less exclusive practice. Abstract austerity had cast out many irrelevancies. What it left was insufficient to her purpose but her broader human sympathies and deeper convictions brought her other resources.

Other things are also necessary but stained glass windows in churches should expound and move. All essentials are conspicuously present in her finest work at Tullabeg, Kingscourt, Eton and Highgate. But

also so far as abstract art is concerned, closer at hand in the University Hall series. Here for her principal object she employs symbols as old as the catacombs. These symbols are supported and enhanced in two ways—by the significance and splendour of colour, common to all painting, but also in a purposeful use of abstract forms which confirm the symbols and indefinitely extend their effect through the mystery of line and colour of which Delacroix wrote. They direct the symbols towards the infinite where reality is. There may be mystery but there is nothing in these windows esoterically difficult or obscure ; the idiom is known and open to all. This fusion of symbol and abstract is common in her practice. It governs her early *Four Green Fields* but also her Wellingborough window of 1955. Wholly intelligible it harmonizes old and new. Factual representation is absent but Evie Hone's practice has the authority of a great sequence

Signis tantum et non rebus
Latent res eximiae.

These windows in University Hall went up in the same years as the figured windows in Tullabeg and Kingscourt where the symbolic and abstract are subordinate in varying degree to the descriptive. Whether in point of construction or of their emotive effect, these two series constitute her finest work in Ireland and reveal in its entirety the sensibility of the artist and her interpretative and imaginative power. Their subjects are felt in their full associations and are communicated with equal conviction and feeling. The Tullabeg *Nativity* recalls in its direct simplicity the sculptured group on the screen in Chartres but is admirable for the movement of its design arrived at through colour and the free grouping of the figures. More excellent still in patterned movement is the *Beatitudes* window, a window exemplary in its function of expounding and interpreting. This window and the Kingscourt *Ascension* were the artist's favourite windows, the *Ascension* standing perhaps higher in her affection. And for good reason. I do not think there is in Ireland a lovelier window or one of more original design or of more tender colour or that moves one more by its imaginative beauty. In these three admirable windows about the Kingscourt altar one cannot fail to observe the harmonious progress from the grace and mystery of the *Annunciation* through the *Crucifixion* to the final scene on the mountain. The smaller three-light *Fatima* window is nearby over a side altar where abstract forms play a most brilliant and essential part in the splendid tumult of its centre light. There is much less of the abstract in the three principal windows but it is easy to see the effect of the artist's long study of abstract design in its bold adaptation to the landscape background of the *Ascension* as it falls away in a formal panorama, and then rises to distant hills, translating into other terms the wide prospect

of Slieve Gullion and the Carlingford mountains that one sees across two counties from the fine site of the church. This window in its touching lyrical beauty may take its place with Michael Healy's formidable *Last Judgment* at Loughrea and Harry Clarke's great epic at Newport as our highest achievements in stained glass in Ireland. I would add that, for their best lighting, the Kingscourt windows should be seen in the forenoon. It was these windows at Tullabeg and Kingscourt that decided Lord Crawford and Sir Jasper Ridley to put forward Evie Hone's name when the Eton commission was under consideration. The world of art is indebted to them for their insight and wisdom. We in this country may be well satisfied that the same discernment had been earlier exercised by His Eminence Cardinal D'Alton when as Bishop of Meath he recommended the creator of these windows to Fr Marie, and by Fr Donal O'Sullivan, S.J. in like case at Tullabeg.

On their completion in 1948 she went on another extended tour in Central Italy ending with a short visit to Ravenna undertaken alone in circumstances making it a feat of characteristic endurance and contrivance. The Italian journey was symptomatic of a change already apparent in her work from which an original Gothic hardness of outline was disappearing. It might have had a further interesting consequence inasmuch as her growing interest in mosaic was heightened in Rome and Ravenna. This interest in mosaic had arisen through her acquaintance with Boris Anrep. When the Cardinal, then Bishop of Meath, proposed to place in his cathedral at Mullingar a large mosaic of St Patrick it was she who put him in touch with the Russian artist. We know with what happy result. She herself for a brief period meditated work in this new parallel direction, but the Eton commission intervened to occupy her exclusive attention.

Begun in 1949 and placed in position early in 1952 the Eton window is now an admitted masterpiece justifying the clear sighted courage of its promoters. Having regard to its complexity of eighteen lights with tracery and to the extent of its surface—upwards of a thousand square feet—the window was designed and executed with extraordinary speed and decision, the difficulty of the task lightened at every step by the Provost of Eton who ensured her complete freedom of action. The main features of the work are well known. Divided into two great horizontals, the Crucifixion occupies the upper space ; below it, the Last Supper, flanked with impressive figures of priestly sacrifice, Melchisedech and Abraham ; the whole surmounted by tiers of tracery and a wealth of symbolic imagery. It is sufficient here to note that its best qualified judge wrote of the ' splendour and mystery ' of the finished work and found it both ' majestic and moving '. Another in closer touch with the School praised its spirit of reverence and devotion.

A work of this size and elaborateness needed much preparation. The equipment of her studio at Marlay had to be enlarged, much material collected and some additional help engaged. Her energy met every demand made upon it but at a cost. No fatigue appeared in her work and when accomplished she was still able to make the journey to Lourdes and presently to resume work on other Irish commissions and for Farm Street and on the great Highgate *Crucifixion*. But she moved about her bench with growing difficulty and with the ever watchful support of her devoted maid and friend Emmie Pratt (now Mrs. Harvey). A stroke intervened and later a car accident. Indomitably she took up her work again and still had time to finish a fine and characteristic symbolic-abstract window for Wellingborough and to carry forward into its final stages the SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier window for Clongowes before the end came as she might have wished it.

The variety of her windows forbids separate description. I have preferred to list and date her windows and where they may be seen. Some general observations are, however, not out of place. It is noticeable in the first place that she uses comparatively large pieces of glass, larger than Michael Healy and still larger than what was proper to the jewelled intricacy of Harry Clarke's work and she abstained from the aciding and under-cutting practised by both. As a result the first impression frequently made is of a certain flatness—flatness that might be dull if it were not for the profundity of her colour and the movement of the design. She painted the pot metal far more extensively than they did—in her latest windows little of the surface is left untouched. Except perhaps for Eton and Highgate, windows which I have not seen except in cartoon, her windows are not richly elaborated. She sought a different effect and reached a similar splendour by effects of echoing colour, subtle, vehement or profound at will. Her practice gave free scope to her ardour and to the swift impulse and breadth of her bold design. Unembarrassed, her design fills the whole space with great assurance ; tracery and base appear or are absent as her plan demands and as suit her abstract forms for she was no doctrinaire and worked to no formula. And there is nothing anywhere of the irrelevant or conventional in ornament. She excelled in the free grouping of her figures. Her capacity in this respect is evident when one contrasts the Tullabeg and Kingscourt windows with her handling of the structural problems presented by the mullioned, many-lighted spaces of Eton and Highgate. In each case her design emerges triumphantly. The same control of space and design is displayed even in her smallest panels. When one passes from the grouping of her figures to their characterization one is aware of development in more than one direction. Her single figures in one-light windows begin under a marked French Gothic influence

which long endured but with faces that were expressionist masks. One may add to this a seriousness, even a severity which tended to be unpleasing. She dealt in no gee-gaws, rich robes or opulent display and her figures had in their sober dress the timeless quality we observe in women who work in the fields. They make no concession to style or even grace. Her later work in these regards show a classical influence and her journey to Ravenna had its notable effect. Her later windows show in general fuller form and a greater variety and animation in individual characterization. These qualities still leave the dominant characteristic of all her work unsaid. This will be found in a compelling, dynamic unity to which the sweep of her design and her ardent colour contribute. Their echoing rotation in her best windows makes one overwhelmingly aware of a unified movement betokening an inner life. But this inner life had roots elsewhere. It is communicated with all the resources of living art but itself is established in the artist's own profoundly spiritual nature. Its happy outcome for us is in an art which—again to repeat Gleizes—sings to the eye, touches the heart and persuades the intelligence. That was her avowed purpose.

NOTE

I have not mentioned the artist's painting in gouache or oils nor such admirable work as her Stations of the Cross at Kiltulla, Co. Galway, nor the notable series of Indian ink wash drawings she made from stone carvings at St Canice's and the Black Abbey, Kilkenny ; St Brigid's, Kildare and from the Kilcarn Font, Co. Meath, now in Johnstown Church. These carvings entered into her work as Poitiers and Le Mans entered into it. Similarly the appended list of her work in stained glass makes little mention of her numerous panels and omits reference to window tracery where it occurs.

WINDOWS IN IRELAND

1933	St Nathi's Church (C. of I.), Dundrum, Co. Dublin.	Three small panels.	Annunciation and 2 abstract subjects. Her earliest work.
1934-35	Ardcarne Church (C. of I.), Boyle, Co. Roscommon.	2-light ...	SS Patrick & Brigid and Berac (Kirkwood memorial window)
1935	Tara Church (C. of I.), Co. Meath.	2-light ...	Descent of the Holy Ghost.
1935	King's Hospital (Blue Coat School) Chapel, Blackhall Place, Dublin.	3-light ...	Resurrection.
1935	Clonsilla Church (C. of I.), Co. Dublin.	1-light ...	St. Fiacre.
1936	Blackrock College	Two 2-light One 1-light ...	Armorial shields on bottle-glass.
1937	Portobello Military Barracks Chapel.	3-light ...	The Good Shepherd, St. Patrick, St. Joseph.

1937	Paris Exposition. Later exhibited in Glasgow. Now in Kimmage Manor, C.S.Sp.	Panel ...	Abstract.
1938	Irish Pavilion, New York World's Fair.	Large upright rectangle.	My Four Green Fields. Commissioned by the Dept. of Industry & Commerce.
1938	Collins Military Barracks Chapel, Cork.	3-light ...	Christ in Glory, Archangel Michael, St. Patrick. Base painted by Michael Healy when Evie Hone was undergoing an operation.
1940	Rockwell College	Panel ...	Heraldic.
1940	Blackrock College	Lunette ...	
1940-41	Blackrock College, Castle Chapel	3-light ...	Pentecost.
——	Church of St Thomas, Foster Avenue, Dublin.	Panel ...	S. George. (Hume Dudgeon memorial window).
1941	Clongowes Wood College Chapel	Three 2-light ...	Christ meets His Mother ; Crucifixion ; Deposition.
1942	Loughrea Cathedral, Co. Galway.	1-light ...	St. Brigid.
1943	Howth Church (C. of I.) ...	2-light ...	Calling of S. Andrew, S. Peter. memorial window to Andrew Jameson.
——	Cancer Hospital, Donnybrook	Panel ...	St. Anne, over door.
1945	Sandymount Methodist Church	1-light ...	Rock of Ages.
1946	St Stanislaus College, Tullabeg, Co. Offaly.	Five 1-light ...	Nativity, Beatitudes, Last Supper, Pentecost, Sacred Heart and Jesuit Saints.
1947	University Hall, Hatch St., Dublin.	Five 1-light ...	Five symbolical windows Alpha & Omega, Lamb, Fish, Pelican, Dove.
1947–48	St Mary's Parish Church, Kingscourt, Co. Cavan.	Three 2-light ...	Annunciation, Crucifixion, Ascension.
1947–48	do. do. ...	One 3-light ...	Apparition at Fatima.
1947-48	St John's Church (C. of I.), Malone, Belfast.	Rose window ...	Symbols.
1948	do. do. ...	1-light ...	SS. Columba, Brigid.
1948	Church of the Holy Rosary, Greystones, Co. Wicklow.	Two 1-light ...	The Good Shepherd. Our Lady of the Rosary (Battle of Lepanto). (Curran memorial windows).
1948	Dominican Convent, Falls Road, Belfast.	1-light ...	Our Lady of Mercy with Dominican saints.
1948	Fahan Church (C. of I.), Co. Donegal.	3-light ...	St. Elizabeth of Hungary. (Knox memorial window).
1949	Clongowes Wood College Chapel	1-circular light	Head of Christ crucified.
1950	Kilmilkin Church, Co. Galway	1-light ...	St. Brendan. (O'Malley memorial window).
1950	Peterswell Church, Co. Galway	1-light ...	Our Lady of the Rosary.
1950	Church of the Holy Rosary, Limerick.	1-light ...	Baptism of Christ. (In the baptistery).

1950	Loughrea Cathedral, Co. Galway	Rose window ...	The Creation and symbols of the Holy Trinity.
1952	Magdalen Asylum, Galway ...	1-light (broken oval).	Sacred Heart, B.V.M., St. Joseph, St. Mary Magdalen.
1953	Church of SS. Michael & John, Cloughjordan.	2-light ...	B.V.M. and St. Joseph.
1953	All Hallows College, Dublin ...	Rose window ...	Assumption with Symbols.
1953	Milltown Park, Dublin ...	Four 1-light ...	The Four Evangelists. (Based on these Subjects at Eton).
1954	Church of the Holy Family, Ardara, Co. Donegal.	Rose window ...	Christ among the Doctors (Sweeney memorial window).
1954–55	Blackrock Church, Co. Dublin	One 3-light ...	Madonna and Child ; St. Brigid ; St. Patrick (McGuire memorial window).
1955	Clongowes Wood College ...	Two 1-light ...	S. Ignatius, S. Francis Xavier.

IN ENGLAND AND U.S.A.

1947	Lanercast Abbey, Cumberland	1-light ...	S. Cecilia (memorial window).
1948	Catholic Church, Bournemouth	3-light ...	Madonna, Annunciation, Visitation.
1949	Parish Church (C. of E.), Downe, Co. Kent.	3-light ...	Crucifixion, with B.V.M. and St. John.
1949	Ettington Park Private Mortuary Chapel, Warwickshire.	Two 3-light ...	Christ in Judgment, Archangel Michael, St. Nicholas
1949–52	Eton College Chapel. ...	18-light ...	Crucifixion and Last Supper, Melchisedech, Abraham and Isaac Symbols.
1952	Jesuit Church, Farm St, London.	Rose window ...	Symbols of The Passion and the Sacraments.
	do. do. ...	3-light ...	Assumption.
1954	St Michael's Church (C. of E.), Highgate, London.	5-light ...	Last Supper and Washing of the Feet.
——	Tate Gallery, London. ...	Panel ...	Crucifixion with B.V.M., and St John.
1955	All Hallows (C. of E.), Wellingborough, Northampton.	1-light ...	Nine symbols with abstract pattern in three tiers. Large rectangular composition rising at centre top.
1953	Washington Cathedral (Episc.), D.C.	3-light ...	Raising of Daughter of Jairus. (Garrett memorial window).

Paul Claudel

by MARY RYAN, M.A., D.LITT.
Emeritus Professor of Romance Languages, University College, Cork

PAUL CLAUDEL is dead, the last and greatest of a remarkable literary generation. There were his exact contemporaries, Jammes, Romain Rolland, Gide, Suarès ; Frizeau, not a writer but a stimulating friend of writers and artists ; then Valéry, whose poetry, different as it was from his own, he esteemed ; Colette in whose eightieth-birthday celebration he politely joined ; Péguy with whom he had but slight contact ; Proust and many others. He stands out by his abundance and variety, the vigour of his inspiration, the underlying unity of his vast work, his originality and independence even in the face of hostile criticism from different quarters, and by his influence. He had the rare good fortune to be able to work up to the very end, to meet death in a happy spirit—" Let me die quietly, I am not afraid "—and to go out in a blaze of recognition. In the production of his long retirement and in his end we see, even more plainly than in the work of the great years, what a writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* happily called " his great and humble heart ".

Many tributes have been paid by English writers to the writer and the man. But it is easily understandable that he is something of a stumbling-block to those who do not share the full Catholic tradition. Much criticism is vitiated by lack of understanding, either of the Catholic position, or of Claudel's personal deep and happy conviction. He moved in the world of Catholic thought as in a connatural element, finding in it, to quote a French critic, " the necessary framework of a total and complete conception of life and the world ". It satisfied his intellect, admitting and even postulating the existence of mystery in face of the infinite, at the same time that it afforded room for all his knowledge and experience, and in itself furnished rich poetic material. His purely religious poetry ranges from simple devotion to something like vision.

His conversion has been thought of as a sudden complete transformation ; but he makes it clear that it was only a first step. A great step indeed because he then realized God as a person. But it took him four years of study and bitter struggle to deduce the immediate consequences, and the process went on (as it must always go on) throughout his life. It resulted in what a critic wrongly calls " triumphant dogmatism " and " moralising intentions " ; these would be more aptly described as a conviction so intense, so joyous, so unifying, as to exude from his personality ; and an almost frightening sense of obligation to share

the truth he possessed. Because he was a man of strong and rugged character he spoke of these things sometimes violently and impetuously, as if he expected from others something of his own logicality and single-mindedness. The complex and elusive Gide is the much publicized case in point ; but Claudel had a long patience with Gide, and to him and others on occasion expressed regret at having been too forthright. Besides, those who stigmatize him as a *convertisseur* forget that his correspondents, Gide, Jammes, Frizeau, Suarès, Rivière, had all in the first instance approached him, attracted by the marvel of his original poetry, by the obviously religious trend of the early dramas, and the sense that he might show them an anchorage they lacked. Of such " troubled souls " he wrote in 1905 to Gide : " the confidence they show me frightens and humbles me ". And a few years later to Jammes : " God alone converts . . . The long correspondence I have carried on for months and years with Suarès, Rivière, and others, has had no result ; and I am led to assume a pedantic and doctrinaire tone which I do not like and is unfitting for me ". Yet to the end of his life he went on answering religious enquiries. Some of his answers became almost treatises and appear among his essays.

Claudel's poems and prose writings, his *Mémoires improvisés,* above all his correspondence of which four volumes have been published, reveal a man full of the zeal of God's house and sweeping, often too sweeping, in his denunciations of its enemies ; but also full of the charity that believeth all things and hopeth all things for men of even a little goodwill : witness his poems on Verlaine (1919) and his lecture on Romain Rolland (1948).

Claudel presents the very unusual combination of a practical man of affairs—he is described as a model official—with a transcendent poet. He suggests that it was because his cradle stood, not like Baudelaire's against a bookcase, but in a Registrar's office ; that he was born a bureaucrat, but became a poet " by the grace or irony of some whimsical fairy ". That fairy got to work early : he remembered writing verses at five or six years old.

The rather lonely boy, devouring, in an unoccupied room, books that were much more interesting than his school-books, or climbing the famous apple-tree to look out on the world, exploring the countryside in solitary rambles, listening to the endless stories of an old servant, to the chants in the village church, and the tolling of its bells, was storing up impressions and memories and words and songs. These recur in his writings, just as he kept his marked local accent right up to the end. The *lycée* acquainted him with the established forms of French literature. The Symbolist movement stirred him to imitation, Baudelaire and Rimbaud left their strong mark upon him. But he preserved little of his

early work. The moving *Vers d'exil* of 1895 are in alexandrines, a medium of which he was a master. He was no partisan of free verse for its own sake, but only as far as it gave fuller scope to personal expression. With the enlargement of his mind and experience, the upsurge of thought and feeling burst the bonds of regular form. He wrote to Jammes in 1911, when he had already published his first absolutely original poems, the *Grandes Odes,* and set out his theory of poetry in the *Art poétique :* " As you said to me at Orthez, there will always be two kinds of artists, the inspired and the craftsmen. The inspired produce their work more or less gropingly, by a sort of divination which does not always save them from blunders. The craftsmen and the virtuosi please the public by the mechanical sureness of their execution . . ." And Ivors in *La Ville* says to his father the poet Coeuvre :

> One who seeks the familiar measure finds nothing in your verses to take hold of,
>
> It is not a road that leads him, it is a sword that drives him, a torch in the night before him.

This Claudelian prosody, based on the stress and sound-values of words and the rhythm of breathing, was first tried out in drama. Any general reference to Claudel's work must inevitably bear principally on his drama. But this raises so many big questions that we can do little more than indicate a sequence. The early dramas, as he told a correspondent, were a projection of the problems and ideas that beset him in the stifling atmosphere of the closing nineteenth century, and they are correspondingly full of impassioned lyric passages. This characteristic remained in the second or even third versions, though these show evidence of maturing thought and a better sense of drama. In these plays, characters by no means ignoble live before us the tragedy of insatiable ambition ending in failure (*Tête d'Or*) ; the ruin and desolation of a purely material civilization (*La Ville*) ; revolt against any limitation of personal liberty (*L'Échange,* the first *Échange,* that is, of 1894, when Claudel was in America : this play was re-written and greatly altered in 1952 to stress the sway of money in modern life) ; the distress of a pagan world darkly waiting for redemption (*Le Repos du septième jour*). These plays all point to the acceptance, or re-acceptance, of the Christian answer to the problems of human life. They were published in 1901 under the title *L'Arbre* : the tree, firmly rooted in earth, drinking in air and sunlight through its branches, rising up to heaven, is a favourite symbol with Claudel.

L'Arbre also included the second version of the Violaine story, which was in Claudel's mind for twenty years, from the first sketch in 1892 to the definitive form (if we may use the word) *L'Annonce faite à Marie* of 1912.

This play has a special importance. In 1909 Claudel called *La jeune fille Violaine* " my most intimately felt and least exteriorly charming play ". In 1910—12 he transformed it into a pearl of pure poetry. He moved his realistic peasants back into the Middle Ages, against a setting of schism in the Church and civil war in the State (history being telescoped) ; he linked them with a convent of contemplative nuns, and used the liturgical prayers and seasons as a background to the action. This made it easier to convey the perennial truth of expiation by vicarious suffering, made it so to say dramatically more acceptable. But it takes away nothing of the human beauty and pathos of such scenes as Pierre's parting from Violaine and Violaine's parting from Jacques. The things of every day, the changing seasons, the farm labours, the building of churches are shown through ideal minds, and certain scenes, such as the coming back to life of Mara's child at midnight during Christmas Matins, and certain lyric dialogues, are indescribably beautiful. So is the atmosphere of reconciliation, understanding, peace, forgiveness, that enfolds at the end the three men who loved Violaine, her father, Pierre, and Jacques, and the sister who hated her. This, alas, has apparently had to be changed and shortened in the stage adaptation which was Claudel's last triumph, five days before his death.

Partage de midi, composed and printed in an edition of only 150 copies in 1905–6 and then held *incomunicado* until 1948 for " personal reasons ", marks a cleavage in Claudel's life and work. It is the record " slightly adapted " of a terrible, long-drawn-out crisis through which he had passed, and was written as a kind of deliverance : though echoes of the conflict keep long recurring in his poetry. When, some three years later, he turned back to drama, his aim was to create objective characters. " Not being able to write an epic poem ", he said in a letter to Frizeau, " I should like to compose a cycle of dramas presenting not only characters, but the ensemble of strange, multiple, convergent, means by which these characters are themselves produced for God's purposes ". This ambitious project was partly realized in *L'Otage* and its two sequels ; and certainly Sygne and Georges de Coûfontaine and Turelure and their descendants in *Le Pain dur* and *Le Père humilié* live in their own right. They are humanly very complex and move against the shifting and troubled background of France, its social, political, religious upheavals, from Napoleon's time to the downfall of the Pope's Temporal Power : with Louis Turelure, Comte de Coûfontaine, as French ambassador, the action moves to Rome. The conception of Sygne and Turelure has been much criticized, but not altogether understood, as Claudel abundantly explained in letters of the time ; no doubt the complexity of his intention was not completely conveyed on the stage. Sygne, for all her heroism, does not altogether live up to her sacrifice. She clings to a past that *is* past. Her physical endurance is

worn out at the end rather than her will. Again Turelure, monstrous as he is, is not just simply bad. He is a coarse-grained man, the son of a rootless father, representing the rise of the unscrupulous in all the tempting opportunities offered by the Revolution. " I did not mean to present saints ", wrote Claudel, " but weak human creatures face to face with Grace ". Even Turelure, who was once a novice in a monastery, retains some understanding of religious obligation.

Claudel's greatest and most original drama, *Le Soulier de satin,* is not easy to speak of briefly—though Gide summed it up in one word, " consternating " ! Something that we learn from the Memoirs makes it a little less so, tells us that fundamentally it is a sequel to *Partage de midi.* There had come about a meeting, a tranquillizing renewal of acquaintance, a sort of reconciliation, between the two partners of *Partage de midi,* " showing that those sufferings, those unsatisfied desires, were on a total view a good thing . . . ' That all things cooperate for good ', as St Augustine says ". It is a drama of grief thrown off—after protracted suffering—and an assertion of joy. " How say without impiety ", asks the King of Spain in the First Day, " that the truth of those things that are the work of a very good God is sad ? " This theme of joy so irradiates Claudel's thought that we may digress a moment to speak of it. Even before he had recovered the Faith of his baptism, he had faith in a selfless joy. The great creations of the human mind—he instances the choruses of the *Antigone* and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony—filled him with joy, and he uses this as an argument against Rivière's early pessimism. It was not eclipsed even in the *Partage de midi* period, for he wrote to Frizeau in 1904 : ". . . the only truth is in Joy, immense, breath-taking, blessed, such as we get a slight idea of in the most sublime works of art, Virgil, Dante, Beethoven, Shakespeare . . . there is no doubt that we are born for limitless happiness, for inexpressible delights ". And in 1908 he wonders that unbelievers do not understand " the heavenly doctrine of the faith. It seems to me that there must be immense joy in seeing beings superior to oneself ". It is curious and rather pathetic to find Gide recording the impression that Claudel made on Charles-Louis Philippe of " an immense triumphant joy, not excited, quiet, solid, assured, safe . . . There is nothing more contagious than sadness, nothing more convincing than joy. The example of Claudel's joy was for many of us a very gripping thing ". And there is a curious echo of this, forty-five years later, in a death-notice by Robert Mallet, who had seen Claudel quite recently apropos of an edition of his works. " I liked the solidity and the radiance of your faith ", he says to him in retrospect, " even though I did not share it. You made me believe in faith ".

During the Brazil period Claudel seems to have been very buoyant. The lyric and minor dramatic work of those two years is rich and varied, including *La Messe là-bas,* all instinct with deep spiritual feeling, the

poems on St Geneviève and on the death of his father-in-law the architect Sainte-Marie-Perrin, a couple of scenarios for ballet, and the gay and pathetic farce *L'Ours et la lune*. Then when he got back to Europe, his mind turned on the great drama which took five years to write and of which he said later that it sums up all his art, all his thought, all his life.

All his art. The structure of the unwieldy-seeming play has a feature of classical regularity. The prayers of the dying Jesuit missionary for Rodrigue, and of Prouhèze to Our Lady for herself, are an exposition which clearly foreshadows the *dénoûment;* the death of Prouhèze at the end of the Third Day ; and in the Fourth, Rodrigue's final acceptance of a spiritual ideal in complete destitution and renunciation, his " captive soul " delivered. His career of suffering, adventure, ruthless self-realization, glory, and downfall, has led him, and incidentally Prouhèze, through scenes of endless variety, some only loosely connected with the main stream of events.

For various dramatic systems had influenced Claudel's practice : Shakespeare's freedom in scene-changing, by-plots, contrasts of tone ; Spanish drama with its division into Days and the " absolutely extraordinary " invention of scenarios in Lope de Vega and Calderon ; the leisurely procedure of Japanese slow-motion plays punctuated by simple music. Add Claudel's own determination to discard conventional trammels of subject and language : " The artist whether writer or painter finds his means of expression in reality. If under pretext that it is vulgar or low you forbid him the use in its full extent of the dâily life that stirs about him . . . you impoverish him . . . you injure the mystical or spiritual realities that you aim at honouring . . . we have no other means of making them tangible . . . than by images drawn from everyday life ". The Vice-Roi, pleading for Rubens's art, asks : " Is all that beauty to be useless ? Coming from God, is it not made to return to Him ? The poet and the painter are needed . . . to make of all a thanksgiving and a prayer that will defy time ". Sheer delight in inventiveness, and the whimsical and even farcical humour that were an integral part of Claudel's mental make-up dictate lively scenes ; and the wilful stage-directions are almost mischievous. " Order is the pleasure of reason, but disorder is the delight of the imagination ", we are told in the author's foreword.

All his thought. His unwavering faith in a providential ordering of the world, his intense conviction that everyday life with its chances, vicissitudes, sufferings, humours, clashes, contradictions (all of which he revels in depicting) is lived against a supernatural background, gives an endless variety of scenes and characters. The appearances of the Guardian Angel and St James, seen by the spectators but not by the actors on the stage, bring home visibly their invisible action. The famous scene with the hook occurs in a dream of Prouhèze.

All his life. His official career had taken him hither and thither over the globe, from U.S.A. to China, from Prague and Hamburg to Rome, from Brazil to Japan. Thus for forty-one years he had been in observant contact with strange peoples, landscapes, literatures, usages. The life had developed sympathy with the spirit of adventure, with explorers and empire-builders. That is why, as a stage-direction tells us, " The scene is the world, and more especially Spain at the end of the 16th century unless it be the beginning of the 17th. The author has taken the liberty of telescoping countries and periods ". He has a strong predilection for the age of the Renaissance. It appealed to him because, without abandoning the medieval heritage, it was in so many ways an age of expansion, of adventure and discovery, enlargement of the world of knowledge and of art, defence of the true religion attacked from within and without, vast missionary enterprises. He endows his chief characters with the vigour of those times : Rodrigue has the ruthless temper of a conquistador, Prouhèze a little of the strong will of " Mother Teresa " who appears in the background of the final scene.

After *Le Soulier de satin* Claudel produced two more dramatic works, the curiously spectacular *Livre de Christophe Colomb* and *Jeanne au Bûcher* which he calls a Dramatic Oratorio. But after his retirement, he concentrated more and more on religious writing, based on the study of the Bible, " the great book that I took up on the evening of my conversion, never to lay it down again ". Elsewhere he wrote : " I have always studied the Bible, but as a poet, not as an exegete ". His numerous books of this kind are full of beauty and of stimulus, but they need separate and competent treatment.

No writer so copious as Claudel can always be at his own topmost level. But that level is the level of genius. Both for matter and form he must be judged in himself, rather than by comparison with other dramatists. His work is not like any other.

He is perhaps most *different* in that his background is uniformly a Catholic philosophy of life. The demands of the Creator on the creature, the love of God for man and man's striving after God, life as a conflict involving suffering, the ultimate triumph of good over evil : all that is as essential for understanding Claudel as for understanding Dante. But it is not true, as has been suggested, that the dramatic tension is thereby lessened, it even becomes more poignant. " The spiritual combat is as relentless as the field of battle ", wrote Rimbaud.

It has been said of Claudel that he was no psychologist. His letters seem to prove the contrary, though he certainly had no use for excessive analysis or introspection. At the very time that he was trying, in his letters, to extricate Rivière from the pessimism which made him see nothing in the world but chaos, he wrote to Frizeau that Rivière's case had

disappointed and grieved him. " The mind of the best young men is enervated and de-virilized by the ignoble poison of literature and attention to self. ' Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it '. He who pays idolatrous attention to his little personal garden and whatever grows in it, corn or poison, will reap a sorry harvest. An artist's work requires suppression as much as production, and so does the life of a just man."

Claudel does not separate the idea of a " just " man from that of the supreme artist. We know from the *Art poétique* that he sees creation as an ordered, melodious and harmonious whole : melodious, because it unrolls itself in succession like the notes of a melody ; harmonious, because the complex parts fit into one another, all discords, that is to say evil, destined eventually to be resolved. He takes his epigraph from St Augustine : as God is Creator, so He is Controller, " so that the beauty of the whole world is like a great poem of the ineffable Singer ". Similarly he loves to quote a little phrase from Ecclesiasticus, *non impedias musicam.* He reverted to it in his reception address to the Academy in 1946. Each man has to play in tune (*juste* in French) in the concerted whole, to follow and at need to improvise his part. " There is something finer and rarer than a superman, that is a just man, a man in tune as a note is in tune, one of those men praised by Holy Writ because not only do they not hinder the music, but by their appearance on every line of the stave to which one after the other they have been called by Providence, they bring plenitude, create concord ".

Claudel's contribution to the plenitude was twofold. First, as he tells us, a most interested discharge of his official duties. But the second destined, we believe, to enrich the harmony of the world long after his own time, the use of his poetic gift. His rich and inspiring lyric poetry would need a long study all to itself. We must content ourselves with one quotation to show his drift :

> To me Thou hast not given a poor man to feed nor a sick man to tend
>
> Nor any other bread to distribute than words, . . .

and he prays that his words may be

> as of one sowing silence, sowing darkness, sowing churches, sowing the measure of God.

The ILO sets up its Wartime Centre in Canada

by EDWARD PHELAN

MY first view of the ILO's quarters in Montreal gave me something of a shock. I found the staff occupying rows of plain wooden tables in a small hall, which with its high windows and timbered roof had a faintly ecclesiastical air—I learned later that it was in fact a disused chapel. At the end opposite the door two staff members with their tables were accommodated on a raised platform some six feet high. Had it not been for the clatter of typewriters and the sight of familiar faces I might have supposed that I had entered by mistake one of McGill's halls where an examination was in progress under the vigilance of the supervisors on the dais. As I made my way along a lane between the tables greeting on one side and the other the colleagues who had preceded me from Lisbon, I was appalled to discover that the muster was complete and that therefore there was no other accommodation than this one big room. True what we had transferred to Montreal was only a skeleton organization in which the various services had of necessity been reduced to their simplest expression, but even so, I had never imagined that whatever modest accommodation we might find would not allow for some measure of separation by function and responsibility. Here roneotists, typists, accountants, statisticians, translators, editors, experts and all the rest were camping out sheltered by four bare walls and a roof. How could intellectual work demanding a high degree of concentration be carried out in such conditions? How could experts confer or visitors be received? How could confidential discussions on Office policy be held?

The one cheerful note was the spectacle of the staff. Enthusiastically engrossed in their tasks, bobbing up and down between their tables and the tin boxes on the floor in which their precious documentation had been carried across the Atlantic, they seemed to have no regrets for the palatial accommodation they had left in Geneva and no misgivings about the lack of the facilities provided. I continued my way up to the platform and there I discovered that a door led into a steep and narrow stairway at the bottom of which I found Winant in a tiny dark room just large enough to contain a desk and one chair for a possible visitor. I suppose something of my discouragmeent must have been

Note: An earlier instalment of these reminiscences appeared in *Studies*, Autumn 1954. Mr. Phelan was associated with the ILO from its planning at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and continued in its service until he retired from his post as Director General in 1948. He was recently named Chairman of Unesco's Special Advisory Board on Personnel Matters. Ed.

apparent in my expression for he hastened to assure me that the present arrangements were provisional. Two houses on the other side of McGill campus were being prepared for our use by the University authorities and to these it was hoped to move in a couple of weeks' time.

This was highly comforting news and in due course the move was accomplished. By that time I was able to realize how fortunate we had been. When Winant had discussed with Prime Minister Mackenzie King where the ILO should establish its working centre in Canada he had indicated his desire that it should be in some University city in which a good economic library would be available. Montreal, Toronto and Kingston were mentioned as fulfilling this condition but the Prime Minister left the decision entirely to Winant. Winant's choice was Montreal. It had the advantages that with its mixed population of French and English speaking Canadians it had something of an international character, and that it was in consequence well equipped for printing documents in French. Moreover, he had already tentatively explored its possiblities through his old friend and classmate at Princeton, Wilder Penfield, the Director of its famous Neurological Institute. Penfield had put him in touch with Cyril James, Principal and Vice Chancellor of McGill, who had offered to place facilities at his disposal. But what weighed with him most, and ruled out any leisurely comparison of what might be available elsewhere, was his conviction that if the ILO did not leave Geneva at once it would never get away. Once the Prime Minister had given him a free hand he immediately accepted McGill's offer and made his telephone call to me in Geneva. His rapid decision was made just in time for, as I have already recounted, the Spanish frontier was closed to ILO officials only a few days after those bound for Canada had passed through.

The result, however, was to land the ILO into a city that was bursting at the seams. McGill itself was overcrowded ; special training courses, set up to meet the needs of Canada's war-time industrial expansion, had increased the number of students and strained its resources to the limit ; additional accommodation was impossible to find in the city which as Canada's greatest industrial centre was equally congested. The action of Principal James in placing two houses in University Street at the ILO's disposal was therefore much more than a friendly gesture. Not only did it mean the sacrifice of space badly needed by the University itself but the alterations necessary to adapt the premises to our needs involved the University in the expenditure of some 25,000 dollars.

The ILO was perforce operating under conditions of severe financial stringency. The costs of the transfer to Montreal had been greater than anticipated and even the smallest items of expenditure had, therefore, to be carefully watched. Since the management of the ILO's finances was my special responsibility, the problem of having to find an additional

25,000 dollars would have been most unwelcome, and my gratitude for McGill's generosity was in consequence personal as well as official. Though no suggestion was made that the University expected this sum to be repaid, I nevertheless felt that the ILO's dignity and self respect required that it be considered as an obligation to be honoured as soon as circumstances permitted. Some three years were to elapse before anything could be done. What happened then had its amusing side.

Our financial situation at that time had much improved but not to an extent that made possible the immediate payment of the whole sum. What I thought might be done was to deal with the matter by annual payments exceeding the rental value of our premises, and in order to treat the matter in this way it was necessary to discover what in McGill's view that rental value was since, if it was higher than what I could make available, I must wait till a larger sum was at my disposal. I accordingly went to call on Principal James with the idea of finding out whether I could make an appropriate proposal. The Administrative Building, which I believe is the oldest building on the Campus and which I now entered for the first time, seemed to belong to another age. Its old-fashioned, gloomy entrance, with its grey walls and uneven stone floor, was not what I had expected as a setting for Cyril James' modern outlook and energetic personality. It reminded me of Gwydyr House in Whitehall in which I had made my first acquaintance with the British Civil Service some thirty years before. His own office on the first floor proved, however, to be a bright and attractive room in which utility and comfort had been most happily combined. After a brief preliminary conversation of a very cordial character I approached the subject of my visit saying that I thought it was unfair that McGill should be out of pocket on the ILO's account and asking what he thought would be a reasonable rent for our premises. At this his manner changed. He became at once the cautious administrator, coldly and efficiently very much on his guard, and told me he would prefer me to fix the figure for myself. This was exactly what I did not want to do. We fenced for a little but he steadfastly refused to be drawn. He had of course no idea of what I was at and no doubt concluded that my object was to negotiate for the lowest figure I could obtain. When the deadlock seemed complete I decided to reverse my tactics.

" What would you think of $5,000 a year ? " I enquired.

He straightened up in his chair and looked as if he was asking himself if he had heard correctly. Then he burst out laughing and said, " I thought you were going to say something like $400 a year. That's what one of our schools would have offered."

" I was afraid you might have thought it too little ", I replied.

" Good Lord, no", he said. " The University is very short of money at the moment and $5,000 will be more than welcome. The Board of

Governors will be delighted when I tell them of the ILO's action. I can assure you that they will be impressed and highly appreciative."

Cyril James seemed to take an even livelier satisfaction in his anticipation of the Governors' reaction than in the payment itself. I suspected that some of them had not been over enthusiastic at his initiative in offering accommodation to the ILO when the University's needs were so pressing and that it gave him special pleasure to be able to inform them that it had been a sound move even from a narrow business point of view. Be that as it may, McGill's association with the ILO during the war years has now become part of the history of the development of international institutions. Among its many claims to fame its friends and admirers can rank high that which is commemorated by a bronze plaque unveiled on its campus in 1950. The inscription reads as follows :

> To this campus the International Labour Organisation transferred its wartime headquarters in 1940 on the generous invitation of the Government of Canada and McGill University. From here the ILO directed its work of furthering world peace through social justice. This tablet records the lasting gratitude of the ILO to McGill University.

McGill, however, was not alone in lending the ILO a helping hand. There is another great university in Montreal and it in its turn was to afford the ILO facilities more extensive than those which McGill had been able to supply though for a much more limited period. When the time came to hold a Conference in Canada Monseigneur Maurault, the Rector Magnificus of the University of Montreal (who certainly lived up to his title) put at our disposal in the great building perched on the side of Montreal's " Mountain " not only a splendid hall, but committee rooms and office space for the Conference staff on a scale that rivalled our own accommodation in Geneva and far exceeded both in extent and convenience anything that we found elsewhere in America. Thus both of Montreal's universities in different ways vied in generosity to the ILO in its time of need and both have a high place in the ILO's memories of Canadian generosity and hospitality.

Hospitality given so open-handedly certainly meant much but the ILO had wider and even more important needs and I must now turn back to my first days in Montreal when they called for my urgent attention. The ILO had left Switzerland because of the danger of being deprived of the freedom required for the performance of its international functions. Nothing would have been gained by the move unless arrangements could be made to ensure effectively its independence and freedom of action in Canada. This was by no means a simple matter. The arrangements under which the League of Nations and the ILO had operated in Switzerland had been negotiated in a world at peace and with a small country whose perpetual neutrality had seemed to make it

peculiarly suitable for international headquarters. Canada was at war. There was therefore no precedent for the guarantees the ILO must now require, and the problem they presented was much more difficult than that involved in the arrangements with Switzerland. The fact that Canada was a belligerent meant that the guarantees to the ILO must necessarily cover a wider range and it equally meant that they must involve questions touching directly on measures of national security that the host Government would naturally and properly regard as of grave concern. Moreover, the decisions involved, dealing for example with such questions as passport control, censorship of letters and telegrams, foreign exchange, etc., were administratively intricate and many different governmental departments were responsible for one or other aspect of the questions they raised. It is impossible to praise too highly the way in which the Canadian Government and the able heads of her Civil Service dealt with these delicate and highly technical issues in spite of the tremendous pressure under which they were working at that time. The ILO's requests were met with a surprisingly full understanding of its international character and independence, and the necessary Orders in Council and administrative instructions were agreed on and issued with amazing rapidity. Few questions ever arose out of the working of the agreements made and these were easily and speedily settled. Certainly the ILO was satisfied and I venture to think that the Canadian Government had never any reason to regret the arrangments into which it entered. It can take a legitimate pride in the knowledge that it thus created precedents concerning the relations between an international institution and its host country that made a contribution of immense value to the future development of international organization. How delicate were the problems Canada had to face and how much credit she deserved for having tackled them with such boldness and vision was brought home to me when I learned some time later that one of the principal reasons that had led the United States to refuse Winant's request for hospitality to the ILO was the reluctance of the State Department to approach Congress on arrangements of this kind.

While these negotiations with the Canadian Government were in progress the ILO had steadily succeeded in resuming such activities as its modest resources and staff permitted. The new headquarters had made contact with member Governments, information was flowing in, certain publications had begun to reappear and technical studies were in progress. In spite of the rigours of its first Montreal winter there was a spirit of happy optimism in the staff born of the feeling that the ILO was once more a going concern whose survival, whatever difficulties might yet lie ahead, seemed secure. This cheerful optimism was abruptly shattered when it was learned at the beginning of the New Year that Winant was about to leave the ILO in order to go to London as American

Ambassador. The dismay that this news created among the staff can easily be understood. They had been impressed by the courage and determination with which he had rescued the ILO from the perils that threatened it in Europe. They realized, however, that the establishment of wartime headquarters in Montreal was not in itself decisive, that the ILO would have an uphill fight to survive, and that, with Europe overrun and with Great Britain engaged in a life and death struggle, the ILO's future would largely depend on the degree of support it received from the United States. They regarded the presence of Winant at the head of the Office as the proof that that support could be counted on to the full. They knew that he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of President Roosevelt. Though his original plan of finding a haven for the ILO in the United States had not been accepted, their belief in the security his presence as Director afforded had not been shaken. Indeed they felt that his influence in Washington had probably been enhanced and that, having been unable to meet his wishes on that occasion, the United States would be all the more ready to help him in other ways. Their dismay was the greater because the blow was so totally unexpected. They had been prepared to encounter all sorts of difficulties and uncertainties in the adventure on which they had embarked, but this was a catastrophe they had never anticipated, one that seemed indeed to have been ruled out from the start. They remembered that among the precautions taken by the Governing Body to ensure that the ILO's work should not be disrupted by extensive hostilities was the arrangement made with member Governments that they would not call up their nationals in the ILO's service save after consultation with the Director, and that as regards the Director himself the Governing Body had stated that it assumed that no Government would think of withdrawing him in such circumstances. Since this view had been unanimously expressed by the Governing Body when Winant himself was Director and when the Chairman of the Governing Body was also an American, the news of Winant's departure was felt by many of the staff to augur ill for the future. If, they argued, the United States could so lightly neglect or forget a commitment concerning the ILO which it had so recently and so deliberately approved, what hope could there be of sustained and understanding support for the ILO once Winant had gone.

They did not, of course, raise these questions with Winant, and if they had it is unlikely that they would have been much enlightened. He rarely explained his decisions and never in terms of a closely reasoned argument. Logical exposition was not his mode of expression, and though he had no difficulty in understanding a case put to him in that way, his reply would often seem to be so vague and general that it gave the opposite impression. It was therefore never easy to understand how his mind worked. What one learned by experience was that he knew quite

well what he wanted and even more definitely what he did not. This, however, did not always make things easier, since it by no means followed that he would reveal what his attitude was. He would choose his own time for making his decision known and even then one might learn of it only indirectly and still be left in doubt of its precise nature. It was said of him that his methods were oblique. Certainly they were often baffling in the extreme.

Since he never gave, in any but the most laconic form, his reasons for accepting the London appointment, I can only record what I believe were the elements that converged in his decision. I think he saw the war as the climax of the struggle between good and evil. The ILO therefore did not figure in his thought as an issue requiring special and independent consideration. It was part of something much wider, part of an attitude to life that the powers of evil were out to destroy. If the Axis won the war, the ILO would be involved in the destruction of all that gave it any meaning. He had placed it in Canada where, in the safest haven he could find, it must await the outcome of the conflict. There was no more that he could do for it within its own sphere. In the larger field he was now to enter he could hope to make a contribution to an Allied victory and that was the best service he could render to the ILO.

But his decision was not, I imagine, so much a conclusion logically reached as a passionate and almost mystic conviction that the fundamentals of all free existence were at stake and that in this apocalyptic struggle the opportunity would be given to him to help in some signal way the cause of freedom. And I also surmise that while this conviction was gaining strength there was running parallel to it on another plane in his mind, a longing that, perhaps not consciously identified, had its part in his decision. He wanted to be in the danger zone. He wanted to be where the bombs were falling, to give the encouragement of his presence, if he could give no more, to those on whose sacrifice and courage all at the moment depended.

Though there may have been other elements in his decision, for he was a highly complex personality, I think that these, or something resembling them, were predominant. They correspond to different traits in his character and they explain his remarkable success as Ambassador in London. The impact that he made on people of all kinds in Great Britain by his warm sympathy, by the sincerity of his fervent belief in their cause, affords evidence of the spirit in which he came among them and it is not unreasonable to suppose that that same spirit moved him in accepting his appointment.

But whatever may have been the reasons for his decision and however much they might be held to justify it, the fact remained that it was a severe blow to the ILO and I therefore shared the misgivings of the staff. Indeed, I perhaps felt them even more acutely for I could forsee

that his departure would confront me personally with difficulties and problems that it might well prove impossible to resolve. There was no possibility of a meeting of the Governing Body or of its Emergency Committee. Until such a meeting could be held, I as Deputy Director would take charge as Harold Butler had done when Albert Thomas died. The circumstances, however, were very different. On that occasion the interregnum had been a matter of only a few weeks and had any grave question arisen the Governing Body could have met at short notice. Now the ILO's situation was critical in the extreme : new problems faced it at every turn ; unprecedented decisions had to be taken day by day ; and momentous decisions of policy would in all probabliity be required from time to time. Unless these responsibilities could be shouldered effectively the ILO's chances of survival would be slim. I could, of course, appeal to the Governments for support, but as a mere *de facto* Chargé d'Affaires lacking any properly conferred constitutional authority to be the mouthpiece of the Organisation how far would my voice carry and what attention would be paid to it ? These considerations pointed clearly to the necessity of investing me with the fullest authority possible in the circumstances. They also suggested that all feasible measures should be taken to strengthen my position with Member Governments and particularly with the Government of the United States since with Winant's departure there would be no high ranking official of American nationality on the staff through whom effective liaison could be maintained with Washington.

I tried to get Winant to give consideration to these problems whenever I could get hold of him, which was not often as he spent much of his time in Washington being " briefed " for his new post. On the first occasion he listened patiently and sympathetically but his reply was too general to be satisfactory. " I'll see that you're all right", he said and then with a warm handclasp and a disarming affectionate smile off he went. The next time I pressed him more persistently. " I haven't forgotten", was his response, " but I can't do anything till the nomination has gone through the Senate. Then everything will be cut and dry and I'll get to work on it " ; and once more he was gone. Incidentally, whenever I asked to see Winant he always came into my office instead of summoning me to his. I once asked him why. " That's an old trick of mine," he replied grinning mischieviously. " I always go to see the other fellow. Then I can go when I want to. If he comes to me I can't get rid of him so easily", and then he added with his attractive smile, " That doesn't apply to you. You come and see me whenever you want", an invitation which, though sincerely meant, was not as valuable as it appeared for it would rarely happen that I would know where he was to be found.

Events now began to move rapidly. It was clear that there would be no delay in the Senate and that very little time remained. I took it

for granted that Winant would inform the Governing Body of his decision and I accordingly sent him the draft of a communication that he could adapt as he thought appropriate. After having stated as best I could the reasons why he felt it his duty to accept the London appointment I added a phrase to the effect that he felt he could safely leave the Office in my charge. It seemed a necessary element in justification of his decision that he should say he had considered how the Office would carry on after his departure and that he was satisfied that it could do so.

I heard no more of my draft for he chose a different procedure, preferring to send his resignation by a letter addressed to Carter Goodrich, the Chairman of the Governing Body, in New York, rather than by a communication to all its members. I imagine his reason was that he wanted a single and rapid reply, and in the circumstances this was understandable. I did not see his letter till after it had been despatched on 13 February 1941. It was very different from the draft I had sent him and it can be summarized as follows. After its opening sentence " This is to tender my resignation effective as from 13 February 1941 " he confined himself to saying that the Office had been effectively established in Montreal, that the future of the Organisation was involved in the maintenance of the free nations, that he had been asked by the President of the United States to accept the ambassadorship to Great Britain, that believing this to be his duty he must leave the Office, and that he wished to thank the Chairman and the other members of the Governing Body as well as his co-workers of the staff of the Office for their extraordinary efforts in these years of crisis.

On first reading I found his letter puzzling. Apart from the first sentence it amounted to little more than a recital of facts none of which was new. Governments and members of the Governing Body had been informed by a number of communications during the last four months that the Office had been established in Montreal, that work had been resumed and that the budget for 1941 had been approved. They were also well aware that Winant had always believed that the fate of the ILO was dependent on the issue of the war. There seemed to be no purpose in recalling these facts now unless they were to lead up to a reasoned statement justifying the decision with which the letter opened. Winant certainly had a case but it seemed to me inadequately expressed by the single word " duty ". Duty to what ? To the United States or to the ILO ? There was no hint even that there were two duties and that he had had to decide between them, no explanation—and it could have been given with many powerful arguments—that, in the present abnormal circumstances, they coincided. Some of the material for such a case could be extracted from his letter by a selection of certain of his phrases and it could be argued that that was what he meant. But why had he deliberately, for I had no doubt that it was the result of a deliberate

decision, left his justification unstated and in fact gone to some pains to hide it away?

On re-reading his letter I began to see some light. I had been looking at the matter from only one angle, the angle of the ILO. Winant had looked at it against a wider background. He was a figure in American politics. His appointment as Ambassador to London had created quite a stir and the American press was carrying stories every day about his career in New Hampshire and in Washington. Anything about him was news and the text of his letter of resignation was sure to be given wide publicity. His political career had been marked by dramatic incidents and in particular by his resignation from the chairmanship of the Social Security Board in order to campaign for Roosevelt's re-election although this meant taking the field against the candidate of his own party. This was something the Republicans could not easily forgive, and it may also be supposed that there were Democrats who were not a little jealous that he, a Republican, should have been chosen by a Democratic President for the coveted post of Ambassador to the court of St James. It was the American readers of his letter that Winant had evidently had in mind and I could see that the terms in which I had narrowly conceived it as a communication from the Director of the ILO to the ILO's Governing Body were such as he could not possibly use. The idea that there might be obligations of loyalty to an international organization as well as to one's own Government, that in certain circumstances the two loyalties might have to be weighed one against the other, was not an idea with which Americans were familiar, and one that his political enemies might well have exploited against him. Although there can be no question that these two loyalties, properly understood, are perfectly compatible, there still exists even today in certain quarters in the United States an opinion that loyalty to an international institution must mean a dilution, and possibly a dangerous dilution of sincere patriotic sentiment. Winant, whose keen political instinct could sense this latent opinion before it found expression, had therefore good reason to choose his terms with the greatest caution. Those who set out to scale political peaks are aware, like other mountaineers, of the dangers of avalanches. When these are to be apprehended they know it is wise to proceed in silence. Only a fool or a madman would shout. Winant was neither but he had gone further than was perhaps prudent in speaking even in a sybilline whisper.

There was, however, another aspect of his letter to which these considerations did not apply that gave me grave concern. That was the omission of any reference to the fact that he was leaving the Office in my charge. I had urged him to take every possible step to strengthen my position and I had understood that he fully appreciated the need and was willing to do so. The first and most obvious measure was for him

to inform the Governing Body that he was designating me to carry on. It was evident that I should have to exercise authority going far beyond my function of Deputy Director and the appropriate basis for this necessary extension of my powers was a commission from the outgoing Director. I could see no explanation for the omission save that in the midst of his political preoccupations this practical point had been overlooked. I put the matter to him and suggested that he should make a communication to the Governing Body saying that he was leaving the Office in my hands until such time as it could appoint his successor. His attitude both puzzled and perturbed me. He did not flatly refuse but he was so deliberately noncommital that I pressed him as strongly as I could, urging with all the emphasis at my command that it was something the Governing Body would expect ; that the absence of any such statement would inevitably be interpreted as meaning that he had no confidence in me ; that my authority would be gravely weakened and the difficulties of the Office increased. As he still remained mutely and bafflingly negative I asked him bluntly to tell me frankly whether I had his confidence or not.

He assured me emphatically that I had. " In all my experience " he said, " I have never had such splendid loyalty and such valuable help. No-one could have given more." And then he added, and having just been pondering the nuances in his letter I was quick to see the value of the addition. " *You* could not have given more." Winant used few and usually very simple words, but they could on occasion convey very subtle and important distinctions. This tribute, emphatic though it was, however, carried matters no further. All I could get him to say was, " I thought my letter should deal only with my resignation. I don't want to add anything to it."

I still saw no reason why he should not send out a separate communication on the future administration of the Office and I continued my insistence. He broke into his charming smile. " I'll tell you what. I'll get Goodrich to do it " he said, moving towards the door with the air of having found a happy solution to all our troubles.

His attitude appeared to me so unreasonable and his explanation of it so unconvincing that I began to suspect that some plan was being hatched under which the Office would not be left in my charge. What could it be? I dismissed the idea of the immediate appointment of another Director. Only the Governing Body could make such an appointment and since this could not happen unknown to me there would be no point in not tellng me that this was what was envisaged. Moreover, the operation would take some time, and meanwhile I, as Deputy Director, would automatically have to manage the ILO's affairs. This hypothesis, therefore, did not seem tenable. The only other possibility that occurred to me was that there might be a scheme for putting the Office under some form of joint control. This was an idea against which I reacted violently and not on personal

grounds. The appointment of a new Director by the Governing Body would be the correct constitutional procedure. I had no ambition to succeed to the directorship in wartime and I should have been fully content if the Governing Body were to appoint someone else to take Winant's place. The putting of the directorship into commission, however, would be utterly contrary to the Constitution. The whole internal history of the Organisation had turned on the harmonious adjustment of the powers of the Conference, of the Governing Body and of the Director. To disrupt that equilibrium would destroy one of the most fundamental and valuable features of the Organisation, one that it might well prove impossible subsequently to restore. Moreover, it would hopelessly cripple the Organisation at a moment when its existence was at stake. I shuddered at the thought of the paralysis that would ensue and at the delays and disagreements that would inevitably confuse policy and hamper urgent action. If this was what was on foot I was prepared to go to all lengths to oppose it. I made a last attempt to force Winant to an explanation. " That won't do", I said, rising and following him to the door. " If Goodrich makes a statement it will only make things worse. Its only effect will be to draw attention to the fact that you abstained from making any such statement yourself."

Winant made no reply. He stood at the door with that almost tragic appearance of worried distress that so often evoked the desire to do anything possible to help him. But on this occasion, instead of reacting sympathetically, I resented a silence that I felt was a form of pressure. We looked at one another, he in mute appeal, I with growing irritation. Finally I said " Well, if *you* won't do it I will. I shall send out my own communication to the Members as soon as Goodrich replies accepting your resignation."

His answer was a complete surprise.

He nodded his head a couple of times in smiling agreement and said cordially " That's all right " and then added emphatically, " Yes, you do it."

I remained, if anything, more puzzled than before. I had not gained my point but his unequivocal approval of the procedure I had stated I would follow was of substantial importance. It meant that there would be no hiatus and that my cable would go out while he was still Director. When Goodrich's letter arrived on the morning of 15 February, accepting Winant's resignation I accordingly telegraphed to all the Governments of the Members of the Organisation the following :

Chairman of the Governing Body has accepted Winant's resignation from his position of Director of the International Labour Office with effect from 15 February 1941. In his letter of resignation Winant who has been appointed American Ambassador to London reaffirms his faith in the continued ability of the Organisation to serve mankind. In assuming the responsibilities of the

directorship of the ILO until the Governing Body appoints a new director in accordance with Article 8 of the Constitution I am confident I will receive the full support of yourself and your Government in maintaining the activities and prestige of the Organisation in accordance with the Constitution and in fulfilment of the policy laid down by the Governing Body and applied by Winant and his predecessors. This telegram has been sent to all Governments.

I also sent telegrams with essentially the same text to all members and deputy members of the Governing Body.

Four days later Goodrich sent out by mail copies of his correspondence with Winant accompanied by a brief covering letter which contained the following passage :

> As from February 16, Mr E. J. Phelan has taken over the responsibility of directing the continued functioning of the Office as Acting Director until such time as the Governing Body appoints a Director under Article 8 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. For him and for the Organisation, I ask your fullest co-operation and support.

This was followed several weeks later by Winant's farewell message addressed to " Governments, Employers and Workers of Member States ", a lengthy printed document in which he surveyed the events of his directorship. In referring to his departure from the Office he wrote : " I leave it in the competent hands of the Deputy Director, Mr Edward J. Phelan, pending action by the Governing Body."

I never learned whether the passage in Goodrich's letter was inserted at Winant's suggestion, nor why Winant included in his message the statement he had so obstinately refused to make when I urged it upon him. To anyone who knew him the assumption that he changed his mind would appear unlikely. Actions of his that seemed contradictory were never susceptible of so simple an explanation ; they had their place in some intricate pattern known only to himself about which speculation was usually futile.

I was nevertheless occasionally mildly irritated by my inability to make head or tail of his behaviour on this occasion. Whenever I looked back on the events in Montreal it recurred to my mind as a kind of mental challenge. In the end I thought I could make sense of it on certain assumptions. *If* Winant had made a commitment not to send such a message, that would explain his obstinate refusal and it would be characteristic of him to stand by his commitment even though he was exposed to great pressure. *If,* however, he had come to realize more and more fully the undesirable results to which his inaction would lead, my declaration that I would send out my own statement would have appeared as a welcome solution—his commitment was limited and negative ; it debarred him from acting himself but it did not oblige

him to prevent action on my part and he was therefore free to agree that I should follow that course.

All that, however, is the merest conjecture. It may be that his baffling attitude had some other quite different explanation. In any case the matter ceased to have any importance as replies to my telegrams arrived in a steady stream containing welcome assurances of support and confidence.

This encouraging result was, however, yet in the future and I must turn back to recount certain other conversations with Winant before his departure. It might have been expected that at a time when we were so strongly divided on an issue that I believed to be of the greatest importance our relations would have been strained and our contacts reduced to such cold formalities as might be officially unavoidable. One proof that Winant was an unusual being was that, on the contrary, we remained on terms that can only be described as genuinely cordial. There were several questions, relatively small in themselves but important nevertheless, that it was urgent to get cleared up in the few days that remained. Winant had paid little attention to the general running of the Office or the performance of its well-established activities. These he was content to leave under my supervision. But he had initiated a number of affairs personally and kept them in his own hands. Some of them were of great interest since they were in a small way the beginning of what has now become a major international activity under the title of technical assistance. It was important that I should have a much clearer picture of what had been done in matters of this kind so that there might be no danger of disputes or misunderstandings at a later stage about the Office's exact obligations. This was the more necessary as Winant rarely put pen to paper except to sign his name. He was not in the habit of dictating a note of his conversations, and incoming letters or telegrams addressed to him were liable to disappear into one or other of his pockets and never afterwards to emerge. Such files as existed on these questions were therefore inadequate for my purpose and Winant readily agreed to go through them with me and fill in the gaps. When his last evening in the Office arrived nothing had been done. On my reminding him that the matter ought to be dealt with he replied, " I haven't forgotten. I'll do it before I go." I pointed out that he would be going in an hour's time and suggested we get on with the task at once. " I can't do that " he said, " but you come down to my house at Concord on Saturday and stay over till Sunday. Bring your wife. I want you both to see Concord and there are lots of things I want to talk to you about."

Anxious as I was to get the job done, I demurred at the idea of breaking in on his last weekend with his family, but he waved my hesitation aside. " You won't be in the way. It's a big house and we are always having guests", and as though happily planning a house party he

continued, " Bring Reymond (my private secretary). He can take charge of all the papers. Tell him to bring his wife too. You've all been working too hard and a quiet week-end in the country will do you good." It would have been more than discourteous to make any further difficulties about accepting an invitation so warmly given, but I asked him to leave the matter open and telephone me from Concord on Friday in case anything should arrive that interfered with his plans. This I thought would leave him an easy way out if he had acted on an over-generous impulse and would also ensure that Mrs Winant, who might well not welcome such an invasion on the eve of her husband's departure, would be consulted.

The telephone call came with a renewal of his invitation and in due course we arrived at the Concord airport, from which a car conveyed us to a large and attractive white house standing some distance back from a country road. The chauffeur, having deposited our bags beside the door and having rung the bell, drove off round the side of the house presumably to the garage, and then began a series of happenings that progressively became more and more bewildering. Nobody answered the bell. We stood in the snow, chilled by a bitter winter wind, anxious to reach the warmth inside. We rang again, and were about to ring a third time when we heard the rattle of a chain and the door was cautiously opened no more than an inch or two. A pair of malevolent eyes stared at us forbiddingly through the aperture. The scrutiny lasted a perceptible time and we thought we were going to be refused admittance. Then there was another rattle of the chain, the door was flung wide open and an impressive butler bowed us in. We found ourselves in a large hall in which a number of people were standing. They had a glum and dispirited air but we had barely time to glance at them before the butler, having taken our coats, ushered us into a large drawing room. A sense of unreality began to creep over us as we found that, like the hall, it was occupied by quite a crowd and that no attention whatever was paid to our arrival. Every available seat had been taken. Some of their occupants were reading crumpled newspapers, others gazed at nothing in particular in gloomy abstraction, others seemed asleep, and the whole atmosphere was one of boredom and despondency. There was also something peculiar about the butler. His dignity was tremendous—so much so that he seemed like a stage butler overplaying his part—but from time to time he breathed heavily as though beneath his mask he was repressing some violent emotion. Leaving us standing before the fireplace he disappeared for a few moments and reappeared with some folding chairs which he placed at our disposal. Then having learnt that we had had no lunch he opened a bridge table, covered it with a spotless tablecloth and with Jeevesian efficiency laid before us an excellent cold meal accompanied by hot coffee. We lingered over this welcome repast. There was nothing else

to do and nowhere else to go. We speculated in half whispers about our silent companions who continued to take no notice of us or of one another, and since speculation proved futile we too fell silent and, half dozing in the warmth of the fire, relapsing into semi-somnolent abstraction. The butler had long since disappeared, and without him and his ministrations there was nothing to connect us any longer with the normal world.

Whether I actually fell asleep I do not know, but my mind drifted lazily between fact and fancy until finally they became indistinguishable. I remember thinking that we were part of a group of stranded travellers, waiting in patient boredom for a long overdue train, for whom the railway company had provided a luxurious waiting room with rich carpets and tapestried armchairs. Vaguely conscious that my own seat was hard and had no arms, I concluded that I must be travelling third class. As a compensation, however, we third class passengers had been given an excellent free meal served with as much distinction as if we were directors of the company. Possibly this was some new experiment in social justice which I should investigate. The guard, whose uniform resembled a butler's, might know. No doubt he would appear again before we reached our destination. But when that would be and where, seemed of no importance.

Then suddenly I was aware that Winant had appeared in the doorway, and I woke up. " Have you been up to your rooms ? Are you fixed up all right ? " was his greeting. " You haven't. Come on. I'll take you."

We followed him with relief only to be plunged back into bewilderment as he halted us in the corridor outside with the words, " Wait here a minute. I'll have to get the keys from Robert. We have to keep your rooms locked."

He disappeared abruptly through a doorway, leaving us once more alone, perplexed by his announcement and somewhat dismayed at the idea that perhaps he would not return. His absence was only momentary and characteristically he picked up the conversation where he had left it as if there had been no interruption. It required an effort on our part to catch his thread and to discover that Robert was the butler, as he continued, " He's terribly upset at the way he received you. He thought you were journalists ! They invaded us this morning. Robert hurried round to barricade all the doors and windows but he was too late. They are all over the house, even in the bedrooms. He's furious. He thought you were some more of them, till he saw your grips."

As Winant showed us to our rooms he explained that he had to make a farewell speech to the New Hampshire Senate but that meanwhile Mrs Winant would take us for a drive and afterwards we could pay a visit to her famous kennels. " When I get back," he added, " these journalists will have gone and we'll get our job of work done. I've discovered you can get too much publicity " he added ruefully.

Mrs. Winant proved a charming and interesting guide to some of the beauties of Concord's surroundings and then we made our inspection of the kennels, an extensive establishment of some half dozen one-storeyed buildings comprising a kitchen, an infirmary, numerous fascinating young families of Scotch and Cairn Terriers and a whole nobility of canine aristocrats whose silken banners hung above their separate stalls blazoning in gold and red and purple the titles they had won. There was plenty that was interesting to see but I was anxious to catch Winant on his return and I explained to the Kennel Master that we must go. He nodded his head understandingly. " I'll take you to the Ambassador", he said, and there was a tone of reverence in his voice as he proudly pronounced the exalted title. As we followed him towards the door he stopped before another blazoned stall and pointing at its occupant said in a voice of deep emotion, " Here is the Ambassador ! " " The greatest dog ever shown in America." He seemed deeply offended when after a moment's startled silence his announcement was greeted with unrestrained laughter and was not greatly mollified when we suggested that the name had been prophetic.

Hardly had we arrived back at the house than Winant took me aside.

" I've got a Catholic Monseigneur up in one of the bedrooms. He's come from the Bishop. I wonder if you'd talk to him for a few minutes until I can get away from some other people. He's awfully nice."

" Certainly", I replied, feeling a vague apprehension that these were the opening words of act II of " A Quiet Week-end ", an apprehension that took more definite shape as Winant proceeded to explain what had happened. His only daughter who had been at school in Peru had made a runaway match with a young Peruvian a couple of days before and had arrived by 'plane with her husband. They had gone through a civil marriage but the family considered it essential that there should be a religious ceremony. Since the husband was a Catholic and the Winants protestants, an authorization from the Catholic Bishop was required and hence the Monseigneur's presence and the desirability of treating him with every possible courtesy in the disturbed conditions in which he had perforce to be received.

These domestic events naturally modified the programme for the rest of our stay and any hope of getting hold of Winant to deal with ILO affairs had clearly to be abandoned. After dinner, one or two close friends of the family arrived and we all gathered round the radio in the big comfortable library listening to snatches of opera or watching the young couple giving with admirable skill, demonstrations of the latest South American dances. It was a most pleasant evening. Winant and Mrs. Winant were such admirable hosts that we in no wise felt that we were intruders. Conversation ran easily in spite of the fact that the bridegroom spoke only Spanish and could therefore only talk with the

bride, a restriction that caused him evidently no regrets. Though this set them somewhat apart the glow of their happy absorption in one another radiated through the room and made the occasion genuinely festive. To watch Winant rolling back the carpet, fiddling with the radio in search of dance music, pulling books from his shelves, telling amusing stories and generally enjoying himself with the zest of a schoolboy arriving home for his holidays on Christmas Eve, was to marvel at his powers of recuperation after the exhausting day of private and public worries through which he had passed.

Next morning the family went off to the wedding which, in the circumstances, was a strictly private affair. We packed our bags and made reservations to leave on the plane at noon. But when Winant returned from the church he would not hear of our departure.

" Don't do that ", he protested. " Stay and have lunch with us and I'll go to Montreal with you on the three o'clock plane. I've got to see some people there and I've promised to say good-bye to the staff and then I take a late plane for Washington. I'll have plenty of time for our talk."

Again his insistence bore down my reluctance to take him away from Concord earlier than he had intended and we altered our reservations accordingly. It would be wearisome to recount what happened during the five or six hours he spent in Montreal and the various complications that once more upset his programme. All the conversation I had with him was at the door of his taxi as he was leaving the staff's reception at the Faculty Club while his secretary was telephoning to the airport saying that he was on his way and asking that the New York plane be held until he arrived.

" I'm sorry we didn't get to do those papers ", he said apologetically " but you won't have any trouble. If there's anything you don't understand, call me up in London."

As I walked home I thought what an unusual person Winant was and what an extraordinarily wearing life he led. He was always getting himself caught between contradictory commitments and having to expend immense energy and much time and ingenuity in getting himself out of them. It was not the result of muddle in any ordinary sense. He always knew quite clearly what he was about, but like Lord Kitchener, he kept too many things in his own hands. He worked mainly by telephone and personal conversations and as he kept no notes it was beyond the power of the ablest private secretary to keep his path smooth. The very fact that he had the gift of securing from his immediate personal assistants an exceptional degree of devotion paradoxically made things worse. Impressed by the definiteness with which he accepted or refused a formula and by the silent and often prolonged reflection that preceded instructions given in a few brief words, they came to regard the latter as

something sacred which it would be sacrilege to question and to which it was not their function to add any explanatory comment. " Not for them to make reply, not for them to reason why ", and the result, though not tragic, was sometimes troublesome in the extreme.

Here is an instance that occurred after Winant had been some months in London. He sent me a message—it is worth noting that I received only one letter from him in the course of our long acquaintance and that contained less than twenty words. His message informed me that he had written an article on the ILO for the *Saturday Evening Post,* that I would receive a copy of his manuscript and that if I thought there was anything in it that required alteration I was to send the corrections to his representative who would forward them to the Editor by whom they would be inserted in the text. An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* by Ambassador Winant would give most valuable publicity to the ILO's work. It would be read by millions and it was clearly most desirable that it should contain neither errors of fact nor any loosely worded phrase that might prove unfortunate. I accordingly read it with great care and forwarded my amendments through the prescribed channel. The result was a storm of impressive dimensions. The celebrated Ben Hecht, the autocratic and choleric editor of the *S.E.P.* blew up with a cyclonic violence that was unusual even for him. Winant, he thundered, had supplied the article only on the express condition that no change whatsoever would be made in its text. Ben Hecht's reaction was reported to me on the telephone by Winant's very disturbed representative, who suggested that my amendments might be withdrawn. Since they were important I could not agree and so the matter had to be referred back to Winant in London. I could easily guess what had happened. Two quite separate things were involved : one of them Winant definitely wanted and the other he did not. On the one hand he wanted me to vet the article so that it might contain no mistakes. On the other hand he did not want the editorial staff of the *S.E.P.* to follow their usual practice of editing contributors' manuscripts. The trouble arose from the fact that these two desiderata which could so easily have been co-ordinated had now precipitated a conflict. I can imagine how worried Winant must have been. The angry Ben Hecht had to be soothed at almost any cost—he was too vocal and powerful a figure for any politician to ignore—but equally the ex-Director could not allow an article containing errors about the ILO to appear under his name. I do not know how he managed to straighten the tangle. But while the politician and the ex-Director struggled with its complications, the Ambassador must have felt much as I did at Concord.

I have told these anecdotes about Winant in some detail because his personality was so complex and because in no other way can I convey what an unusual person he was. His range of mood and behaviour was

so wide that it would present the most skilful biographer with a formidable challenge. What I have recorded amounts to no more than a few fragments of personal experience that remain vivid in my memory, and they are far from giving anything like a complete picture. But since they are concerned mainly with incidents that aroused feelings of frustration and impatience I should add that when I saw him in London during my wartime visits my experience was quite different. I was always able to secure access to him without difficulty and we had many long talks, any one of which exceeded in length all my conversations with him as Director put together. Incidentally I found evidence on all sides of a respect and confidence in him that I imagine few ambassadors have ever enjoyed. In the circumstances of that time the United States was fortunate in having him as its representative and his intuition that he could render important service in his London post proved to be wholly correct. He achieved a personal success that was unparallelled and I was deeply grateful to him that in the midst of it he was always willing to give me so much of his time and to assist me in every possible way.

All this, however, lay in the future as I walked home that night in Montreal and began to survey the nature of the immense responsibilities that I must now shoulder alone.

The Conversion of St Augustine

by JOHN C. KELLY, S.J.

WHEN, in the year 395 A.D., St Augustine's friend Alypius wrote to St Paulinus of Nola to ask for a copy of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History,* and sent as a gift (or perhaps as part payment) five of Augustine's works, the first move had been made in the writing of the *Confessions* of St Augustine. Paulinus sent the Eusebius and asked for a full account of Alypius's life. We are reminded of St Irenaeus and his concern to learn from as many people as possible what they believed and what they taught and how they had preserved the tradition of the Apostles. Alypius, at that time bishop of Thagaste, because he was modest or perhaps because he was not a writing man, asked Augustine, who already suffered from the necessity of writing, to tell the story for him. After all, Alypius's story and Augustine's were one and Augustine had been the leader in their adventures with God. So, sometime before the year 400 A.D., Augustine wrote the *Confessions*. He hoped that his book might amuse some spiritual persons in a friendly way. Modern people may find it hard to think of Augustine's rambling and garrulous but brilliant and piercing prayer as amusing, but there are some passages here and there that the holy bishop must have written with a smile. There are few, however, who would dare deny that, whether seen as secular literature or viewed as the testimony of what God can do in a man's soul, the book is a classic. This is the book then, rugged, crusty and tangled as classics sometimes are, that (with Possidius's *Life*) Professor O'Meara has used as his chief source in writing *The Young Augustine*[1].

His book, he says, " aims merely at presenting in English as much of the information about Augustine's ideas up to the time of his conversion as is now available and can be transmitted to a wider public without all the panoply of *Wissenschaft*." (p. viii.) This is a modest claim. The book would be welcome if only because of the paucity of scholarly literature on the subject in English. But, because it draws on the new understanding scholars have of the profoundly unchristian nature of Manicheism and on their deeper understanding of neoplatonism, *The Young Augustine* is much more than a very superior kind of vulgarization. It stands on its own feet, in its own right, as a serious and important contribution to Augustinian studies. For this work Professor O'Meara is singularly well fitted by his long study of Augustine and by his previous study of Plotinus. Moreover, he writes better than is decent in a don,

[1] *The Young Augustine*: The Growth of St Augustine's Mind up to his Conversion. By John J. O'Meara. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1954.

so that even the general reader (a rather serious general reader) will be lead on by interest to read to the last page ; so well has Professor O'Meara avoided " the panoply of *Wissenschaft* " with which he could no doubt overwhelm even the staunchest of us did he choose.

The Young Augustine is then the story of Augustine's conversion or rather re-conversion to Christianity. It is a mysterious story, for every conversion is a mystery of grace, and, as such, indescribable to a greater or less extent. But the intellectual process and progress accompanying conversion can be seen and traced. This book is the account of the gradual intellectual process in Augustine that prepared, accompanied and led up to the conversion of his will. The work of God's grace on the will, the mysterious flick from negative to positive that takes place in all conversions, remains mysterious and inscrutable, even it would appear, to those who experience it. Professor O'Meara calls *The Young Augustine* " the story of a typical conversion ", meaning, of course, the conversion of an intellectual. In this sense Augustine's *Confessions* is indeed the " story of Everyman " journeying across the chasm between disbelief and faith.

In his foreword Professor O'Meara suggests that some readers may feel like skipping his introductory note. It would be a pity if they did. No reader who wishes to read the *Confessions* for the first time or again for the hundreth time (a wish that should be the natural result of reading *The Young Augustine*) should follow this suggestion. Very briefly, this note is an excellent *praelectio* to the reading of the *Confessions* that will be of the greatest help to anyone unfamiliar with Augustine's manner and technique. Even those who have read enough Augustine to be familiar with the excerpts from his work contained in, for instance, Rouët de Journel's *Enchiridion* will find many things in this introductory note to aid them in ascertaining the saint's thought. Here are some of the main things with which Professor O'Meara deals.

Modern readers may be inclined to judge all " confessions " by the standard set by Rousseau and De Quincey and followed, in very different ways by Whittaker Chambers, Fr Thomas Merton and Koestler, to take random examples. Fullness and frankness to the last limits of decent reticence and sometimes beyond is often the goal aimed at in modern autobiography ; a goal determined by the tendency to make man an object of supreme interest that began with the humanist renaissance and has continued, through the romantic movement, to the present day phenomenologist philosophies, and to the interest in " existential " conflict. For modern readers, then, the *Confessions* of Augustine can be a puzzling and even a disappointing document. The saint is frank. Still, he has not given us an uninhibited modern autobiography but rather a careful selection of facts chosen with a view to one event in his life, in his eyes the most important, his conversion. Not only does Augustine

choose facts that are related to his conversion but he chooses those only that illustrate most clearly the theory which explains his conversion ; the only theory, in his eyes, that can explain any conversion. Because, for Augustine, conversion must be attributed primarily to the grace and mercy of God, coming to us through Christ, the one Mediator of God and men. This theme Augustine develops fully but there are large gaps in the resulting book from a purely historical point of view.

Then Augustine's book is a confession of sin. But it is also a confession of faith and a confession of praise, as one would expect from the fourth century meanings of the verb *confiteri*. Moreover it is addressed to God at least as much as to Paulinus or Augustine's other friends. It is the long colloquy of a grateful soul with its God. This may be the explanation of the many seemingly irrelevant moral digressions in the *Confessions* and in much of the writing of the patristic age. The Fathers and ecclesiastical writers were not so much concerned with writing orderly books as with saying their prayers aloud for the edification of the Church. Also, writing sometime near the year 400, Augustine praises God with the mind that was in him at the time of composition. He is quite well aware, and leaves the reader under no misapprehension, that events he judges at the time of writing to have been important, even climactic in his journey back to the Church may not have seemed important at the time they happened. " He presents, therefore, his memories of events " writes Professor O'Meara, " as they seem to him in retrospect *at the time of writing,* while being fully aware that the events themselves may have seemed otherwise to him at the time of their occurence. He does not conceal this. He draws attention to it. But the fact recounted is still the same." (p. 6). Augustine selects his facts and assesses them by the light of a more mature wisdom than he possessed when they occurred, but they are nevertheless facts and he scrutinizes the genuinity of his account of them with scrupulous care.

One of the most helpful and interesting things Professor O'Meara recalls to the mind of the would-be reader of Augustine is that the saint was a trained rhetorician and a teacher of the artificial and intricate art of rhetoric. " His whole training and profession until the time of his conversion centred on making his point, whatever it was, clear by every means within the resource of rhetoric. And forced unfeeling exaggeration was a means only too frequently employed. Augustine's relatively mild return here to what he himself called ' windy rhetoric ' will not distress anyone who has made the acquaintance, for example, of the excruciatingly frigid infelicities of Lucan. He will know what allowances he must make if he is to be just." (pp. 8–9). It is a pity the author was not more elaborate in his treatment of this idea. But I presume a fuller treatment would be out of place in a book that will be read by the general public. He might also perhaps have mentioned the problem of our understanding

of church latin. Labriolle and other scholars notwithstanding, recent Dutch work has apparently shown that we are very badly equipped to read that specialized language even without the added difficulties of rhetoric.

In *The Young Augustine* the saint is seen mostly from a literary, human and natural point of view. That is the great value of the book which opens up what will be for most readers of English a new approach. Professor O'Meara, naturally, is not primarily concerned with theology, yet his book, because of its insistence on truth and solidity, will be of more service to religion than the work of many a pious hagiographer. Therefore, in bringing in a certain amount of theology, I am not so much criticizing as complementing what Professor O'Meara has said.

While aplauding, as one must, the use of such purely literary tools as a knowledge of fourth century rhetoricians and of ecclesiastical latin, and while stressing their necessity for understanding any patristic document of the period, I feel there is a danger that we may act as if a knowledge of the techniques of literary criticism were all we need to give a faithful and complete reading of Augustine. The rhetorician's technique and the unconcern of the thinker with incidentals give, as Professor O'Meara shows, a very likely explanation of Augustine's occasional preference for the vague expression : "a certain Cicero", "a certain Aeneas" and the extraordinary but effective vagueness in the *tolle-lege* scene itself, the climax of the whole story. But may I submit that rhetoric alone is not enough to explain the thought of another passage quoted by Professor O'Meara. The passage is from the first book of the *Confessions* and deals with Augustine's infancy.

> In Thy sight none is pure from sin, not even the infant whose life is but a day upon the earth. Was it then good, even for a while, to cry for what, if given, would hurt ? Bitterly to resent, that persons free, and its own elders, yea, the very authors of its birth, served it not ? (I, 11.)[1]

Professor O'Meara comments as follows : "Even if he subscribe to the doctrine of original sin, the modern reader may feel that Augustine has forced the issue somewhat." He suggests that the realization that rhetoric is rhetoric may help the modern reader to swallow passages like that. But will it help the modern reader to understand Augustine ? To say that it is rhetoric is to say that Augustine did not quite mean it. But Augustine did mean it ; he meant it desperately, though not quite in the way we may think. I do not deny that Professor O'Meara can detect rhetorical tricks in the passage just quoted, but surely he must agree that there is more than rhetoric here ? Surely the passage must be explained by reference to Augustine's way of thinking about original

[1] I give the author's reference. He quotes from Pusey's adaptation of Watts' translation. Further quotations from the *Confessions* on my part will be from Sir Tobie Matthew's translation revised and emended by Dom Roger Hudleston, O.S.B., and published by Burns Oates and Washbourne.

sin ? I think it is important to make this point at some length because there are many " harsh " passages in Augustine, in the Augustine who makes his own the phrase " *massa damnata* " for those who are not regenerated in Christ, which the theologian cannot dismiss as pure rhetoric.

Augustine wrote so much and men, orthodox and otherwise, have quarried so long in the rich abundance of his work that in spite of the saint's tortuosities of style and even in spite of a lack of literary equipment (by modern standards) for elucidating his meaning, I think it must be admitted that we have a satisfactory idea of what his thought was. Especially is this true of Augustine's concept of original sin and the correlative concepts of human nature and grace.

Augustine is *Doctor Gratiae* and his teaching was incorporated, often verbatim, in the councils of Carthage, Arles and especially Orange, and finally in the decrees and canons of Trent. This does not mean that the saint was infallible himself when he taught, or that certain passages in his writings have not to be treated with a certain reverent suspicion. He himself wrote in the *De dono perseverantiae,* " *Neminem velim sic amplecti omnia mea, ut me sequatur nisi in iis, in quibus me non errare perspexerit.*" (M.L. 45, 1027 sq.) He recognized of course that the Church was *the* teaching authority to which all must submit, and would have been in entire accord with Pius XI, when he wrote, in 1930, that we should not put the authority of Augustine's word before the supreme teaching authority of the Church[1]. With these reserves, everyone is agreed that Augustine was perhaps the chief instrument chosen by Providence to formulate the teaching of the Church on grace. Nevertheless, apart from errors or misleading statements, Augustine at his most orthodox is capable of a nuance of expression, or of an approach to and view of a problem, that is upsetting to our modern way of thinking. Under the action of the Holy Spirit the Church's consciousness of the nature of grace and original sin has grown in clarity down the centuries, and what was a nuance for Augustine has become for us more explicit ; or we state things in a different way, our point of view has shifted. Hence our difficulties with the " harsh " passages in Augustine. They are harsh to us because Augustine's way of looking at original sin and human nature is slightly different from the modern approach.

On this point Fr Maréchal wrote in *Études pour la Psychologie des Mystiques* (Tome 2, p. 149) as follows :

> Grave problems in the history of theology appear here into which we shall avoid going too deeply. At the same time, it will be well to remember that our great doctor (Augustine), although he distinguishes perfectly between " nature " and " grace " in man as he exists in the concrete, does not pause to consider in the abstract (as modern theologians do and must do) the absolute possibility of a " pure nature ". For him,

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* 22 (1930) p. 204.

> " human nature " is neither more nor less than what it has been in effect historically : a nature ordained by the Creator for the supernatural life, fallen subsequently from this privilege, " deprived " of grace, thrown off centre and deformed as a consequence of this privation, but keeping withal, as well as a homesick longing for the lost heaven, something of the fundamental organization it had received consonant with its superior destiny.

The soul that had not benefited by Christ's Redemption had kept something of the powers that were meant to reach out to a supernatural end. But these powers unredeemed were frustrated of their real meaning. Moreover, though it would be a gross misrepresentation of Augustine to say that for him nothing but evil was saved from the shipwreck of original sin in unredeemed mankind, he was inclined to concentrate on what was lost, because what was lost he saw to be of the greatest value. Unregenerate human nature was for him principally disorientation, deviation, deordination, turned away from its true goal : *massa damnata.* Nor did Augustine's temper of thought lead him to distinguish between original sin and its consequences, unruly passions and personal sin. The great tragedy for him was original sin, and all its consequences became as hateful to him as the deprivation of Divine grace from which they came. Original sin, personal sin and concupiscence were deordination for Augustine. And for him deordination was the very essence of sin. It was not that he saw no distinction between personal voluntary sin which was culpable, and the race penalty of original sin not implying in itself any personal fault at all, but simply that he did not feel any urgency in making the distinction. He did not look at things that way.

Whatever was not ordained to the historical supernatural end of man was sin, and anything short of achieving that end in the Beatific Vision was damnation. Hence the doctrine that unbaptized children went to " hell ". A doctrine that would be enough to damn Augustine in our eyes if we failed to remember that in modern terms his " hell " would be merely " not-heaven ". In the same way the *massa damnata* passages must be understood. In the same way we must read the passage in the *Confessions* about stealing the pears (2, 4). The desire to do evil Augustine found in himself while still a child was deordination ; just as, in Professor O'Meara's quotation, the tendency of a baby to bully its parents is a consequence of the radical deordination in man brought about by original sin and only to be set right by the grace of Christ.

It is against this background that we must see the so-called harshness of Augustine. To us he may sometimes seem intolerably cruel, but if we try to read Augustine in the light of his own ideas we see that this man, whose genius for friendship Professor O'Meara brings out clearly, was not necessarily either cruel or harsh. That he appears so to many

cannot be doubted ; otherwise Jansenius's *Augustinus* would never have been written nor would the crabbed inhuman puritanism of Port Royal ever have threatened the unity of the universal Church. Perhaps Professor O'Meara lets Roman Africa off too lightly on this charge of immoderation. Certainly, whatever the reason, there was something hard in the three greatest of Africa's ecclesiastical writers : the stubborn streak in Cyprian, the far more dangerous puritanism in Tertullian which led him into Montanism, least of all is it found in Augustine but it is there. On the secular side, I do not think anyone could call Apuleius's *Golden Ass* a kind book, though of course it has been equalled for cruelty in other countries and in other times. Perhaps we should admit that there was a certain rigour in third and fourth century African Christianity, shown in the sometimes excessive and superstitious cult of martyrs and in all the affair of the *rebaptizantes*. There was an air of puritanism about that favoured greatly the growth of Gnosticism. Perhaps it was that spirit of renunciation that seems to come at the end of an epoch when human nature finds that, having experienced all the pleasures, it is decadent and far from satiety.

In some ways the most interesting chapter in Professor O'Meara's book is the tenth, where he deals with what he calls a " master-motif in Augustine ". This master-motif is the conviction, burned into Augustine, that for the salvation, not merely of the human race, but for that of the individual soul, however gifted, humble submission to the mediatorship of Christ was absolutely necessary. This he saw was the only way in which the seeker after truth could be successful in his quest. Professor O'Meara is primarily interested in the literary provenance of this idea and traces it to Augustine's reading of neoplatonic books, particularly Porphyry. Augustine's debt to the neoplatonists was an indirect one. Porphyry's teaching, that man was able to realize union with the Father without any mediator, that is by his own powers, he saw was insufficient and that any reaching after divine union by those means was doomed to be inefficacious. Professor O'Meara shows in a series of long and fascinating quotations that this idea was indeed, so to speak, an obsession for Augustine. We need hardly go beyond the *Confessions* to find a work saturated with the realization that in doing genuine good (that is, for Augustine, supernatural good) man depends entirely on God's mercy coming through the only mediator, Christ Jesus. If there is one idea the Augustine of 400 A.D. superimposed on his memories at the time of writing it is this. Already in 400 Augustine could not think of the justification and sanctification of a soul except in terms of the absolute necessity of grace at every stage. I am surprised that I cannot find somewhere in the *Confessions,* perhaps I have missed it, the famous text from St. Paul to be used so often in the troubled years to come : " So, then, it is not a question of man being willing, or running the race, but of the mercy of God." *Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed*

miserentis est Dei. (Rom. 9, 16). In fact he had already used it in the *Ad Simplicianum.*

For although the Pelagian controversies did not begin until after the year 400, Augustine had written the *Ad Simplicianum* in 397 in answer to questions sent him. In this very important *opusculum* he shows himself in full possession of the doctrine he was to use against the Pelagians. So that the Augustine of the *Confessions* was thinking on antipelagian lines before the heresy appeared, and this way of thinking is clear to see in the *Confessions.* Using the same texts as Professor O'Meara and relying on the whole tenor of the *Confessions* the conclusion that Augustine was strongly influenced, in formulating his teaching on grace, by his experience is irresistible. It is as if the saint found in his experiences the field work for his theories of the irreplaceable part Christ's grace must play in the good life. It is all there. He had gone the road himself : the long road through Manicheism, the New Academy and platonism. At the end of the road he knew, from his own experience, that any form of Pelagianism was a deceit and that the grace of Christ was essential. " For it is one thing from some wooded mountain to see the land of peace, without being able to find the way thither, and to strive towards it in vain through certain impenetrable ways . . . and another to keep on the way that leadeth thither, secure in the care of that heavenly leader . ." (*Confessions*, 7, 21). God's Providence had prepared the instrument to deal with the pseudo-humanist heresy that was to come.

Without Christ everything failed Augustine in his search for the the True and the Good. Success, fame, lust, friendship, failed him. Professor O'Meara contends that the saint did not learn as much perhaps from the *Hortensius* of Cicero as we are led to believe. But at least Cicero brought him to see that there was more in books than style ; " not the manner but the matter of a discourse is to be cared for." (*Confessions* 3, 4.) He began to look for Wisdom and sought it in the sect of the Manichees.

Dr O'Meara gives the best short account of Manicheism that I have seen in English (chap. 4). One can see, from what he writes, that Manicheism would undoubtedly attract certain types of men, and those not the most base. Some men, artistic, sensitive and intelligent cannot live without ritual and symbolism and a touch of mystery. In our own day we know of men who have sought to satisfy this desire in occultism or in some form of eastern religion ; we think at once of Cardinal Newman's brother and of W. B. Yeats. In the fourth century it was from such men that recruits came to Manicheism. The desire for mystery and symbol is a natural one but to hope to find effective symbols and life-giving mysteries apart from the revelation of Christ and His sacramental system is vain. Augustine found the Manichean symbols empty and their wisdom folly, and realized they could not liberate him from slavery to himself. He had been better off as a grammarian. " For the verse and poem of Medea's flight are of more use than the five elements

variously transformed through the five dens of darkness . . ." (*Confessions*, 3, 6.)

Manicheism failed him when Faustus failed him. (Incidentally, it is interesting to see how much Augustine liked Faustus, the Manichean sage ; perhaps more than Professor O'Meara suggests.) For a while he sought wisdom in the philosophy of the New Academy, by heredity platonic but in fact sceptic. The superficial scepticism of the Academics could never satisfy his positive mind and he realized that another hope had failed him. After this failure (he was again a catechumen) as a result of Ambrose's sermons and " certain books of the platonists " that came to him, Augustine gave himself to neoplatonism.

Dr O'Meara writes very clearly about the essence of neoplatonism but very briefly. It is a pity that with his specialized competence in Plotinus he did not allow himself more space. Maréchal, in the book I have quoted from already, has an interesting page showing how attractive this sort of approach to the Divine can be for certain men. It is a more spiritual attraction than the attraction to Manicheism, though it can be found, as in Augustine, in the same man.

Augustine had found that platonism, which took no heed of Christ's mediation or of His grace, could not deliver him from the profound deordination he saw in his life. For he could recognize the disorder in himself for deordination, even though as yet he only glimpsed what should be his true end. But this end, at long last, he saw to be unattainable without God's effective mercy. His intellect had come home.

All his failures had been graces really, showing him the total inadequacy of his own unaided efforts. Now, by grace, his intellect had been won over and it was the turn of his will. For this, grace was just as necessary and it came to him, the fruit of Monica's prayers, mainly in two conversations that gave his will the necessary motivation to overcome remaining moral difficulties. The first of these was the story he heard of the conversion of Victorinus, who sacrificed a glorious career to become a Christian. The second was Pontitianus's account of how Antony in his Egyptian desert overcame the flesh and the devil. Thus, by the mercy of God, Augustine was made ready for the final grace in the garden, when taking up the book and reading St Paul he found himself ripe for baptism. It is a wonderful story and we are grateful to Dr O'Meara for the very real help he has given us towards reading it.

From what I have written it will be clear that I think the theme, man's inadequacy to do anything towards salvation without God's aid gratuitously given, is what makes the unity of the *Confessions* rather than any unity of form. Professor O'Meara is concerned with showing that there is indeed a unity of form which is not immediately apparent. The first nine books of the *Confessions* are clear enough, dealing as they do with the story of the conversion, not without divagations. Book ten is a later interpolation of Augustine's and may, therefore, be left out of

consideration. The last four books, however, are hard to fit in. They are a digression into exegesis of the first few pages of the book of Genesis, and even within this digression there are many sub-digressions. What is the point of this ? Professor O'Meara rejects the theories of Landsberg and Le Blond and even the more modern suggestion of Courcelle. I admit that I cannot as yet see the point of his own suggestion that books one to nine deal with the search for truth, books eleven to thirteen with the enjoyment of truth. I suggest that Augustine may perhaps have intended them as a sample of his teaching : a kind of testimonial. They deal with problems that vexed him sorely before his conversion ; the nature of God, the origin of creatures, the interpretation of scripture. Paulinus wanted to know all about the life of Alypius and Augustine in Africa. Very well, these last few chapters might well say, see how well we have escaped from the net of errors that held us fast. Here is an example of my exegesis ; the basis of my preaching to the Church in Africa. See how orthodox and edifying it is. But this is only conjecture and we may never know. Perhaps because I am so much less well read in Augustine than Professor O'Meara, I have no difficulty in admitting that the saint did, in fact, write a disorderly book. He was quite capable of doing so. Such a gigantic spirit can afford to sprawl and, it would appear, frequently does so. The *Confessions* is a masterpiece not because of any excellence of form but because it is the testimony of a master mind.

So much that is of theological interest is, perhaps, impertinent in a discussion of Professor O'Meara's completely successful, interesting and stimulating book. There are so many other things one would like to dwell on in *The Young Augustine*. I am not being flippant when I congratulate Professor O'Meara on refusing to put a psychological tag on Augustine but, instead, giving us a portrait drawn with sure touches and a scholarly reserve. I hope he intends to write more about the mature Augustine.

Among the good things I have not dwelt on I must mention here the comparison Professor O'Meara makes between the conversions of Newman and Augustine. The similarities are very striking and instructive, although it should not be forgotten that there is one salient difference: Newman left the Anglican Communion which he loved for the Church of Rome where he felt he might not get on very well ; Augustine left what he had come to despise and what made him a slave for what he had come to recognize as the household of truth. It is strange that Newman should have likened Augustine's conversion to St Paul's, implying that he had missed the point of difference. Professor O'Meara has refrained from quoting another great Victorian who saw more clearly this difference. I have not the same restraint and I must end by quoting Hopkins in *The Wreck of the Deutschland* (1, 10) :

> Whether at once, as once at a crash Paul,
> Or as Austin, a lingering out swéet skíll.

Notes Towards a Critical Method

LANGUAGE AS ORDER

by DENIS DONOGHUE, M.A.
Department of English, University College, Dublin

THE object of this essay is to state, and by so doing to clarify, views which the author has come to hold on the nature and appreciation of literature. In groping towards a coherent critical method I have not hesitated to catch hold of ideas wherever I found them convincing : indeed, the debt owed to the writings of Cleanth Brooks[1], to take just one example, will be immediately obvious even in those parts of the essay in which I depart from the strict principles of the ' New Criticism '. While a point-by-point statement of obligation is too much to guarantee, I try as far as possible to indicate the sources of borrowed ideas by direct quotation. As a matter of convenience I refer to the literary norm as a poem : it will usually be clear to what extent the statements are automatically and similarly applicable to other forms such as novels or plays.

The Paralysing Apparition

The search for a tenable definition of poetry has been carried out with great ingenuity but with little success : despite many tedious enquiries into the nature of beauty we are no nearer to finality. Indeed, it seems to me that the time has come to give up the search altogether and, in place of definition, to pursue description. The object of the whole weary attempt at definition has been to state exactly what poetry is, but, having failed in that quarter, we should now try to say what poetry is by *describing* its action as seen in individual poems. This substitution is not theoretically valid and is quite frankly an act of evasion but, in practice, several critics such as William Empson and F. R. Leavis, while still unable to produce a generally satisfying definition of poetry, have given useful indications of its nature by describing its characteristics modes of action, how it works in specific cases.

Language as Order

It seems to me that poems are made out of the poet's desire to create forms, entities, things of order with which to oppose the continual flux, change, transience of life. To that extent poems are gestures of defiance, protests against the tendency of ordinary living to be wayward, inchoate and formless. The poem, therefore, (that is, the words arranged in a

[1] Examples : *The Well-Wrought Urn,* (New York, 1947) and *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

certain way) is the externalization of this desire to bring order out of chaos, in some fraction of life to halt transience. This view of poetry is not quite the same as R. P. Blackmur's that " Poetry names and arranges, and thus arrests and transfixes its subject in a form which has a life of its own forever separated but springing from the life which confronts it. Poetry is life at the remove of form and meaning ; not life lived but life framed and identified ".[1] This view could be welcomed except that the blunt reference to the " subject " of poetry seems to imply the old heretical separation of content and form. In a poem, content and form are identical : the total meaning of a poem cannot be given by any other statement. The attempt to subtract the content from the form is absolutely pointless and, finally, doomed. Take, for example, Sedley's poem ' Child and Maiden ' :—

Ah, Chloris ! could I now but sit
As unconcern'd as when
Your infant beauty could beget
No happiness or pain :
When I the dawn used to admire,
And praised the coming day,
I little thought the rising fire
Would take my rest away.

Your charms in harmless childhood lay
Like metals in a mine ;
Age from no face takes more away
Than Youth conceal'd in thine.
But as your charms insensibly
To their perfection prest,
So love as unperceived did fly,
And center'd in my breast.

My passion with your beauty grew,
While Cupid at my heart,
Still as his mother favour'd you,
Threw a new flaming dart ;
Each gloried in their wanton part ;
To make a lover, he
Employ'd the utmost of his art—
To make a beauty, she.

One may easily say that this poem deals with a poet's love for a girl whom he knew as a child, and the statement has a certain limited use

[1] R. P. Blackmur : *Language as Gesture,* (Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1953).

in that it indicates the general area of existence in which the poem is located : but the statement does not even remotely represent the '*content*' of the poem ; nor could any more elaborate statement do so. Indeed, if one were to attempt a description of the poem, one would have to indicate the way in which the words, metaphors and images act on each other to reinforce, limit and define the speaker's attitude : one would need to point to the way in which the speaker's developing love is represented as corresponding to the movement from dawn (pleasant but innocent) to high noon, the Sun's time, the time of the " rising fire " (with the sexual implications of that phrase) : one should also comment on the paradox in the second stanza of Youth's *concealing*, rather than, as conveniently assumed, *revealing* beauty. These and many other significant factors go to make up the total meaning of the poem : this meaning can be described to some extent by the accumulative method indicated and the best description is the nearest approximation to the unique total meaning which is the poem itself. Any other statement, however detailed or elaborate, necessarily falls short of the unique and unparaphrasable statement of the poem. As Maritain has noted, the words of a poem " are not only signs of concepts or ideas, but objects also, objects which are endowed with their proper sonorous quality. Their function as signs, in their mutual interrelation, depends at the same time on this physical sonorous quality itself—and on the images they convey—and on the fog or aura of unexpressed associations they carry with them—and on their intelligible or logical meaning (only a part of the whole) ".[1] There is no denying that in this section of Keats's *Ode on Melancholy*, for example, the interaction of the images of melancholy and those of joy is part (and, I submit, an important part) of the total meaning of the lines : it is *in* the lines :—

But when the melancholy fit shall fall
Sudden from heaven like a weeping cloud,
That fosters the droop-headed flowers all,
And hides the green hill in an April shroud ;
Then glut thy sorrow on a morning rose . . .

Poetry and Ideas

Many of the difficulties in the appreciation of poetry derive from a failure to distinguish between ideas and their poetic transformations. R. W. B. Lewis is surely right in saying : " The fact is that poetic language, while it does of course feed on perfectly clear ideas . . . does often color those ideas beyond rational redemption ; it grafts on to them sidelong doubts about their validity ; and the poetic tennis-game,

[1] Jacques Maritain : ' The Poetic Sense ' : *Poetry* Magazine, March 1953, p. 369.

the plying of opposites, goes on infinitely from deuce ".[1] Poetry does not deal in direct statement : where poetry gains over science is in the ability to convey knowledge of greater richness and complexity : this richness is primarily a matter of modifying the easy, static, self-confidence of prose-statement. Ideas as such, when they are used in a poem, are shaped (which means to a certain extent *changed*) in conjunction with formal and expressive patterns until the unique verbal order which is the poem is completed : at that stage they have, within the poem, no independent existence whatever as *ideas*.

This view of the poetry-ideas relationship is fairly generally accepted in the case of drama : no serious critic thinks of saddling Shakespeare as a person with the bitter beliefs expressed by Gloucester in Act 4, Scene 1 of *King Lear* : these beliefs are seen as being *dramatically* right because reasonable in Gloucester's circumstances. We would gain enormously, in my opinion, by looking on poetry in a similar way, recognizing that in poetry, as in drama, ideas and beliefs yield up their independent, external existence and sacrifice themselves to the higher order of the poem. It follows that in literary criticism, ideas as such are interesting only in as much as they contribute to the total meaning of the poem : to quote Blackmur again, ". . . in the later poems of Yeats the concepts of the Phases of the Moon are interesting as they work or fail to work in the chaos and anarchy and order of actual lyric emotions ".[2]

A common view of this matter is that " Literature is concerned with ideas (or what some aestheticians call ' life values ') as well as with forms, and they exert a pull away from the literary object toward philosophy, or politics, or ethics, or social questions ".[3] While this is too loosely stated, we may allow it to stand, but we must insist that criticism has done all it can or needs to do when it has pointed out the extent to which these " ideas " are shaped and modified within the poem itself : this is criticism's job.

It is appropriate at this stage to point out that the worst form of literary criticism contents itself with reducing a poem to its paraphrased ' content ' and assessing the value of the poem on the basis of the ' truth ' of this statement : thus ignoring the fact that the form itself can provide a pretext for the entry of ideas which, if not thus *dramatized*, if not thus *shaped*, would be inadmissible. It is often forgotten that the characteristic comic pattern, for instance, is traced without as much as a glance in the direction of moral distinctions and issues. The comedy of Menander,

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[1] R. W. B. Lewis in *The Kenyon Review*, Spring, 1954, p. 318.
[2] R. P. Blackmur : ' A Burden for Critics ' *Hudson Review*, Summer 1948, p.183.
[3] William Van O'Connor : *An Age of Criticism 1900–1950*, (Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1952, p. vii).

Aristophanes, and Molière does not deprecate morality ; it has, literally, no use for morality : it concerns itself simply with the ways of wisdom and folly, and presents, as Susanne Langer had noted, " the contest of men and women, the most universal contest, humanized, in fact civilized, yet still the primitive joyful challenge, the self-preservation and self-assertion whose progress is the comic rhythm ".[1] It is therefore irrelevant to consider whether the conduct or statements of a character in a play are *of themselves* morally right or wrong : we are only entitled to ask whether the conduct or statements are plausible and organic, given the particular character, given the particular imagined circumstances. Similarly, statements in a poem are neither right nor wrong : in fact, they do not properly exist outside the poem itself, and within the poem they are answerable only to their own purely literary laws. Richard Eberhart's *Blessed are the Angels in Heaven* provides a fair example : I quote the last three stanzas : –

And if any can say
In our writhen, human condition
Proud, red words to make us gay
Let him say them and let him be

A man of courage in a broken time
And a great singer in the evening
The master of our irrationality
And lover of our scrivening

And the angels in heaven who are blessed
Will not hear him calling, calling
For they have nothing to do with us
And bind us to our barking heritage.[2]

As a Catholic, a believer in the Communion of Saints, I would find great difficulty in accepting the ' statement ' in the third line of the last stanza quoted if that ' statement ' were withdrawn from the poem and given an independent prose existence : on the other hand, within the poem itself the line causes no difficulty whatever since it is related to an earlier reference to the angels,

And blessed is their rationality
Denied us from our birth,

and specifically because it is organically related to the tone of the speaker, to his attitude as uniquely conveyed by the poem.

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[1] Susanne Langer : *Feeling and Form,* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953, p. 346).
[2] *Poetry* Magazine, March 1953, p. 358.

The Source in History

It will already have become clear that the view of literature I am advocating is related to the greatly increased interest in language which has characterized much of the literary production of the present century as shown in works as dissimilar in other respects as Joyce's *Finnegans Wake,* Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity* and Jones's *The Anathemata.* It is seldom realized, however, that the concentration of modern critical method on language, on the literary text itself, is an attempt to sidetrack the effects of the Cartesian division of reality.

The dream of Descartes (to borrow Maritain's book-title) was a *scientia mirabilis* which would attain a new knowledge of mathematical precision by breaking human nature into two unrelated substances, a human mind, on the one hand, and, on the other, a body which is mere geometric extension. Faith in human reason as the absolute authority and the perfect guide led to the dream of a completely despiritualized reality. This philosophic dualism of mind and spirit was intensified by Idealism (which attributed to man angelic intellectual potentialities) and by Materialism (which saw no difference between men and animals): the separation of thinking ego and brute fact became complete.

In an effort to evade if not quite to demolish the Cartesian dualism, literature seized on the potent symbol : it was found that symbols could enclose what I may call ' plural meaning ' in a single moment of action by spanning, through analogy, the material and the spiritual, the body and the non-body, the thing and the idea. These lines from Yeats's *Blood and the Moon,* for instance, yield their full significance only when the reader recognizes (either by knowledge or by intuition) that " blood " symbolizes (or, at least, is symbolically related to) the sun, action, *power,* and youth, just as " moon " symbolizes contemplation, *wisdom,* age.

> The purity of the unclouded moon
> Has flung its arrowy shaft upon the floor.
> Seven centuries have passed and it is pure,
> The blood of innocence has left no stain.
> There, on blood-saturated ground, have stood
> Soldier, assassin, executioner,
> Whether for daily pittance or in blind fear
> Or out of abstract hatred, and shed blood,
> But could not cast a single jet thereon,
> Odour of blood on the ancestral stair !
> And we that have shed none must gather there
> And clamour in drunken frenzy for the moon.
> Upon the dusty, glittering windows cling,
> And seem to cling upon the moonlit skies,

Tortoiseshell butterflies, peacock butterflies,
A couple of night-moths are on the wing.
Is every modern nation like the tower,
Half dead at the top ? No matter what I said,
For wisdom is the property of the dead,
A something incompatible with life ; and power,
Like everything that has the stain of blood,
A property of the living ; but no stain
Can come upon the visage of the moon
When it has looked in glory from a cloud.

Here, in an important sense, the words " blood " and " moon " are not so much made to carry a symbolic burden as to contain within themselves the sources of certain large areas of complex significance. I stress the word " complex " because the meaning of the symbol, at its richest, is not a matter of mere one-to-one correlation : the total meaning is not single, but multiple. As Blackmur has written, " Symbols . . . are the sources as well as the reminders of meaning, and . . .once recognized, are inexhaustible, and are, so to speak, fertile in themselves ".[1] If the potent symbol can effect a oneness in defiance of Descartes, the intensive study of the symbol, of the word, becomes a critical procedure of undoubted validity. The case is strengthened when we see how closely the word is related to that *shaping* or ordering which we noted as the essentially poetic and creative activity.

Hostilities

The objections most frequently lodged against the forms of criticism which concentrate on the exploration of the word are that they are antihistorical, antibiographical and, in the final analysis, scornful of pure scholarship. In answer to these charges one might point out that historical studies of literature have too often been undertaken in a spirit of almost complete detachment from any consideration of literature as literature : in this respect these studies are just as misguided as Granville Hicks's *The Great Tradition* (1933) which ignored literary values altogether in its concern for Marxist dogma. At the same time, provided it is agreed that a poem is not to be ' explained ' merely by placing it in a biographical, historical or even a literary setting, we may immediately point out that the critical method outlined in this essay, far from scorning the work of scholars, encourages pure scholarship in several respects. These are so important that they call for mathematical listing.

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[1] R. P. Blackmur : ' Humanism and Symbolic Imagination ' in *The Southern Review*, Vol. 7, 1941–42, p. 316.

TASKS FOR SCHOLARSHIP

(*a*) The provision of a sound text is the primary task of literary scholarship. Before the recent publication of scholarly texts of *Religio Medici* and of *Morte d'Arthur* (by Professors Denonain and Vinaver respectively), uninhibited criticism of these works was impossible.

(*b*) Once a good text has been established, scholars should tackle the job of rebuilding fractured literary tradition : it often happens that certain important meanings that were in a poem when it was written have been lost in the meantime through a break in the tradition implicit in the language itself. These lost meanings must be supplied from outside by scholars. Rosemond Tuve, for example, did valuable work in connexion with *The Sacrifice* by pointing out that

> Herbert's poem belongs with two interlinked groups, both well known, of medieval lyrics ; both groups belong as does his poem to a larger group, the Complaints of Christ to His People. All possibly had their spring in the liturgical offices of Holy Week, most obviously (for one group) in the *Improperia* or Reproaches of Good Friday.[1]

This is not criticism, of course, but it facilitates criticism : it helps the critic to see more clearly what I earlier described as " the general area of existence in which the poem is located ".

(*c*) A related duty of scholarship is to discover and describe the former significance of ideas which have through the passage of years lost (or, indeed, acquired) popular force. For example, the appreciation of Shakespeare's works is facilitated by knowing that the ideas of order and hierarchy had in Elizabethan times a sacrosanctity which they do not now possess : similarly, since few nowadays take astrology seriously, it is important to estimate how seriously it was taken by those who attended the first performance of *Romeo and Juliet.*

(*d*) Scholarship can also clear the way for the critic by discovering and reviving the various associations that gathered around a given word on the occasion of its use in a particular poem and that have cut adrift in the meantime. The significance of Donne's *The Canonization* is greatly increased for those modern readers who know that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the verb ' to die ' had a certain sexual submeaning.

(*e*) The restoration of mundane, immediate relevance is a further task for scholarship. It may not be vital to know of Defoe's debt to Dampier in ' Crusoe ', but if, in reading Defoe, we meet a vigorous reference to some now-forgotten political controversy, we need to be told what the fuss was about.

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[1] Rosemond Tuve : *A Reading of George Herbert,* (University of Chicago Press, 1952).

(*f*) One of the most absorbing functions of literary scholarship is one to which, as yet, scholars have devoted little attention : the clarification of symbols. The appreciation of poems as different as *Samson Agonistes* and *The Waste Land* would be improved by the reader's knowing that hair has for centuries been a symbol of fertility and in ancient times was used in sacrifices to the Powers of Fruitfulness : we need the Frazers and Westons for this kind of help. Scholars would be profitably occupied in investigating the linguistic, religious and associational development of the more important literary symbols : W. H. Auden has done some work along this line in *The Enchafed Flood* and Robert Graves's *The White Goddess* is similarly valuable despite the eccentricity of its conclusions.

All these tasks which I envisage for scholarship are necessary to clear the way for literary criticism, and they may suitably be undertaken in a spirit of pure enquiry. But scholars go badly astray in imagining that they have entered fully into a poem, that they have exhausted its possibilities, once they have discussed it in terms of its historical background : and this has happened countless times. Aldous Huxley has cast timely scorn on the activity of reporting Who influenced Whom to Write What When, and the warning should not go unheeded. John Middleton Murry, for example, in his new book on Swift, writes four pages on the *Ode to Sir William Temple* and includes a mere *ten words* of literary criticism : yet he insists on describing his book as a " critical biography ".

A further objection to the kind of criticism outlined in this essay has turned up in Donald Davie's *Purity of Diction in English Verse*.[1] Dr Davie quotes a long passage from *The Well-Wrought Urn* and comments :

> Mr Brooks says as plainly as possible that the poet must never use one word where two will do.

This is unfair : Brooks in the passage quoted is simply asserting that an important part of the meaning of a poem consists of the qualifications and modifications imposed by one word on another. I believe this to be absolutely true, and *Seven Types of Ambiguity* provides dozens of supporting instances : in Philip Wheelwright's phrase, language is " plurisignificant ". Dr Davie tends to consider ' meaning ' as static, isolated and unchanging : he does not sufficiently recognize that in a poem the special evocative power which a word acquires is conditioned by the words which surround it, by its semantic environment. A typical instance

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[1] Donald Davie : *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (Chatto and Windus, 1952, p. 107).

[2] Published by Chatto and Windus, 1951.

is the word " beget " in the Sedley poem quoted in this essay : in its context the word has overtones which, isolated, it does not possess.

Many people who find their intellectual energy severely taxed by a book such as Empson's *The Structure of Complex Words*[2] are driven to complain that even Shakespeare could not possibly have intended all the subtleties and complexities which Empson attributes to certain words and passages from the plays. Similarly, students often plead that the total meaning of a Wordsworth sonnet as outlined by Cleanth Brooks,[1] or of Keat's *Grecian Urn Ode* as described by Kenneth Burke,[2] is far more elaborate than these poets could consciously have set out to express. While these complaints demand sympathy they remain quite beside the point : the amount of significance consciously intended by Shakespeare or by Keats would be very difficult to assess and, even if it were known, would not affect the critical issue one way or the other. As soon as a poem is written it goes out to the world and thereafter exists as a *thing* quite independently of its author : to consider whether some particular verbal nuance was consciously achieved by the poet becomes a side issue of mere biographical interest. The unique verbal structure which is the poem is the first and last object of appropriate critical interest. William Van O'Connor puts the position with justice :

> The job of the critic is to help us perceive the nature and worth of the literary work. It is not his function to offer us coherent systems of philosophy, coherent theories of the nature of language, or even ideological systems that include accounts of poetry as a substitute for religion and the relation of the poet to the economic order. He can use all the information he can get, but he can apply his knowledge, as a critic, only in so far as it is relevant to the particular work or works he is discussing and attempting to make more available to the reader.[3]

To sum up : there is a reality of personal experience (emotional, intuitive, imaginative, intellectual and credal) and there is for the poet what Blackmur calls " a superior impersonal reality of words ".[4] The critic's task is to investigate the nature of this impersonal reality and to report his findings.

Criticism and the Catholic

This highly complex question is currently occupying the minds of many Catholic critics and philosophers, especially in the United States Representative studies include, for example, Fr William Lynch's

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[1] *The Well-Wrought Urn,* (New York, 1947).

[2] Kenneth Burke : ' Symbolic Action in a poem by Keats ' in *A Grammar of Motives,* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1945).

[3] William Van O'Connor, *supra,* p. 174.

[4] R. P. Blackmur's essay on Wallace Stevens in *Language as Gesture,* supra.

'Adventure in Order' (*Thought*, Spring, 1951), William K. Wimsatt's 'Poetry and Christian Thinking' (*Thought*, Summer, 1951) and Victor Hamm's *The Pattern of Criticism* (1951). I think it is fair to say, however, that none of these writers has yet presented any very convincing programme and, with the exception of Mr Hamm, they appear to be still at the question-posing stage. Mr Wimsatt, for instance, writes :

> What then is an adequately serious view of poetry ? I submit that this has always been, and remains, difficult if not impossible to define with any rigour. What is the formula by which we shall recognize the metaphoric capacities of language and the moral importance of valid linguistic expression without surrendering our conception of truth as a thing beyond language, without yielding to the lead of the idealistic symbolists, the ritualists and the myth-makers ? I confess that I do not clearly see the answer . . . (p. 232).

The stance which Mr Hamm adopts seems to me to be unfortunate : neither literature nor Christianity is being well served by his view that

> There is a greatness in the *Divine Comedy* and in *Paradise Lost* that overshadows the greatness of the *Iliad*, the *Aenid*, and the *De Rerum Natura*, as the Christian view of reality overshadows the Pagan—not in virtue of some inherent superiority of style and expression, but because of the depth and catholicity of the vision revealed.

Briefly, my own view of the matter is that as Catholics and critics we must give up talking in Mr Hamm's terms, which throw more confusion than light. In this connexion I am pleased to find myself in agreement with Professor Charles J. Donahue :

> It seems to me one of the great achievements of modern criticism that it has established itself as a special discipline, so that, if one takes the terms in the strictest sense, a Catholic literary criticism may be as anomalous as a Catholic mathematics or a Catholic physics. The Catholic critic, precisely as critic, would benefit little or not at all by a literary theory of Catholic inspiration.[1]

Perhaps on this important question I may be allowed a further and final quotation ; this time from Cleanth Brooks :

> I cannot speak for the other formalist critics—I cannot even claim to know certainly who they are—but I shall hazard one or two concluding observations. In the first place, though poetry has a very important role in any culture, to ask that poetry save us is to impose a burden upon poetry that it cannot sustain. The danger is that we shall get an ersatz religion and an ersatz poetry. In the second place, I think it no accident that so many of the formalist critics either hold, or are sympathetic to, an

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[1] 'Criticsm and Philosophy', *Thought*, Winter 1951-52, p. 510.

> orthodox Christian faith. In the third place, I think it significant that those critics who hold such a position have been precisely those critics who have been anxious to distinguish between aesthetic judgment and ethical judgment, and who have tried to find a role for poetry which would make it more than a handmaiden for religion or a substitute for religion. It is precisely because I agree with the editor that ' all our problems, from literature to politics, are ultimately religious ' that I think that we should distinguish literature from religion : otherwise ' the intellectual lion and the clerical lamb '—or is it the clerical lion and the intellectual lamb ?—will lie down, not together, but perhaps with one inside the other.[1]

At this late stage in my essay it is perhaps unnecessary for me to say that I am in complete agreement with the attitude expressed by Mr Brooks : I am convinced that it is the only attitude from which neither Religion nor Poetry need suffer. Furthermore, the notion of language and criticism as I have outlined it in this essay seems to me to be the only one which will allow *The Wreck of the Deutschland* to be appreciated by an atheist or the *Cantos* of Ezra Pound by a Jewish money-lender.

[1] Cleanth Brooks : A note on the limits of ' History ' and the limits ' Criticism ' : *Sewanee Review*, Vol. LXI (1953) p. 135.

Investment and Research in Irish Agriculture

by JAMES J. BYRNE, M.A., M.SC., LL.B.
Lecturer in Economics, University of Dublin

THE settled stability of output in Irish agriculture over nearly half a century must ultimately be traced to the quantity and use of the factors of production, land, labour, capital and enterprise. All production depends directly on these four factors utilized in combination, so that stability as well as variations in output can be explained only by reference to the amounts of the factors employed and to the way in which they are combined. To some extent they are interchangeable and a shortage of one may be made good by an abundance of another. The process of substitution however has distinct limits varying with social and economic conditions. It is not possible to say in general how far it can be carried, but one thing is definite : an extension of the process beyond the limits appropriate reduces economic returns. The substitution of labour for capital is a familiar experience. Its consequences when carried to extremes are equally familiar in the overpopulated, poverty-stricken areas of the world's agriculture. It is no overstatement to say that the key to high agricultural output in progressive countries is the maintenance of a proper balance between labour and capital, and that the lack of such a balance has engendered much of the poverty which exists in the backward areas of the world. Capital, more than any other, is the revolutionizing factor in production. This is accepted as commonplace for industry, but not for agriculture largely because early economists emphasized that the limits to farm output were primarily determined by land itself, a notion which persists despite evidence to the contrary. Where land is held constant and the variable factor is labour it is true that the law of diminishing returns begins to apply in its full purity from an early stage, but it is not sufficiently appreciated that where capital is the variable the operation of the law is suspended and the opposite law of increasing returns comes into force and may stay in force for periods considerably longer than is deemed reasonable to expect. In short, land is losing its primacy and in progressive economies is becoming a factor of diminishing economic significance in agricultural production. A classic illustration of this is the experience of the U.S.A. during the thirties when a policy of acreage limitation failed to curtail the output of basic commodities like corn and wheat. Despite a decrease of 20 per cent in the area

under corn and 13 per cent in the area under wheat, the output of these crops had risen by 5 per cent and 21 per cent respectively in the early forties.

In the Twenty-six Counties the area of farming land has not altered during the past fifty years. Reductions in acreage from pre-famine levels may be regarded as having taken place almost entirely by the beginning of this century. While there is no information on changes in land fertility since 1900 the general uniformity of the pattern of production suggests that, in the aggregate, accretion or depletion of fertility has not been significant. Enterprise is an intangible and therefore an impossible factor to measure exactly, but in so far as it manifests itself in innovation there is little evidence to indicate that its volume has been increasing or decreasing to any noticeable extent. Statistical information relating directly to the labour factor is available since 1926 and shows that although the decline in numbers has been in the region of 25 per cent it was, up to 1946 at any rate, more a shedding of underemployed labour than a real reduction in a fully-occupied agricultural population. Between 1926 and 1946 when something more than half the decline occurred, approximately 93 per cent of the reduction consisted of farmers and members of their families, leaving only 7 per cent attributable to the decrease in paid employees. Again the drop in the number of females employed accounted for almost 50 per cent of the total reduction and the fall in the number of males at work occurred almost entirely on holdings under thirty acres. Since 1946 the pattern has changed. The decrease has been more evenly spread over all sizes of holding ; it has consisted mainly of males and the diminution in the number of paid employees has amounted to about 40 per cent of the total decrease in male labour. Although there was an increase in the amount of agricultural machinery employed on farms this cannot be taken to indicate a compensatory substitution of capital for labour because the total amount of capital equipment in agriculture is still small, and almost 40 per cent of the decline in male labour since 1946 took place on farms of less than thirty acres where the demand for such machinery as harvesters and milking machines is negligible. It appears that the reduction in the agriculturally-occupied population even since the war has been, in part at least, a release of under-employed labour and the indications are that this release can continue, though at a diminishing rate, without affecting output. The history of the factors of production as they are engaged in Irish agriculture point to the conclusion that stability of output is related primarily to inadequate capital. There has been little change in the pattern or technique of production, no new land brought under cultivation, no substantial increase in the amount of investment and yet the same output is achieved with a labour force reduced by nearly 25 per cent.

The experience of thirty years indicates that an increase in the quantity of labour would only increase underemployment and that unless additional capital is combined with the numbers now at work prevailing levels of output will be maintained though with fewer employed.

Capital Rationing

The need for investment in Irish agriculture arises from the need to raise production which is low both in terms of what is possible and in terms of what the economy requires. Increased production is one stage in an economic process consisting of production, exchange and consumption and it is only when the full process is completed that the development of any one of the stages is properly justified. Output must be sold, and to expand agricultural production without taking cognizance of its disposal is to create rather than solve an economic problem. The market for the product requires as much attention as the product itself. At present home demand is so small that it would quickly be saturated by any substantial expansion in the volume of production thereby creating a serious problem of crop and livestock surpluses, but this limitation is more than offset by proximity to one of the largest food-importing centres in the world. Assuming agricultural policy does not divorce internal and external prices but keeps the cost and price structures in Irish agriculture integrated with those of other countries, the disposal of output presents no difficulty. The need to maintain such price parity however cannot be over-emphasized. The rationale of increased output is that agriculture can provide the economic basis on which to develop the economy[1], but this implies that costs and prices are kept in line with those of other countries. Natural endowments such as climate and location give Irish agriculture comparative advantages over its foreign competitors in many products, but in most cases these advantages have been lost by reason of the superior knowledge, skill and techniques of the foreign competitor. This superiority is the result of investment which has paid high dividends in greater output and lower cost. There is no reason why adequate and appropriate investment should not do likewise for agriculture in this country.

The capital requirements of an economic enterprise include long-term capital to purchase the durable instruments of production and medium and short-term capital for equipment, stock and working expenses. Furthermore, in the economic category to which the enterprise belongs provision must somewhere be made for investment in research and development. In a free enterprise economy agriculture faces the competition of industry and commerce for capital and finds

[1] *Studies*, Spring, 1955. Agriculture in the National Economy. J. J. Byrne.

that the savings of the community are not readily attracted to it. The individual farms are too small to employ one of the most important capital-raising devices, the joint-stock company, so that there are no reports and balance sheets annually published, no prices regularly quoted on the stock exchange, in fact none of the information which the potential investor requires and with which he is abundantly supplied by other enterprises. As a result the supply of capital to agriculture is severely rationed both in quantity and kind. It is rationed in quantity because the only sources of funds apart from merchant credit are the banks and similar institutions, and it is rationed in kind because the loans advanced are exclusively those carrying fixed interest rates, which remain as an overhead in prosperity and depression. In addition the supply of funds fluctuates directly with general economic conditions. Credit institutions extend their lendings during a boom and contract them during a slump, and because the loans are essentially debenture debt their repayment while prosperity lasts is a matter of urgency if the borrower is to avoid the consequences of fixed debt charges and falling agricultural prices. Non-agricultural activity escapes this dilemma. The device of share capital spreads the load of profit and loss more evenly over good times and bad and entrepreneurs take pains to ensure that a safe ratio is maintained between fixed-interest and risk capital.

In Irish agriculture a major source of demand for long-term capital, namely capital to purchase farms, is practically non-existent. The system of land tenure coupled with the acquisition of holdings by inheritance effectively removes most of the farming land from the market. While this arrangement may have social and demographic consequences that are less than ideal, its economic consequences are significant. The " new " owner acquires free of cost an economic unit comprising land, buildings, stock and machinery and is thereby relieved of the need to burden himself with mortgage debt at the beginning of his career. Likewise the community is relieved of the need to channel an adequate proportion of its savings into land purchase transactions.

If, however, Irish agriculture escapes some of the difficulties associated with capital-raising it does not escape them all. Since holdings are privately owned and for the most part operated as family farms, the owner-occupiers must themselves find the capital required for improvements, additional equipment and re-stocking, and the extent of their borrowings is determined by their own credit-worthiness because there is no landlord or other intermediary whom they can interpose between themselves and the lender. The family-farm has important advantages from the social and economic viewpoint but efficiency in capital-acquisition and investment is not one of them. Size of holding, low output and failure to keep farm-accounts combine to inflate the lender's

estimate of the risk involved with the result that interest rates are raised above the level economically appropriate, the security required is in excess of what the venture really warrants, or else the period for which the loan is made is reduced to an unduly short term. The net effect is to discourage both borrower and lender, to throw the burden of farm finance on inadequate family resources, to breed a general antipathy towards investment in agriculture, and to leave farms seriously undersupplied with capital except for their immediate short-term requirements.

Research

Long-term capital is needed for research and education and for land reclamation, drainage and improvement. Research both fundamental and applied is a straightforward economic activity intended to produce new and better techniques and improved breeds and strains. It is not in any realistic sense the by-product of some more important activity but an enterprise in its own right requiring a similar allocation and organization of productive factors as commodity or service output. If it is undertaken on a sufficient scale and if its results are applied, it can effect a rapid and substantial increase in economic development by inducing beneficial changes in the cost of production, supply and distribution of products. Already it has attained major stature in industry where it claims an increasing share of the annual budget and is undertaken not simply as a worthwhile or benevolent project but as the necessary complement of a dynamic enterprise. Its presence in agriculture is of no less importance if stagnation is to be avoided. Research costs however are high and although the returns are higher the capital required cannot be provided by an agriculture which is organized on the basis of family farms. The financial resources of the family farm do not permit costly investigation into the sciences that effect the technology of farming, and because production is organized on a highly competitive basis individual farms, even if large enough to undertake basic research, cannot follow the example of industry where competition is so imperfect that large-scale undertakings can by price or production policy retain to themselves the entire rewards of their research work. The high financial return to capital invested in research is evident in every branch of agriculture, from disease and pest control to plant and animal breeding, and from soil structure and fertility to the proper utilization of all the factors of production. It has assisted in large measure in building up the efficient structure of the agricultural sectors of such countries as Denmark and New Zealand and has put farmers in those communities in a position to compete with producers anywhere in the world. The social returns from investment in research

place the capital devoted to this use high on the list of investment projects which are subject to the law of increasing returns and indicate that the resulting increments to the social dividend exceed those which accrue from capital invested in other enterprises. There are strong arguments in favour of diverting substantial allocations of capital to this use where the economic yield is higher than in most of the ordinary forms of investment and where the experience of other countries indicates that research allocations would require to be multiplied many times over before the return would cease to exceed that available in production generally.

While the results of research in some aspects of the natural sciences are of universal application the area to which this universality applies is so limited that every country must undertake the major portion of its own research work. Climatic and geological conditions, for instance, restrict the wholesale transference of results obtained in particular plant and animal breeding stations. New and improved strains require modification to fit them to a different environment and the modification may be a lengthy process compounded of trial and error.

Research however cannot stop at the natural sciences but must be carried beyond them into the field of the social sciences where investigation is of transcending importance because it is concerned with the human agent of production and because the results are not transferable over wide areas due to the variability both of the human factor and of social and economic conditions. Almost all of the work done so far has been concerned with economics, and while advances in the more technical sciences require an economic orientation before they can be translated into propositions for practical policy, there is a mounting volume of evidence that economic considerations alone provide too narrow a basis for realistic and successful policy programmes. Sociology is as much involved in production problems and the use of resources as is economics. The whole process of making decisions cannot be regarded as a purely economic matter even though it may be convenient to do so for analytical purposes. Ignoring sociological considerations can render ineffective production and distribution policies eminently desirable on purely economic grounds. It is the task of economics to outline the alternative ways in which resources can be used and to indicate what is the best use to choose. The other social sciences indicate the limits which are in practice placed on this range of choice by the habits, customs, laws, traditions and general psychology of the people. In a free community these sciences cannot be ignored because the basis of public policy is guidance and not compulsion.

In Irish agriculture research investment in the natural and social sciences has been much too small and the result is a serious lack of data on which to base policy. There are, for example, astounding gaps in

the information relating to animal, plant and soil husbandry, to agricultural technology, to the economics of holdings, to marketing and to cost and price structures. Indeed so meagre is the information that wide stretches of policy have of necessity been the outcome of personal intuition or of veneration for objectives presumed to evolve from the operation of allegedly immutable social and economic forces. There is little attempt made to see how much of this would stand the test of scientific investigation. Unless there is an objective approach to agriculture, which *inter alia* entails investing adequate funds in the investigation of its problems, it is unreasonable to expect it to yield beneficial results either in the shape of greater output or lower costs.

Dissemination of Research Results

Dissemination of research results is as important as their production. Since the costs are not borne by particular sections of the agricultural community but must be financed from outside sources, all farmers have an equal claim to benefit from the results. Unless the information is made common knowledge, differential advantages are conferred on individual groups of producers, a consequence which lacks any justification. The competitive basis of agricultural production makes it important for agriculturists to adopt new technology quickly. In contrast to industry, competition relates reward directly to efficiency and any unevenness in the distribution of knowledge quickly puts the uninformed producer at an acute disadvantage. Of itself competition does not spread information either evenly or quickly. Its effect is rather to accentuate differential advantages and disadvantages as is evident from the agricultural structure of most communities. Knowledge trickles slowly into backward areas but flows freely and easily into progressive parts where it is readily put to use. The distribution of information in agriculture cannot therefore be left to the uneven action of natural forces but calls for a positive programme of educational and advisory services which if properly organized should carry information to the farmer and the farmer's problems back to the research centres for investigation. Without such a two-way contact the production and distribution of relevant knowledge cannot be efficient. Existing educational and advisory services are too loosely-knit, patchy and haphazardly organized, giving at best a system of poor contacts and often no contact at all. In so far as it may be said to exist, the thread of communication between the farms at one end and institutions like universities at the other is tenuous in the extreme. One result of this is to leave these institutions only dimly aware of many problems which beset agriculture. Their knowledge is often too general in its nature ; it concerns the

aggregate and is not sufficiently related to the components where the problems arise, so that proposed solutions are necessarily inapplicable *a priori*. Based only on general considerations, the answers are too vague for practical application and must inevitably exhibit that high degree of imprecision which goes with inadequate knowledge of a problem's immediate and particular setting. A case in point is the small farm whose difficulties are invariably cast in terms of its smallness, thereby giving the problem a uniformity it does not possess and predisposing the investigator towards a uniform solution which may have very limited applicability. Size is only one of the relevant considerations. Location, altitude, rainfall, soil, suitability to particular crops, transport, proximity to the market, are of equal significance, and when taken into consideration reveal a many-sided problem requiring a range of solutions designed to fit the varying conditions of the areas where these farms are located. But information is available mainly in terms of numbers, size and geographical location and there is every likelihood that it will continue to be available only in this aggregative form until the educational and advisory services are so developed that they can feed, as a matter of course, the problem with its appropriate data into universities where the services of specialized personnel are available to treat it. Meanwhile the academic abilities of these institutions are not being utilized, which is as much a disadvantage to the universities as to those whose problems await solution, and results in a needless loss of welfare to the community.

THE SPHERE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Long-term investment in Irish agriculture is a matter for public rather than private agency. The needs from which the demand arises postulate capital of a kind or quantity which private enterprise cannot supply. Despite its philanthropic ventures, private investment must essentially be self-liquidating. The direct returns must at least be sufficient to finance maintenance and renewals. Investment projects on an extensive scale, yielding no direct financial return are in general outside the province of private finance, nor is it the purpose of private capital to cater for them. Education, research and allied services are investment projects of this kind. Although they give a high social return, their direct financial return to the investor is negligible. In a somewhat different but related category is investment in land reclamation, drainage and improvement. The nature of the investment precludes speedy return while the initial outlays are of substantial amount due to the large-scale organization and specialized equipment which the work involves. Capital is a scarce factor of production. Its supply falls far short of demand, and under conditions of private enterprise and competition it seeks outlets promising substantial and speedy yields, leaving

long-term projects whose yields are deferred relatively starved of their requirements. That this preference for present satisfactions can produce serious maladjustments in the allocation of economic resources, causing substantial reductions in the total welfare of the community, is a phenomenon which has been noted by every welfare economist since Adam Smith and is well analyzed by Pigou :

> When (people) have a choice between two satisfactions, they will not necessarily choose the larger of the two, but will often devote themselves to producing or obtaining a smaller one now in preference to a much larger one some years hence. The inevitable result is that efforts directed to the remote future are starved relatively to those directed to the near future, while these in turn are starved relatively to efforts directed towards the present.

Disparity between social and private returns is the common experience of free enterprise economies where investment priorities are of necessity determined by direct profitability. To the extent that private institutions cannot and indeed should not be expected to provide the amount or kind of long-term capital which Irish agriculture requires, its provision should be undertaken by the community through its governmental agencies. The benefits accrue to the community but are so diffused that their costings are not susceptible to treatment by any system of private accounting and can be adequately dealt with only in the balance sheets of the social accounts. Contrary to expressed beliefs, capital provision by the state does not in this instance imply a diminution in the stature and importance of free enterprise. It does not represent any antithesis between private and public endeavour ; neither does it open the way to a state-managed agriculture nor to an ousting of private control. Private enterprise and competition require the protection of the state at many points. There is a wide area within which the co-existence of private and public enterprise is a necessary condition of independent existence and efficient functioning. Here the two are complementary, not competitive. This is illustrated on the political plane by the need to protect society against external aggression and by the need to preserve justice, law and order internally. It is illustrated on the economic plane by regulations to control interests which might otherwise establish themselves in monopolistic positions. The experience of agriculture underlines the shortcomings of undiluted *laissez-faire* and indicates that an enterprising, progressive and competitive agriculture requires the assistance of an equally energetic and well-designed public policy. Where there are inherent gaps in the credit institutions of a free enterprise economy, the community may legitimately be asked to fill them, particularly if as a result of the lacunae the general welfare of the community is appreciably diminished. Long-term capital for

Irish agriculture is mainly a matter for the state and its provision by the state is not incompatible with private enterprise ; rather is it incompatible with the function of private enterprise to suggest that this capital should be provided by it.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

By contrast it is an appropriate function of private and not of public enterprise to provide agriculture with intermediate and short-term capital. Supplying this kind of credit fits readily into the structure of banking business, and there is no inherent reason why an economic activity which is within the scope and capacity of private enterprise should be assigned to the state. It is true that no rigid line of demarcation can be permanently drawn between public and private enterprise, for, while there is a range of economic functions appropriate to each, there is also a range which can be performed equally by both. The allocation of this intermediate group to public or private management cannot be determined *a priori* or *en bloc*. Transfer from private to public agency requires in the case of each function a separate investigation of the merits and defects of existing arrangements ; whether the defects can be eliminated by adjusting the mechanism, and how the advantages and disadvantages of the adjusted machinery compare with those of public operation. From the economic point of view the criterion guiding the final decision is maximum social advantage, which implies examining the cost and quality of the public and private service, their comparative technical efficiencies and the extent to which untrammelled private enterprise could establish itself in a monopolistic position and exact monopolistic profit from the public. In brief, the transfer is justified when public enterprise is the more economical, and in this context the term economical has a social connotation for the yardstick is maximum social welfare.

There is no evidence that privately operated credit institutions are, by virtue of their structure and the nature of their activities, prevented from undertaking the provision of intermediate and short-term credit for farmers, that their technical competence is inadequate or that exclusive reliance on them would produce monopolistic abuses and therefore lead to losses in welfare. Banking business requires a maintenance of safe ratios between investments of different duration so as to preserve a balance between earnings and liquidity. This simply means that investment portfolios should be arranged to give a spread of maturity dates and that a relatively small proportion of assets should be locked up in long-term investment. Between these desiderata and the requirements of agricultural finance there is no conflict. Agriculture

provides a safe outlet for investment funds and offers a range of investment opportunities of reasonable length, so that to supply its capital needs would imply for banks and similar credit institutions no alteration in their basic function which is to channel savings into safe and reasonably short-term capital projects.

Defects in the Credit Mechanism

Unnecessary shortcomings both in agriculture and in the credit mechanism are in large measure responsible for the attenuated flow of savings into intermediate and short-term agricultural investment. One of the major defects in agricultural finance in the 26 Counties is ignorance which has produced in the farming community an unreasonable distrust of credit institutions and has inhibited these agencies from undertaking farm finance on anything approaching a sufficient scale. The general mood is that the institutions are not to be trusted and that agriculture is a bad risk. The basis of credit is mutual trust. In economic activity trust is not synonymous with faith but is rooted in ability to estimate the risk involved. This puts a high premium on knowledge. The better acquainted borrowers and lenders are with the abilities and functions of one another the greater the mutual understanding and respect, the more efficient the credit mechanism, the fewer the defaults and the lower the rate of foreclosure. The demand for credit in agriculture is not for a uniform set of facilities but for a complex network adequate to the varying needs of individual farms and of the different types of farming which comprise the general pattern of agriculture. What is presented to credit institutions is a series of problems whose solution depends partly on the acquisition of capital and partly on its allocation to the most economic uses, which means that credit agencies should be able to supply not merely capital of the quantity and kind needed but also advice and guidance on the manner in which it should be employed. This calls for a wide array of loans and rates, a considerable flexibility in credit arrangements and a detailed knowledge of farming to enable finance agencies to gauge the general risk involved in agricultural investment and the particular risks involved in advancing credit to specific farms. It also requires that farms should be able to produce evidence of financial stability and repayment capacity.

Financial worth together with ability to use and amortize credit are best shown by accounts, but account-keeping is not part of the normal routine of agriculture except perhaps on large farms where income-tax may provide an incentive. Farm accounts are indispensible to efficiency for they indicate whether or not productive resources are being distributed in the most profitable manner. The sort of accounts which it

is appropriate to keep varies with the size and complexity of the undertaking ; detailed records of expenditures and returns for every operation may be justified on large farms though not on small where relatively simple and straightforward records are sufficient. In all cases, however, farm accounts should show receipts and operating expenses and an estimate of the net worth of the undertaking at the end of the year. Devising suitable sets of accounts and instructing farmers in their use and importance falls within the province of the educational and advisory services, and in other countries these services have been instrumental in spreading the habit of keeping accounts right through agriculture. One of the benefits of farm accounts is the help they give in planning better production programmes. The analysis of records of previous years indicates which operations to contract and which to expand and what general revisions require to be made in the production policy of the farm in order to keep in line with demand and price changes. Of equal importance is the basis they provide for credit transactions. The lender requires evidence of the profitability inherent in the transaction for which the funds are borrowed, and in farming much of this evidence can readily be provided by proper accounts, particularly where they extend over a series of years. In their absence collateral rather than capacity to repay is made the foundation of lending, which alters the whole centre of gravity of credit, throwing the emphasis on safety and guarantee rather than ability to pay. Where the criterion of credit-worthiness is the financial stability of guarantors, credit stagnates for sureties may not be readily procurable and, even where they are, self-esteem may preclude having recourse to them. The healthy condition of industrial and commercial credit is in no small measure due to its emancipation from guarantee and suretyship and the impersonal basis on which it now rests largely results from the development and use of accounting procedures which enable lenders to gauge the profitability of a venture itself and thereby to arrange their loans according to risk and not according to lists of signatures. In agriculture lack of account-keeping is one of the big obstacles blocking the free flow of intermediate and short-term credit and not until that obstacle is removed can credit agencies be expected to turn their attention to providing capital on the scale which farms require.

The obstacles are not confined to the borrower's shortcomings. Equally significant are the deficiencies in the lending mechanism where lack of enterprise and inadequate knowledge of agriculture rank high in importance. The lending agencies adopt an essentially passive role in farm finance, relying on the borrower to initiate transactions and limiting their active participation to affirmative or negative replies which are too often the simple reflection of current optimism or pessimism regarding agricultural prosperity in general. This situation is difficult

to understand, and even paradoxical. Industry has by-passed most of the provincial towns and settled in a few large urban centres, whereas agriculture, like banking, is a decentralized economic activity and produces about 30 per cent. of the national output. Yet despite this it is not uncommon to find too many banks competing for the commerce of non-expanding or even declining towns while the potential business of wide agricultural hinterlands goes unheeded. Enterprise must however proceed from knowledge ; otherwise the risk of loss is too great. Credit institutions intending to undertake farm finance should include among their personnel individuals who are equipped with the general economics of agriculture and the particular economics of farm management. Given these additions to banks' staffs and a proper system of educational and advisory services for agriculture, there is no reason why existing credit institutions should not be able to supply the intermediate and short-term credit needs of the farming community. They would be in a position to investigate the possibility of increasing the output and income of farming in practically every area of the country ; they could assist their agricultural borrowers in devising plans for operating farms in the most profitable fashion ; they could advise them on the most efficient ways of employing credit ; they could break down much of the distrust which separates borrowers and lenders and they could halt the tendency to press an ever-increasing volume of functions on the state by demonstrating the virility which can characterize private enterprise in the economic sphere. It is senseless to burden the public sector of the economy with functions appropriate to the private, and in agriculture it is an economic extravagance to suggest that the state should institute the decentralized machinery which intermediate and short-term finance requires when that machinery has already been established by private enterprise and only requires overhaul to enable it to function adequately.

Farm Savings and Capital Requirements

A considerably enhanced volume of investment in agriculture is a prime necessity if output is to be raised and cost and price structures maintained at internationally competitive levels without heavy subsidy. The condition of agriculture reveals an acute shortage of capital, a reluctance to employ capital and a tendency to carry the substitution of labour for capital even to the point of no profit. Although the volume of farm savings is considered large, the total is in no way sufficient to offset the general effects of capital rationing. Farm communities have a high propensity to save, a propensity which varies inversely with the size of the holding and is more often than not an indication of under-investment in farms and of undernourishment of the farm population.

For example, in small-farm communities there is a tendency to hoard at the expense of necessary consumption and investment, and when investment is undertaken misdirection and consequent wastage of savings is not uncommon. The qualitative difference between agricultural and non-agricultural savings makes comparisons and conclusions misleading when based simply on money totals. In fact, the difference is significant enough to affect the application of savings-investment analysis which economic theory has developed largely from non-agricultural data. Capital shortage and economic stagnation are familiar experiences in predominantly agricultural economies even though the amount of saving out of income may be greater than in richer and more prosperous communities. In Irish agriculture excessive importance is attached to liquid savings and although the investment of these funds would mitigate the capital shortage much more is needed to meet requirements. Even if the savings were adequate, not all of them would be available for investment since some proportion would necessarily be appropriated to non-agricultural commitments. Capital must therefore be drawn in from outside sources. Because of its nature long-term investment is beyond the capacity of private enterprise and must therefore be undertaken by public agency. One of the most pressing needs in this sphere is investment in agricultural education, research and advisory services where expenditure can guarantee much higher dividends than are commonly expected. Intermediate and short-term capital can be provided by private agency and the burden of providing it should not therefore be thrust on the state. Instead the farming community and the credit institutions should make the adjustments which are required to ensure a smooth flow of this kind of capital into agriculture.

An Early Irish Poem of Invocation to Our Lady

Edited by BRIAN Ó CUÍV, M.A.
Lecturer in Classical Irish, University College, Dublin

TO the casual observer familiar with the widespread devotion to Our Lady which has existed in Ireland for centuries and with the richness of modern Irish devotional literature on her, the apparent lack of early Irish poems to the Blessed Virgin is surprising. But to some experts in the history of Western Christendom this lack causes no surprise, for they hold that devotion to Our Lady did not become intense in Ireland, any more than it did in Britain or France, until after the tenth century, and that then it was due to a large extent to the influence of St Bernard of Clairvaux. The case in support of this viewpoint is so strong that it might well be accepted generally, and indeed the fact that poems to Our Lady from the Old Irish period have heretofore been generally unknown to scholars is only one of many pieces of evidence.

However, we must remember that this is negative evidence. No one would argue from the lack of missals from the period 600–900 A.D. that Mass was not said in the hundreds of monasteries throughout Ireland in that period. We presume that the missals, like so much more of early Irish writings, have been lost. But it is likewise possible that poems to the Blessed Virgin did exist in large numbers and that they have also been lost. There is even the further possibility that many such poems were never committed to writing. At any rate if it could be shown that even one devotional poem to Our Lady had survived from the Old Irish period, this negative evidence would no longer carry such weight. For this reason the discovery in a manuscript in Dublin in 1953 of what have been described as ' poems from the seventh century on the Blessed Virgin '[1] aroused considerable interest, and students of Irish and of history are still eagerly awaiting further details and the publication of the full text. From what we have seen of them, however, it is clear that these poems are very different in character from the poem of invocation published here for which no such antiquity is claimed.

This poem is found in Ms. 20979 in the Burgundian Library in Brussels.[2] Although the manuscript was written in the seventeenth

[1] See *The Irish Press*, 10 February, 1955, in a report of a public lecture given on 8 February, by Professor James Carney.

[2] The Ms. has not been listed in the printed catalogue. I have worked from a photostat copy in the National Library of Ireland.

century,[1] its contents—a collection of ' exempla ' in prose and a collection of devotional verse—are in part at least considerably older, and a number of the poems are as old as the eleventh century. It is only to be expected that an early poem would suffer in transmission over seven or more centuries and we must allow for this when considering the present text on linguistic grounds. The poem is certainly not in Old Irish dress, for the spelling shows a mixture of Middle and Modern Irish, but that is of no significance. What is important, however, is the fact that some word-forms grammatically correct for Old Irish occur, while such Middle Irish forms as are found may be replaced by the corresponding Old Irish forms without doing violence to the metre.[2] In fine while there is linguistic evidence in favour of its composition before the year 900, the evidence in favour of a later date may be discounted as due to faulty transmission over a period of seven hundred years.

As will be seen we have in this poem a sustained and moving invocation of Our Lady consisting of twenty-four quatrains in a metre known as ' cró cummaisc etir rannaigecht móir ocus sruth di aill '. The poet petitions Mary earnestly for her help and intercession ; he places himself under her protection and expresses his confidence in her ; and in the closing quatrains he sums up his requests : the gift of piety, freedom from the devil at the hour of death, and the grace never to be parted from Christ in this world or the next.

We find Mary invoked in turn as intermediary between the poet and her Son (3–4, 7–8), Queen of virgins (5), protector (43, 47), conqueror of the devil (51), vessel which contained the manna (53), shrine in which was the Son of God (55–6), golden vat in which was the wine which intoxicates and gladdens the host for all eternity (57–60), paradise in which was the tree of life (61–2), pleasant sun (64), Mother of the Son of God (65–6), one whose face shines as the sun (67–8). Similar phrases are found in a poem beginning *A Muire mín maithingen* ascribed to Colam Cille,[3] but generally assigned to the tenth century. Such expressions occur at an early date in Eastern writings ; for instance, in the hymns of St Ephrem the Syrian, in a fifth-century Ethiopic hymn,[4] and in the ' Akathistos ' hymn of the Byzantine liturgy. Nevertheless their occurrence in Western writings has hitherto been taken to be of comparatively late date. A revision of this viewpoint would seem necessary if, as I have suggested, the present text belongs to the Old Irish period.

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[1] The date ' 21 August 1616 ' and place of writing ' Cill Tighearnaigh ' occur at the end of the prose section. The date ' 1618 ' occurs several times in the verse section.

[2] In preparing the text for publication I have followed the orthography of the manuscript. I hope to publish in *Ériu*, an annotated edition of this and other early poems from the Brussels Ms.

[3] See Plummer, *Irish Litanies*, p. 96.

[4] See *Dublin Review* 10 (1868), pp. 325-7. Compare especially ' Thou art that pure chest of gold in which was laid up the manna . . .' *op. cit.* p. 326, with lines 53 ff. infra.

A Muire, mo bennacht ort
as cech n-alt
co rom-herála anocht
for do Mhac.

A ríogan na n-uile n-ógh
for bith bán,
guid oram do Mac maith mór,
gurbam slán.

Co ruccar cosccar don bith
co lín ccath,
nom-beir for ríchead fri rith
ar do rath.

Ar do gein, ar do glóir
tair im dháil ;
do thigh do Roi-Mic maith móir
geb mo láim.

Ar an togha tugadh ort
as cech n-alt,
ar in Aithir, luagh gan locht,
ar an Macc,

ar an Spirat Naem co rath
cech maith duit ;
dom breith for nem, lígda in loc,
bíd do chuid.

Ar gach n-aingeal, ar cech n-óigh,
ar cech naemh,
nom-beir i n-aentaidh na slógh
co síodh saer.

Com anmuin, com chorp, com chéll,
is com chonn,
meisi for h'eineach fodéin
céin beir sonn.

Rom-saera, cidh mall cidh moch
tias don bith,
ar cech ngábadh co llín ccath,
ar cech grith.

Fom-certuim fort chích, fort glún,
is fort gruaidh, . .
for h'anmuin, for h'fuil, for h'feóil,
in gach úair.

Fort chomairge damh síu is tall
ar cech n-ing,
rom tú mo díon as cech am
co Rígh rinn.

A Muire, cluinte mo nuall
co nem naemh,
gurab dítiu dam fria sluagh
ndeamna ndaer,

Acht mad Críst as tú mó rath
táraill bith,
for diabal ro brisis cath
for do rith.

As tú an ciolarn a mbaí in mainn,
a fial finn ;
is tú in comra i mboí treall
Mac Ríg rinn.

As tú an telchumha co n-ór
i mboí an fíon
mesccus, śubaiges in slógh
tria bith sír.

As tú an parthus i mboí an crann
bethu binn ;
do Mac ro gab giall na clann,
a grian grinn.

As tú máthair an Rígh móir,
Mac Dé déin ;
do-aithne do gnúis co nglóir
amhaill gréin.

Rom-saerae ar pecad, ar pláigh
ifirn úair ;
ní relge deman im dáil,
a grían glúair.

Do moladh rob dítiu damh ;
as mo-chen ;
cidh bé ngnáthaigeas co glan
robé nemh.

Impidi ortsa cech naeim
nertmuir náir ;
h'impidi la taep gach aein
fri Críst cáidh :

conam-raib buaid ccrábaidh grinn
as cech am ;
coro-taitne amail rinn
for nim tall ;

coná tí demhan im dáil
tan at-bél ;
coná fagbar péin ná pláigh
ag Rígh nél.

Ná raibh mo scarad re Críst
síu nó tall ;
in tech i ttá Mac Rígh rinn
ro béo ann.

Beannacht na soim is na mbocht
for do Mac ;
a Muire, mo bennacht ort
as cech n-alt.
A Muire.

O Mary, my blessing on thee in every way that thou mayest commend me to-night to thy Son.
O Queen of all the virgins in the wide world, pray for me to thy great good Son that I may be saved.
That I may bring triumph from the world with numerous hosts, bring me to heaven swiftly by thy grace.
By thy conception, by thy glory, come to me ; to the house of thy great good Son lead me by the hand.
By the choice that was made of thee in every way, by the Father, faultless worth, by the Son,
by the Holy Spirit with grace, every good is thine ; to bring me to heaven, fair the place, be thy share.

By every angel, by every virgin, by every saint, bring me in the company of the (heavenly) hosts with noble peace.

With my soul, with my body, with my understanding, and with my sense, I am under thy protection as long as I shall be here.

Mayest thou save me, whether late or early I leave the world, from every danger with numerous hosts, from every attack.

I throw myself on thy breast, on thy knee, and on thy cheek, on thy soul, on thy blood, on thy flesh, at all times.

Under thy protection am I here and yonder against every strait, mayest thou be my guard always (until I come) to the King of the stars.

O Mary, hear my cry to holy heaven, mayest thou be my shelter against the host of base devils.

Except for Christ thou art the one most abounding in grace who has visited this world, thou hast defeated the devil in battle in thy course.

Thou art the vessel in which was the manna, o fair generous one ; thou art the shrine in which was for a while the Son of the King of the stars.

Thou art the golden cup in which was the wine which intoxicates and gladdens the host for all eternity.

Thou art the paradise in which was the sweet tree of life ; thy Son has taken the hostage of the (human) race, o pleasant sun.

Thou art the Mother of the great King, Son of swift God ; thy countenance shines gloriously like the sun.

Mayest thou save me from sin, from the plague of cold hell ; let not a demon near me, o radiant sun.

May it be a protection to me to praise thee—blessed is that ; whoever practises it rightly, may he have heaven.

The prayer of every strong noble saint to thee ; thy prayer along with each to pure Christ :

that I may have the gift of diligent piety always ; that I may shine like a star yonder in heaven ;

that no demon may come to me when I die ; that I may not get pain nor plague from the King of the clouds.

May I not part from Christ here or yonder ; the house where is the Son of the King of the stars, may I be there.

The blessing of rich and poor on thy Son ; o Mary, my blessing on thee in every way.

An Apostle of the Great City

FATHER RUPERT MAYER, S.J.
1876–1945

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

DR CARL SONNENSCHEIN, who worked in Berlin after the first World War and was himself a remarkable apostle under precisely the circumstances of a great city, wrote of the qualities such an apostle should possess :

> The great city calls for capable bankers and business directors, for outstanding administrators and lawyers of rare acumen. It also calls for priests of particular unselfishness and consistency, of ever growing understanding and limitless love. They must be men who take care that souls do not perish through thirst, and that these souls are not stunned and deafened into spiritual insensitiveness by the incessant noise of whirling machinery, of the crazy quest for pleasure, and of vulgar superficiality. They must be men who can utter a word, when the many cheap words of the world to-day have lost all value ; who can release a spring, when all streams have dried up ; who can give a light of love to eyes, when all the stars are dimmed ; men, who will devote themselves and their lives to the things that genuinely matter in the midst of the thousand trivialities of modern existence, when what is substantial is stored in lofts and warehouses, and when the houses themselves and men's lives are crammed with geegaws.

Father Rupert Mayer, S.J., had none of the modern flair of Dr Sonnenschein. He lacked entirely his feel for the telling illustration, the trenchant phrase. Not his the Sonnenschein pen that columned the Berlin morning papers with graphic vignettes of city life. The sum total of Father Mayer's published writings during his lifetime amounted to some two sermons in a sodality magazine. Indeed, he was so unused to pens and penmanship that he was generally unable to fill his fountain pen without assistance and left more of the ink on his fingers than in the holder.

If Dr Sonnenschein was the city man turned apostle—keen, alert, incisive—Father Mayer remained always a typical German of the South : somewhat slow, direct and simple, a 'fanatic for the truth', as he described himself. His was certainly not *ein problematischer Geist*—an expression which Germans are fond of using. He did not see *problems*, he solved them, without bothering his head about their *problematical* character. His two feet were planted solidly on the ground of Catholic truth. Even here there is an element of paradox, for one of those feet, from 1916 until his death, was an artificial limb, the consequence of wounds in the first World War. He possessed in a rare degree that

human touch which took him straight to the centre of situations and to the hearts of men and women. It was a touch, almost ' of the earth, earthy ' ; he never lost his contact with humble and ordinary folk and loved to talk with them in dialect. He, achieved so much among them because he made himself one of them, perhaps better because he was just one of them. He was what Germans know as *ein echter Schwab*—an expression *kerndeutsch* and quite untranslatable, though literally it means a genuine Swabian from Wurtemberg. " A real Yorkshireman " would be a more or less good equivalent in England. But writing to the East of the Irish Sea I should not dare to suggest an equivalent for Ireland.

This South German priest, so different in character and gifts from Dr Sonnenschein, was to become as famous an apostle of great cities and of work among men. He was one of the best known and strongest Catholic personalities in the period between the two wars and, though in concentration camp and enforced retirement, also throughout the second World War. He was a priest of outstanding personal goodness : completely self-effacing and generous in charity ; blunt and firm in the proclamation of Catholic principles. The measure both of his influence and his holiness can be seen from the fact that his cause for canonisation was introduced on 26 June 1950, less than five years after his death. Shortly after its introduction the number of persons visiting his tomb in the lower church of the Bürgersaal in Munich was six thousand every day.[1]

Early Years

Rupert Mayer was born in Stuttgart in January 1876. His family was of solid middle class and in very comfortable circumstances. On both father's and mother's side they were merchants and their home in Stuttgart was above a large emporium, with deeply slanting gabled roofs, along one side of an attractive market square. Father and mother had been brought up in strongly Protestant districts and they remained tenacious Catholics, with the ability and courage to defend their faith against all non-Catholic argument.

Six children were born to the parents. The oldest, a son, Egon, senior by two years to Rupert. He entered the family business, was very active as a lay Catholic, and died in 1937. The remaining four were girls, and ranged from Hermanna, who became a Religious of the Sacred Heart at Riedenburg in 1899 and went in 1908 to Japan, to Valeria, born as late as 1897. The four older children—Egon and

[1] Father Mayer's life has been written in considerable detail by his fellow Jesuit, Father Anton Koerbling. The first edition dates from 1949, the fourth from the following year. The publishers are the Verlag Schnell und Steiner, Munich.

A shorter account is available in : *P. Rupert Mayer, S.J. Dokumente, Selbstzeugnisse und Erinnerungen.* Gesammelt von Dr Franziska Boesmiller. 1952. Also published by the Verlag Schnell und Steiner, Munich.

Rupert, Hermanna and Ines—were a lively quartet and were known at home as the ' four-in-hand '. Rupert was to assert later that what mischief failed to suggest itself to any one of them, was certain to be thought of by one of the other three.

The parents were, however, as earnest as they were affectionate. Brakes were placed upon the ' four-in-hand '. Even before they attended school, the children were taught English and French by a governess. To this the girls took readily. But Rupert confessed that he was a Philistine and besides he was " too much of a little patriot " to talk in any other tongue than German. Later on, when he had French homework to do in the evenings he did not disdain to avail himself of Hermanna's assistance, who, in fact, would do this particular homework for him. He even made her look up words for him in a dictionary for, with proper masculine pride he assured her : " if the teacher asks, where I got the translation from, I can hardly tell him ' from my sister ' ".

Rupert's school record was reasonably but not specially good. One master's impression of him was as " a good lad, quite unspoilt and lively ". In arithmetic and mathematics he was " poor ", like many another worthy individual. In fact, years afterwards, when he was set sums to work out as a prisoner in Landsberg, the verdict on his calculating powers was not complimentary. " Im Rechnen sehr schwach " (very weak at arithmetic).

The education of the young Mayers was rounded off in other directions. They were taught music. Though the father was not himself musical, there were musical instruments all over the house. Rupert acquired a great liking for the violin and played quite well. As a young secular priest, before his entrance into the Society of Jesus, his manner of preparing sermons was to stride up and down his room, playing the fiddle. Indeed, one of the hardest sacrifices he had to make, on entering the Jesuit novitiate at Feldkirch, was that of his beloved violin. When asked—among many other official queries put to him after his arrest by the Nazis—whether he played any musical instrument, his answer was : " They tell me I might have become a good violinist ; but for thirty eight years I have not touched a fiddle ".

Far keener than this interest in the violin was his passion for horses and for riding. As a boy, he rode regularly ; in his two university years in Tübingen he was rated so good a horseman that they allowed him to borrow horses from the cavalry barracks. On one occasion his natural gifts for riding were noted by a senior officer who enquired precisely who and what he was. Learning that he was a student in theology, the officer commented : " 'Hem, he'd make a very much better circus rider ". His earlier theological studies were made, as was then the regular German custom, at an open university, where theologians mixed easily with students of other faculties. Rupert was still astride two worlds and would

come to his lectures in theology in riding boots and breeches and with a whip.

Education

At the age of sixteen he left the local gymnasium in Stuttgart to finish his secondary studies at a gymnasium in Ravensburg in Eastern Bavaria, a far more Catholic region. It was there that he came into contact with students from the Jesuit college of Stella Matutina. This was at Feldkirch in Austria, and its German pupils had to return to a German gymnasium at 16 in order to do their final two years in a German school. With some of these boys he became very friendly and, during a vacation, told his father that he would like to become a Jesuit. At that time, be it remembered, the Jesuits had been expelled from Germany—one of the consequences of the Kulturkampf—and his father insisted with Rupert that, should he wish to become a priest, he must first study in the ordinary way, be ordained as a secular priest and then, a year subsequently, should he still feel called to join the Society of Jesus, he might do so with his father's consent and blessing.

In 1894 Rupert passed his *Matura* or school-leaving examination sufficiently well to be excused an oral. He then proceeded to the university. He began his higher studies at Fribourg in Switzerland, partly because he felt a leaning at the moment towards the Dominicans. From 1895–6 he studied in Munich, where he attended his first theology lectures under Professor Bardenhewer. From 1896–8 he was in the university of Tübingen. Though serious enough in his outlook, he led a quite ordinary student life ; was a member of one of the student *Verbindungen, Teutonia,* and, until these student associations were 'politicised' by the Nazis, remained a loyal 'Old-Boy'. There are glimpses of student pranks and disturbances. Groups of them used to dance in the streets by gaslight to the tune of fiddle and harmonica, while one student stood on guard to watch for the police. And on one occasion Rupert was arrested for some escapade.

However, he finished his university studies very worthily, if with no academic distinction. And then he entered the seminary at Rottenburg for his final year. He found the seminary discipline "mighty tough" (*ausserordentlich streng*) after his four untrammelled years at universities. However, the report upon him from the seminary board showed how little those years had disturbed his character.

> Talent average—so ran the report—application praiseworthy, general behaviour splendid. As regards health and physical strength, he is only about half strength, and this will have to be husbanded carefully, if he is not to break down. In point of character Mayer is among the very best : he is thoroughly good, pious, noble-minded, innocent and a gentleman.

He received sub-diaconate and diaconate in March, 1899, and was ordained priest on May the 2nd of the same year by Bishop Paul Wilhelm Ketteler. His first Mass was celebrated in Stuttgart on May the 4th.

For a year—that year of his agreement with his father—he was a curate at Spaichingen and had charge of a ' chapel of ease ' attached to that country parish. His parish priest was a remarkable man, Oberkirchenrat Michael Munz, who gave his new curate the best introduction possible to pastoral life. How closely the two became befriended may be seen from this one detail. Thirty two years later, though Father Mayer remained only the one year in Spaichingen, he returned to speak the funeral address over his friend's grave. His own attachment to this first cure of souls is equally evident from a letter he wrote to the parish priest there, on his own sixtieth birthday, in 1936 :

> It is almost impossible to understand how a man, after only one year of work in a parish, can feel himself spiritually linked with that parish for ever. There is something in what country folk say, namely that the first post of a young curate is like a young man's first love. I have the strong feeling to-day that, were I to come again as curate to Spaichingen, I should feel myself completely at home from the first hour. My hope is that Spaichingen has remained the grand and true Catholic place that it was when I was there. I came out of the Diaspora and I had never seen a full and corporate Catholic life. My experiences in Spaichingen did me a power of good. I have to thank its good folk for many an encouragement and inspiration.

From the beginning he blended the corporal with the spiritual works of mercy and his parents soon understood that there was a certain liability in having a priest son. Still, they co-operated generously. When parishioners from Spaichingen travelled to Stuttgart, they were frequently met by a member of the Mayer family and hospitably entertained. The new curate in one case paid for fresh window glass to be put in a parishioner's house and in another had a new floor laid for a needy widow. He looked pale, so the robust country people thought, but he was active enough and never ill.

Society of Jesus

He joined the Society of Jesus in the autumn of 1900. The novitiate was then at Feldkirch in the Vorarlberg. Father Johann B. Müller was novice master, a precise and orderly man, who had acted as Minister in several houses. There is little record of Father Mayer's year at Feldkirch except for one or two slighter incidents. Father Bömínghaus, a fellow novice, recounts how one morning he was walking in the novices' garden, reflecting on the meditation he had been making. He noticed Father Mayer gazing raptly over the broad Rhine valley that faced the house. He passed him by without speaking, when Father Mayer suddenly

turned round and commented : " I was just thinking, as I looked across that perfectly lovely valley. Oh, if only I could have a horse under me and ride . . . ride . . . ride ". A second reminiscence again connects him with horses. His father rode up one day from the station to pay him a visit and tethered his horse near a side door. Rupert took hold of the reins, vaulted into the saddle and scampered away over the novices' fields.

After this first year of noviceship, he went to Valkenburg until 1904. Here was the great college for Philosophy and Theology which the German Jesuits had established in Holland. He was now engaged in refreshing and enlarging his scholastic knowledge. Though not a student by temperament, he worked earnestly and with his eye on the future apostolate. It is a touching comment on the interest he acquired in scholastic studies that, thirty five and more years later, when he was in compulsory exile in Kloster Ettal, he worked his way through his old student books of Philosophy, through courses on Epistemology and Metaphysics, subjects that might have seemed a very far cry from the direct apostolate to which he had been so sedulously devoted.

His early appointments in the Society were not wholly happy. He was happy enough himself but he did not quite fit in. In 1904 he was made Socius or Assistant to the novice master. The novices thought very highly of him. He was a breath of air from a larger world. He would talk to them in a familiar and lively manner and tell them amusing stories in dialect. The contrast with the more sedate and formal novice master was too striking for mutual success. And accordingly, after one year in the novitiate, he went to Wijnandsrade in Holland for his tertianship or third year of spiritual formation. A contemporary, Father Richtstaetter, remembers him as " tranquil, pious, very observant of rule, modest and conscientious, with just a touch of that Swabian, almost melancholic, seriousness ".

For five years after the tertianship he belonged to the mission group of German Jesuits, engaged in popular preaching and Lenten missions. His headquarters were at Valkenburg until 1908, and in Feldkirch from 1908 till 1911. His great work in Munich makes it obvious that he would have done this popular missioning with rare effect and spiritual fruit. But, here again, he did not quite fit in, particularly with the Superior of the missioners, Father Aschenbrenner. The latter seems to have been a missioner of the old school : cheerful, blunt and straightforward, a little rough and ready, more at home with country folk than with city people. He was a simple man with a simple background. Father Mayer was simple enough, but in a different way : there was nothing of the ' high brow ' about him. Yet the two were different in temperament and outlook. It was clear that they would work better apart.

MUNICH

Towards the close of 1911 Rupert Mayer was sent to Munich. It was to be his centre of work and his beloved city until his death. The city was the Catholic capital of a predominantly Catholic country, Bavaria, but it presented, from the religious viewpoint, many a serious problem. There was a strong anti-religious movement with propaganda for the *Sonntagsferien freier Menschen*, to get the people out in holiday mood on Sundays and of course away from church. Father Mayer's first commission was to work among the new immigrants into the city, men and women drifting in from the country in search for work. The annual intake of this kind was nearly 25,000.

His first efforts took the form of organizations : societies of men and groups of women, into which these new arrivals might be fitted to give them some standing and sense of security. It was slow, tedious and in many ways unrewarding work. Yet he persevered, and results came. Shortly after his arrival, he founded a congregation of women, dedicated to the Holy Family, whose work was precisely this of caring for the new immigrants. He became their official director in 1921 and remained always in the closest contact with them.

For the moment I shall say nothing more of his pre-war activity in Munich except to quote what Bishop Buchberger later wrote of him. The bishop's testimony gives a real insight into the nature of his work and what it cost him :

> It is 8 p.m. The offices and factories are empty, the men have taken their evening meal. Many are streaming towards theatres or concert halls or other places of entertainment. At this hour you would be certain to find Father Mayer, not en route for amusement or entertainment or relaxation, but on his way to his true ' workshop ', among the groups and clubs and meetings. When other people have stopped working, then he starts to work. To begin with, there will be cheery and hearty handshakes, when he meets his working men. Then they get down to business ; they talk of the living questions of the hour which affect their religion and their day to day lives. In circles like this Father Mayer has passed thousands of his hours by night and given hundreds upon hundreds of talks. To this work has he sacrificed a large part of his night's rest, day after day, year in year out, and through many a long year, and always with the same loyalty, true goodness and unaffected love. The men clung to him, like friend to friend, like children to father. He came to mean so much to these working men who so often felt the heavy weight of their work, their preoccupations and their responsibilities for home and faith. All honour to those solitaries who have spent their lives in reflection and renunciation ! All praise to the religious in their quiet cells, dedicating themselves in prayer and work to God ! But the *Vereinspräses* (the priest director of clubs and meetings) who, after his day's labour, sacrifices for his beloved working men the hours of night and his

well-merited repose, and this not once in a while, but almost every day for ten or twenty years : that man has made a far greater sacrifice than the others.[1]

MILITARY CHAPLAIN

When war broke out in August 1914, it was quite natural that a man's apostle like Father Mayer should volunteer as military chaplain. Of this part of his life I shall say little here, for want of space, but there is material for an epic in it.

It was in these war years that he really discovered himself and gained that power of influencing and helping men, which was the great hallmark of his post-war activities. After some months in a military hospital, he was transferred as chaplain to the 19th Reserve Infantry Regiment and with them he soldiered in France and Galicia, in 1915, and the next year, on the Somme and in Roumania, where he was severely wounded. He was three times decorated : with the Iron Cross, fourth class, in March 1915 ; with the *Militärverdienstorden,* fourth class with crown and swords, in June 1915 ; and in December of the same year, with the Iron Cross, first class—an unheard of honour for a chaplain.[2]

Glimpses of this military life may be snatched from soldiers' letters and from the witness on his behalf by former officers, when he was arrested and arraigned by the Nazis. We can see him, marching and singing with them, while his orderly rode the padre's horse ; or in the forward trenches handing out rosaries and prayer books, yes but also cigars from home in Stuttgart ; or hauling at Christmas time a large sack filled with presents through the muddy communication trenches. One discovers him on May evenings, in some front line post in the Vosges, reciting the rosary with a handful of men kneeling around him. There was one occasion—a company commander bore official witness—when they had practically decided it was impossible any longer to hold a position : it was terribly exposed, the men's nerves were going, the officers feared the worst. Along came the chaplain, Father Mayer, at the critical moment ; stuck his crucifix into the side of the trench and announced to them : " I am staying here—with you ". He did so, and they held the position. Or there comes to mind the series of final scenes, through the pages of Carossa : the wounded chaplain, lying, deathly pale, on the floor of a

[1] Anton Koerbling, S.J. Pp. 62-3.

[2] Dr Hans Carossa, who was medical officer to the regiment with which Father Mayer was serving, has left a detailed appreciation of the chaplain, whom he actually tended when he was severely wounded in Roumania. Of Father Mayer he speaks with the deepest reverence. It was due to the priest's example, he assures us, that he was himself able to hold out. In moments of discouragement, he felt exhausted and entertained the notion of ' going sick '. What helped him more than all else to overcome this feeling of weakness was the thought of that earnest, quiet priest, who, from what men said of him, had been through far stiffer and more terrible experiences, without slackening his energy in the very least. The testimony of Dr Carossa, which is very moving, may be found in English in *Studies,* March 1946 p. 45 *sqq* entitled *Pater Rupert Mayer, S.J.*

shepherd's hut among the Sulta mountains, while the earth shook under the Russian shells ; and later, when mist descended and the rain came, and the guns no longer fired, the little procession of men who carried the stretcher down the valley, while a Scottish sheepdog, with a red cross mark on its collar (it had followed Father Mayer on his rounds) ran alongside the men and licked occasionally a wound in its own side.

Military service had cost Father Mayer a leg and a further percentage of natural health. It had given him an insight into the problems and hearts of men that was to be a wonderful asset.

His period of recovery was lengthy and not without its setbacks. It was ten months before he could again offer Mass. He had been wounded in the autumn of 1916. At the close of July 1917, he was still convalescing in the *Invalidenschule* at Landsberg.

From two letters written at that time to his parents we can discover his inner reactions to these experiences :

> . . . Even though my freedom of movement must from now on be severely curtailed, this doesn't bother me in the least. There are so many jobs, and so many bits and pieces of jobs, that they'll find something for me to do. And besides, I'm still of an age, when I can be trained . . .

> Yes, I think I have resigned and adapted myself to all that has occurred with such a feeling of confidence, that I am very happy that it has happened in the way it did. If I had been spared the experience of severe wounds and all they have brought with them, the war would not have been for me what I always felt sure it should be—a real means of bringing me much closer to Almighty God.

Back to Munich

Father Mayer resumed his work in Munich towards the close of the war and made his mark in the troubled post-war years, when for a time the Communists controlled the city. He soared to prominence as an exponent of Catholic truth. He was everywhere, and seemed ubiquitous. The Catholics coined the proverb : Keine *Feier* ohne *Mayer,* and, though it is not possible to render in English the jingle between *Feier* and *Mayer,* its meaning came to this : wherever there is a show or show-down, there you will find Father Mayer. He was sought by and was able to help soldiers returning home after the debacle of late 1918 : and afterwards, when the Red threat had receded, many a revolver and pistol belonging to former Communists came back to the authorities through Father Mayer's hands. He was outspoken in his addresses, as when, speaking to the Catholic Unions in 1920, he told them that the years of war had been a pleasant dream in contrast with the aftermath. For then men felt themselves linked in common effort with one another ; now they were bitter and violent and divided. At the great *Trauertag* or national

day of sorrow for those fallen in the war he was the chief speaker to an audience of 40,000. To them he appealed that they should live more and more simply that they might have something to give to those more needy than themselves. It was a scandal, he insisted, that men and women should feast and dance, while the victims of war hungered and shivered.

The decks of his large room in the Jesuit residence (for the Fathers had now returned to Munich) were kept cleared for action ; telephones installed ; the table piled high with press cuttings. There was a willing squad of helpers, with whom Father Mayer had a conference on matters practical two or three times each week. These assistants attended the meetings of free-thinkers and Communists to discover what the enemy was doing. But all the time he warned them, that his and their interests were Catholic interests : " *nur ja keine Politik* " (I don't want any mere politics). His purpose was to be well briefed in his enemies' intentions so as to warn the clergy and laity well in time.

Not content with sending agents, he went to these meetings himself. There is a report of his appearance at a monster Communist rally in the *Deutsches Theater,* at which, after the official delegates had spoken, he addressed the rally for fifteen minutes on its theme of Separation of Church and State. " Without religion and faith " he declared triumphantly " the State will sink to ruin."

How much these interventions could cost emerges from his own statements at his trial. Then he narrated how on occasions he would set out to some particular Communist meeting and, arrived near the hall, walk past it. " Shall I go in ? ", he asked himself. " At present they are all quiet and peaceful. But, as soon as they see me, they shout out : ' *You miserable Saupfaff* (dirty old priest), what are you doing here '." (On occasions he was knocked down and trodden on ; his coat was badly torn ; and they spat in his face.) " But—his reflections would continue—I have to go in. After all, a third of the people there are not real Communists. What will they think if no one goes in to challenge the Red speakers ". That was the reason that took him there, not natural pugnacity : and one can guess how much it cost him.

How familiar a figure he became—and how grand a champion in the eyes of the Catholic folk of Munich— ! Home with the last tram, and out again with the first : that was his daily round. One name they gave him was *Lumpensammler* (rag picker or collector of odds and ends). He could make so much out of so little, could conjure up material help from the air itself in those needy times.

The Munich Sodality

One of his titles to fame is found in the great men's congregation or sodality in Munich, of which he was appointed Director in 1921 by the Vicar General of the archdiocese. It was an old organization, founded

originally in 1610. In 1710 it acquired its own oratory, the *Bürgersaal,* in the Neuhauserstrasse, near which Father Mayer had his room and where the Jesuit residence was re-established. At its third centenary in 1910 the sodality had 2,000 members. Under Father Mayer's direction it developed further. Groups were founded in most of the parishes of city and surroundings : and every group sent its representative to a central directive committee. All members attended the monthly gathering in the church of the sodality, and the heads of all local groups met regularly for practical business matters. On the first Sunday of the month thousands of the men were at Mass together and Holy Communion in the church of St Michael, the largest in Munich and each month the Director visited all of the groups. By 1932 there were nearly 60 parish groups and the total of members had risen from 3,800 in 1923 to 7,000.

Father Mayer developed the method of public conferences on questions of actual importance ; and many of these lectures he gave himself. The actuality of the themes can be seen from the following list :

" Can a Catholic be a National Socialist ? ",
" The Collective Responsibility of the German People " (after the second World War),
" The Struggle for Religious Schools ",
" The Charges brought against Religious Houses ".

In pre-Nazi days the Corpus Christi procession in Munich was one of the great occasions for the sodalists. They all walked in it through the streets, led by their Director, limping along with his artificial leg, in surplice and stole, while detachments from the Reichswehr marched to either side of the procession. Women and children walked at the rear but the procession was essentially a men's procession—and in a special sense the procession of Father Mayer.

How profound was Father Mayer's influence on these men may be seen from these facts. Even under all the Nazi pressure, it is calculated that scarcely two per cent. of them gave in. Many were arrested and imprisoned. Two were executed.

Masses at Railway Stations

Another experiment that owed its rise to Father Mayer was the early morning Mass on Sundays and some feast days at the main railway station in Munich. Both winter and summer young Muncheners were in the habit of leaving the city very early for the country, in winter for ski-ing, in the summer for lakes and mountains. Normally, they would miss Mass. This was too much for Father Mayer who proposed as a

remedy early Masses to be said at the railway station. When the Vicar General raised some difficulties, Father Mayer replied that we have to take the church to the people, not wait until they come to the church.

The first Mass was said at the central railway station on the feast of the Assumption, 1925. The time was 3.10 a.m. ; the celebrant, Father Mayer himself. The Masses continued until 1937, when the Nazis put a stop to them.

The station waiting room was prepared during the night, and, as soon as the Masses were over, everything had to be set to rights again, for the coming day. On this point, so willingly did his sodalists co-operate, there was not a single hitch and never the least complaint during the twelve years. Masses were said, when the season was at its full, at : 3.10 : 4.5 : 4.40 : 5.15 : 5.50 : 6.25 a.m. Large clocks were hung on the walls of the room in order that there should be no delays. The room could accommodate 350. All had to stand, and generally the doors were left open wide, so that others outside could follow Mass. The congregation consisted of young men and women with rücksacks and mountaineering kit or, in winter with skis, and of taxi-drivers, waiters and railway workers. They prayed fervently together and sang the old popular hymns. It became a familiar experience for a traveller to arrive in Munich at four or five on Sunday morning to the accompaniment of these hymns of faith. Father Mayer usually celebrated one or two of these railway Masses every Sunday.

Some notion of the need they filled and the fruits they reaped may be seen from these figures. I add them in tabulated form.

Year	Masses	Attendance	Communions
1925–6 ...	130	13,797	820
1932–3 ...	372	68,069	3,587
1934–5 ...	384	75,066	4,623
1936–7 ...	364	62,852	5,408

At other times Masses were also said at the East station in Munich and in the *Schneefernerhaus* on the Zugspitze, the highest mountain in Bavaria.

Time does not permit me in this article to say anything of the interior spirit of Father Mayer nor to do more than point to his devotion to the confessional and the pulpit or to his deep-hearted apostolate of practical succour. He was a consummate beggar and on every day of public appeal he would be seen, limping about in the chief thoroughfares, with his long German clerical ' frock ' and the inevitable collecting box. In the hardest times he would go out begging in the country, and on one occasion came back from an excursion into Lower Bavaria with 18,000 marks' worth of food and clothes. The magazine of St Michael's church

lists these numbers as due to his charitable activity from 1 November 1930, to 1 April 1931. Within those five months he was able to distribute in alms 34,000 marks. Over four thousand families received assistance from him, and the help included 35,390 pounds of food.

He was in his confessional every morning after his Mass, and on Saturdays from three in the afternoon until 9 or 10 p.m. There was always a queue before it, mostly of men. These long hours meant constant pain because of his leg, which gave him a great deal of suffering. On one occasion, a lady saw him coming from the confessional, very pale and exhausted. She asked him : " Father, are you ill or is it the long session in the confessional that has tired you out ? ". His answer was very revealing : " It has not only tired me out ; it has been a perfect torture ". When he was eventually arrested in 1937, the Catholic men of Munich kept his confessional adorned with flowers and garlands.

During the enquiries made in his ' process ' it was stated that he preached often seventy times a month. Seven sermons on the one Sunday were a very ordinary figure. Now, he was not a great stylist and certainly no profound theologian. Yet his sermons had a lasting effect. This was what irritated the Nazis who, before they actually arrested him, imposed upon him a *Predigtverbot ;* they banned his preaching. He accepted the ban for a time, not because they had imposed it but because his Superiors wished him to do so. But, shortly afterwards, he suggested to these Superiors that this was playing into the Nazis' hands and discouraging Catholics. The Superiors agreed with his arguments and he started to preach once more, regardless of the *Predigtverbot.* In their accusations, the Nazis insisted that he was an expert and experienced preacher with a very strong appeal to ordinary people ; and that people paid far more attention to what he said than to other priests. They were annoyed by the argument so often met with : *Pater Mayer hat gesagt* (but this is what Father Mayer said).

A Fighter

He was a militant Christian. Not that he was personally assertive or dogmatic. Far from it. He had schooled himself to a gentleness of manner; he was a wonderful listener and easily awoke men's confidence. But, where faith and religious truth were assailed, he was their champion. As in the early twenties he had gone to meetings of Communists, so in the mid-thirties he attended those of the Nazis. As far back as 1923 he was invited to address a Nazi gathering on the theme : " Can a Catholic be a National Socialist ? ". As he rose to address them, they applauded warmly. " I am afraid, gentlemen—he began—that your applause has come too soon. For my answer to your question can only be a negative one. No. A Catholic cannot be a National Socialist ". The applause turned to derision, but he had made his point.

In the various Nazi campaigns against Catholics, for example the smear charges of immorality against religious houses and of currency offences by nuns, or the pressure exercised to introduce the *Einheitschule* or non-religious school in place of Catholic schools, he was forthright in his comment. At the height of the attack on religious houses, a Nazi paper had published this sentence : " Whoever casts doubts upon these *facts* (reflecting upon the religious houses), counts as an enemy of National Socialism, and we know perfectly well how to deal with him." The following Sunday morning Father Mayer took the newspaper into the pulpit, read the sentence slowly and then said with deliberate emphasis : " And I say this : I cast grave doubts upon them."

Without entering upon what was political controversy, he could make trenchant comments. One that became widespread concerned Alfred Rosenberg, author of " The *Mythus* of the twentieth century ", and who came from the Baltic provinces, the border region between Germany and Russia. Unless I am mistaken, Rosenberg had been at one time in the Russian army. To him Father Mayer referred as " the man who in the first World War did not know on which side he should decide to fight and who now had created for himself a monopoly of patriotism ". Of Hitler he frequently spoke as " that poor fellow ", and once, with a flash of the old Rupert Mayer of Tübingen, he added : " Why, he can't even sit a horse decently ". Hearing of his death, he said : " *Der ist tot. Der Herr gebe ihm die ewige Ruhe* ". (That man is dead. God forgive him and give him rest.)

THE LAST YEARS.

From 1937 till 1945 Father Mayer was either in prison or in compulsory exile outside Munich.

He was arrested in June 1937, and imprisoned for a period at Stadelheim. Here he had permission to celebrate Mass : but he had to do so, in the church, at 5 a.m. and be back in his cell by 6. He was visited in prison by Cardinal Faulhaber, who secured leave for him to have a light in his cell until 10 p.m. The people of Munich sent him gifts of food and flowers, which all found their way to poorer prisoners.

He was released after two months or so but was again arrested in January 1938, and this time he was sent to the more rigorous establishment at Landsberg, where Hitler had been confined after the Munich *putsch* and in which he wrote his volumes of *Mein Kampf*. His hair was clipped, he was put into prison uniform and given a prison job. But this after a short spell was taken from him, chiefly because he was so unpractical with his hands, and he was transferred to the infirmary. For the first two months he had no opportunity to say Mass, but Cardinal Faulhaber brought him a missioner's mass-outfit, and subsequently he was able to celebrate daily. In May 1939, he was freed suddenly.

The third and final arrest occurred in November 1939. He had been summoned to Gestapo headquarters and questioned about members of the Royalist group he had known. He refused all information. In December, two days prior to Christmas, he was taken to a railway carriage, with the ominous notice on its windows : Reserved for the Gestapo. What his destination was to be, he did not know. He felt in his bones that he was seeing his beloved Munich for the last time. He travelled to Berlin and thence to the notorious concentration camp of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen. Here he was placed in solitary confinement. He saw no other prisoner ; had to wash in the public washing-place but when no one else was using it. For a long time, he was never allowed into the fresh air, and, when he was permitted to go out into the prison yard for half an hour, it was only under the condition that he must speak to nobody. Later, he was given leave to say Mass in his cell but for a period every privilege was taken away ; he could have neither books nor writing material nor even his rosary. All the time, his leg ached and troubled him. Growing more emaciated, it could no longer be adjusted ; and to walk at all, he had to stuff three or four socks into the artificial limb.

The effect of all this upon his soul and spirit is eloquently revealed in a letter to his mother :

> . . . one grand thing have all these experiences brought with them. In these last weeks in solitude I believe I have come into far closer contact with God Almighty in my own self and in the same measure I have become more detached and withdrawn from earthly things. And so I feel not the least worry or anxiety about my future. I place all that in God's good hands. In myself I am completely contented and at peace.

In August 1940 came the news that he was to leave Sachsenhausen. An agreement had been accepted by Cardinal Faulhaber that Father Mayer should go to the Benedictine monastery at Ettal, not far from Munich. He was to have no relations with the outside world and therefore could not leave the monastery. His correspondence would be limited to purely personal letters, and his visits restricted to those from close relatives. He must hear no confessions and never say Mass with externs present.

For nearly five years he lived at Kloster Ettal—this life of enforced solitude. He was treated with great courtesy and kindness by the Benedictine monks but his heart of course was in Munich and with its people, forty or fifty miles away. To avoid any difficulty for his own Superiors and for the monks, he scrupulously observed the conditions imposed upon him. His life became a regular round of prayer and study. Indeed, with great thoroughness he worked out his study time table. In the mornings he concentrated on philosophy or apologetics or Church

history, even reading passages aloud and learning short extracts by heart to exercise his memory. In the afternoons he spent half an hour reading newspapers, then went to recite his rosary and make the Stations of the Cross. The evenings brought further study and just one half hour's ration of lighter reading.

It was a spell of calm after storm, which gave him time for prayer and reflection. But at the same time it was his period of sacrifice. More eagerly than ever, did he long to be in the midst of everything, talking, encouraging, sustaining. The fact that he was relatively safe from air raids while his beloved Munich was raided heavily week by week made him feel he was somehow shirking his responsibility. His weekly treat was the visit of a doctor friend from Munich who kept him abreast of local happenings. The news more and more saddened him : deaths and destruction and the grim future that gradually unrolled itself over Germany.

ENVOI

After the American troops had arrived in Munich, Father Mayer took his hat and walked through the streets of Ettal for the first time. On 11 May 1945, he returned to Munich. At once he was back in harness. He visited again the groups of his sodality and walked at the head of the great Corpus Christi procession on 31 May.

But his strength was clearly ebbing. He found some difficulty in preaching and on 7 October he resigned the care of the sodality to other hands. On the last Sunday of October he preached in the morning to 4,000 men at Schrobenhausen : but that evening, when he was speaking in Pfaffenhofen, his memory failed. The Jesuit Superior, Father Dold, had noticed this and also a certain confusion when he was talking with him. During dinner the next day Father Mayer remarked casually : " And so, it will all be over very suddenly ", and then went on with his conversation.

On Thursday, 1 November, he was saying the 8 o'clock Mass in the Kreuzkapelle of the half-destroyed church of St Michael. He turned round from the altar to give the usual short homily. At one point he remained stuck in his delivery. He repeated the words three times : " The Lord—the Lord—the Lord— " and could not proceed. He leant heavily on the altar and had to be taken from the church. It was a brain attack. That morning at eleven o'clock he died in the Josephinum, where he had been driven from the sacristy. He was buried in the college at Pullach on 4 November, and both the Cardinal and the Lord Mayor of Munich attended.

On 23 May 1948, his body was transferred from Pullach to the crypt of the *Bürgersaal* in Munich, which had now been reconstructed. Men came in large numbers from other towns, such as Altötting, Regensburg,

Augsburg and Straubing. Thousands of them gathered at the church in Maria Thalkirchen to join the procession. The coffin was borne on an open waggon, drawn by the magnificent horses from the Munich Löwenbräu, all gaily caparisoned. When the procession reached the *Bürgersaal*, there were 35,000 men massed together in formation to welcome it.

The 'cause' was officially opened in 1950, and a daily stream of 6,000 men and women visited the crypt, where he was interred. The *echter Schwab* had come to rest in the city of his great apostolate.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the body of this article I have had the opportunity of re-visiting Munich for the first time since the war. My general impressions were given to readers of STUDIES in an article with the title of *Germany in Prospect* (Winter 1954).

On three occasions I was able to pay a visit to the lower church of the *Burgersaal* for a tribute of memory and appreciation to Father Mayer. He lies buried there in the centre of the restored chapel under a wide oblong slab of red granite, upon which his name and dates of birth and death are embossed in lettering of bright gold. The slab was surrounded with pots from which flowered blossoms in red and mauve and purple. At the head of the slab, where you look towards to the altar, crowned by its statue of the Queen of Heaven with the Divine Infant, was a great bank of flowers—red and purple, mauve and white.

On each occasion I found from fifty to eighty persons in the chapel, many of them at the side of the tombstone, kneeling in prayer for—or far more probably—to Father Mayer. Hundreds and maybe thousands enter the chapel every day, with the same sense that here they have a priest who meant a great deal to them in difficult times and who, himself a militant apostle, taught them also to be militant members of the Church: a priest, whose kindness and self-sacrifice they recall, and whose specially human character made a deep and lasting appeal to them. There can be little doubt about the genuineness and extent of popular South German devotion to Rupert Mayer.

Reviews

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

LE MESSAGE CHRÉTIEN ET LE MYTHE : La Théologie de Rudolf Bultmann. By L. Malevez, S.J. Brussels : Desclée de Brouwer. 1954.

The " demythologizing " of the New Testament, which the great Marburg scholar Dr Bultmann has been offering the world, is an effort to re-state the Christian event in terms acceptable to the scientific temper and existentialist philosophy of the modern mind. Myth, for Dr Bultmann, is not merely legend of the miraculous, or naive cosmology, but every rationalism, from Moses to Aristotle, which presents the relations of God and man in conceptual analogies. The omnipotence and spirituality of God, for instance, are to him as anthropomorphic and therefore as mythical as the theophany of Sinai or the transfiguration. The only categories which remain valid are the existentialist. The message of the New Testament will be the recognition of the tragic, helpless absurdity of existence, as Heidegger analyses it, plus the specifically Christian thing, that God notifies in Christ his offer of rescue. This is Christianity, and not mere philosophy, because it is through Christ that we realize the inexorable urgency of committing ourselves to the very impotence of our existence and of expecting an " authentic " existence not from one's own effort, as philosophy might assume, but from the abandonment of faith. Christ, preaching radical surrender to God, and himself undergoing the last absurdity of death, is the objective notification of our helplessness and God's salvation.

To the many critics of Dr Bultmann who have found in his " demythologized " Christianity a purely subjective event in the individual soul to which Christ is in the long run irrelevant, or no more relevant than any other human tragedy, like the atom-bomb on Hiroshima, Fr Malevez opposes an " objectivist " interpretation of Dr Bultmann's effort. The Christian event did really take place, once and for all, in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, which therefore has a unique significance, at once historical and historic—if we may hazard this translation of Dr Bultmann's *geschichtlich* and *historisch*. This would to some extent justify his claim to be " determinedly Christian " and not merely existentialist. This base assured, Fr Malevez can then oppose Dr Bultmann to himself : if he recognizes some action of God in Christ, or at least some special message of God in Christ, has he not re-admitted the " myth " of divine intervention in history, or rather, found in existentialism an exigency for the basic categories of traditional Christianity and thereby justified it once more for the modern mind ?

Few more penetrating analyses than Fr Malevez's have appeared in the course of the long and wide-spread debate which Dr Bultmann's theology has given rise to. He admits that some " extremely confused " texts and a " fundamental imprecision " in his subject's thought have given ample ground for less sympathetic criticism. His own clarification of the issues is a welcome contribution to a debate, which though carried on mostly by Protestant

scholars, is of great interest to Catholics. To them, of course, it is not news that Christianity cannot be " demythologized " in the manner of the liberal scholars, whose precipitate of Christianity is condemned by Dr Bultmann as a humanism which offers only the false security of human values. But apparently this still needs to be said, and Catholics must be grateful for the vigour of the learned critic's affirmation, as, incidentally, for much clear-sighted exegesis which will do much to sweep away traditional prejudice from a long conflict. His incorruptible sincerity is always refreshing and illuminating, and Fr Malevez does him full justice, except perhaps in one place, where he attributes to Dr Bultmann the crude confusion—which would reduce that fine mind to the level of some recent lectures of the B.B.C. Third Programme—that the redemptive death and resurrection of Jesus is a gnostic-hellenistic myth. In his major exegetical work, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Dr Bultmann expressly recognizes that the death and resurrection of Jesus, and also their redemptive significance, were constitutive in the most primitive Jerusalem preaching of the apostles, and have no relation, of dependence or similarity, with any non-Christian religions. Dr Bultmann does not explain the origin of the central Christian conviction : consistently enough, since he undertakes to " demythologize " the New Testament, not merely in answer to the demands of " modern science," but, most precisely, in answer to the demands of " faith " itself : to supply it with a documented foundation would be, in his system, to evacuate it. Fr Malevez touches only lightly upon this, which is a pity, because it is surely here that Dr Bultmann's determination to remain a Christian must be tested. The value of the crucifixion appears to him in the light of an existentialist analysis of the crucifixion itself : but to Christians, only in the light of the resurrection.

KEVIN SMYTH, S.J.

GOD, MAN AND THE UNIVERSE. Edited by Jacques de Bivort de La Saudee. Pp. xvi and 421. London : Burns & Oates. 35s.

THE strength of Communism, we are told in the introduction to this book, does not lie in the Marxist system of thought but in the widespread acceptance of the principles on which Marxism is based, that is, on materialism, and in, what the writer calls, ' the superficial scientianism ' of those who oppose it. Communism can be combated only by a scientific exposition of the Catholic teaching on the points on which Catholicism and materialism differ. But since it is too much to expect that those actively engaged in combating Communism should possess the most up-to-date and authoritative works on these questions, they should at least have at their disposal a single volume in which they can find the information they need. It is the purpose of *God, Man and the Universe* to provide this information.

The book naturally covers a wide field. There are chapters on the existence of God; the so-called myth of Christ; the Church and the social problem; dialectical materialism; the problem of evil; the nature of the soul; the origins of Christianity, of religion, of the human body, of organic matter, and of the universe. Each chapter is contributed by a scholar eminent in

his branch of learning. The majority of them are professing in Catholic institutes in Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, and Spain. Fr Romaña of the Ebro Observatory presents the scientific evidence in favour of a created universe. Fr de Lubac has a cautionary essay on the origin of religion. Fr Henri Fehner summarizes the evidence for the historicity of the New Testament account of the life of Christ. In a chapter specially written for this edition, Mr Douglas Woodruff gives a useful survey of the development of Catholic social teaching during the last hundred years. An exposition and criticism of dialectical materialism by Gustave André Wetter is a model of what this kind of popularization should be. Fr Congar's brief chapter on the problem of evil is equally satisfying.

Some of the chapters, however, are too short to be of use to the reader for whom this book is intended. Others lose much of their usefulness by placing a wrong emphasis. Fr Ternus establishes the Aristotelean notion of soul at great length but condenses the arguments for the spirituality of the human soul (which should have a dominant place in a book directed against materialism) into a few pages. Likewise, Fr Messenger in a chapter on the origin of man in the Book of Genesis is over eager to show that the account of creation in Genesis is compatible with a theory of evolution, whereas he might be expected to demonstrate how the important truths in Genesis (the special creation of man's soul in the likeness of God, human nature common to both sexes, etc.) are unassailable by science. (He is hardly correct in translating 'factis . . . quae Christianae religionis fundamenta attingunt' as 'fundamental truths of the Christian religion.')

The inclusion of Fr Vandebroek's essay on evolution seems perverse. Surely no materialist needs to be convinced that man's body descended from the higher primates, and if some Catholics do, this is hardly the place for it. Besides its irrelevance, the essay has not the clarity and scientific integrity which the editor claims for the contributions to this volume. To substantiate these assertions would take more space than the matter deserves in a review of the book as a whole, but perhaps the following quotation will illustrate the kind of thing that is sprung on the uninitiated reader :

> 'The earliest tetrapods, the Ichthyostegidae, amphibians of the stegocephalic group, have an obvious fish-like appearance. Their skull contains the same elements as that of the Crossopterygians. There are noticeable differences in the forward part, due to the development of a muzzle, but the persistence of the sensorial canals is a convincing proof of their homology.' (Pure *Strabismus* !)

The book is a translation from the second (1953) edition of *Essai sur Dieu, L'Homme et L'Univers,* itself a revision of a work which appeared in 1937 under the title *Essai d'une Somme contre les Sans-Dieu.* One cannot help feeling that the publishers might have done better if they had invited more than two English-speaking scholars to contribute. Whether the translation has shown up or failed to do justice to the French original, the book is not as brilliant as it could and should have been. Perhaps the essays have not the same relevance in the English-speaking world where, for instance, the climate is not (yet) existentialist. It is significant that in the chapter on the problem of pain

there is no mention of meaningless animal suffering. But at least a beginning has been made, and we may hope for other books of this kind in which Catholic scholarship will do itself credit ; (books, too, let it be said, that will oblige the reader with an index.)

CYRIL BARRETT, S.J.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND PERSONALITY. By Joseph Nuttin. London : Sheed and Ward. 1954. Pp. xiv + 310. 16s.

THIS very welcome publication in English of the work of Professor Nuttin will be a boon to student and practitioner alike in the field of psychology. Originally in Dutch, the work subsequently appeared in French with the title *Psychanalyse et Conception Spiritualiste de l'Homme.*

Nuttin is remarkable for his calm, objective clarity. In the preface he sets the tone of the whole work : " To adopt a satisfactory *positive* attitude toward contemporary psychoanalysis, Freudism must be studied *as an ordinary scientific system.*" The italics are his. This is in marked contrast to the attitude adopted by for example Rudolph Allers, in the *The Successful Error*, which is frankly polemical, and contrasts also with the work of Dalbiez who though perhaps more understanding than Allers, nevertheless permits himself occasionally to become righteously indignant. But Nuttin does much more than study the theory and practice of psychoanalysis as a scientific system. He gives a brilliant survey of the contemporary world of depth-psychology. The section on New Lines of Development in Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy should be read by all orthodox Freudian analysts as well as by psychotherapists of other schools, for there is always the danger in psychotherapy of forgetting the richness and variety of the human personality in the interests of a narrow " orthodoxy " or system.

It is clear that no believing Christian could accept the materialism, mechanism, and determinism, which is sometimes implicit and often explicit in some expositions of analytic theory. But that these errors are not essential or intrinsic is shown by the fact that many of the best analysts are Catholics. It also emerges from Nuttin's work. He acknowledges the far-reaching effects of psychoanalytic formulations in illumining areas of human nature left uncharted by a too " rational " approach. But whereas the (already !) traditional analytic formulations assume that the so-called " higher " thought processes and psychic activities are all to be " reduced " to a simple set of lower animal activities, Nuttin argues successfully from the empirical evidence that this simply cannot be done. His analysis of motivation and its complexity, like the work of Allport at Harvard on the same topic, is well done. It is strange that with the empirical evidence so heavily against them orthodox Freudian analysts can still cling to the simple formulations of their creed.

The second half of the work is important, in as much as it attempts to utilize the insights of depth-analysis in the construction of a dynamic theory of normal personality. This section being more pioneering than the first will be hard going for many people, but it is certainly rewarding. Nuttin seems to take a more sympathetic view of Adler than most contemporary theorists. For those who think that Adler over-simplifies things this will

seem to be a weakness. On the other hand, it is part of Nuttin's strength that he does not adopt any of the existing " systems " in his own constructive thinking, least of all perhaps the Jungian formulations, which as Fromm has indicated, are more dangerous to religion in the long run than the open hostility of Freud. One would have liked a more extensive treatment of the valuable work of Sullivan which though exceedingly difficult, and unnecessarily complicated by his tortuous use of language, seems to the present reviewer to be the most valuable development of analytic theory to date.

E. F. O'DOHERTY

THE HUMAN PERSON. By Magda B. Arnold and John A. Gasson. New York: The Ronald Press Co. 1954. Pp. x + 593. $5.75.

THE subtitle of this work is " An approach to an integral theory of personality." The volume arose out of the papers given at a " Workshop in Personality " at Barat College in 1951. One cannot help perhaps comparing this volume with Nuttin's, reviewed above. Naturally, a work which is the joint product of some ten different authors cannot be expected to have the continuity and unity of a work by one man. But what is surprising is that one man could produce so much more impressive a work than ten experts together. This is a good volume, nevertheless. The first two papers (" Basic Assumptions in Psychology " and " The Concept of ' Theory ' in Science and Psychology") give the point of view, the logic as it were, of the rest of the volume. There follows a survey of contemporary personality theory. It is interesting to note in the preface that both Gordon Allport and Gardiner Murphy read the work before publication. Allport's " Personality: A Psychological Interpretation " and Murphy's " Personality: A Bio-social Approach to Origins and Structure " are both among the contemporary classics of personality theory. One may assume therefore that the picture given of contemporary theory is a reliable one, which is a consideration of importance in evaluating the volume.

Part III, headed Personality Integration, has a good section by Arnold on " Feelings and Emotions as Dynamic Factors in Personality Integration " and Part IV (" Psychotherapy and Self-Integration ") has two valuable contributions, one by Dr Curran on counselling, the other by Arnold on the theory of psychotherapy. The last section is perhaps the weakest. It is concerned with the ever-recurring problem of the relation of religion to personality-process.

Since the problems treated are of such fundamental importance, and because so little is available from Catholic sources on these problems, one welcomes this volume.

E. F. O'DOHERTY

THE RIDDLE OF KONNERSREUTH. By Paul Siwek, S.J. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1954.

THIS is a very valuable work on a problem which worries not only ecclesiastical authorities and psychologists, but also intelligent observers, whether they be believers or unbelievers. The facts of Theresa Neumann's life are

sufficiently well-known not to need recapitulation here. Father Siwek presents them lucidly, dispassionately, in the first part of his work. Part II is the important part. Rarely has one read as clear and healthy a critical approach to a very involved subject. There is nothing polemical about this work, as one fears there was about Hilda Graef's study of the same topic. While the work deals *ex professo* with one stigmatist, the treatment of this one could very easily serve as a general dissertation on such phenomena as ecstasy, visions, private revelations, stigmatisation in general, etc. The author is at once a trained psychologist of renown, and an expert in mystical phenomena so that his words should carry great weight. He does not presume, naturally, to give a final verdict in the case, since that is a matter for the Church officially, but his own personal opinion is worth noting: "All the extraordinary phenomena seem amenable to a natural explanation, except Theresa's continuous fasting, and this has never been proved factual."

One hesitates to make the sort of footling little comment reviewers delight in, but there are a few points of detail worth correcting in a second edition. Presumably these have crept in because the work is a translation, although also a re-writing of the same author's *Une Stigmatisée de Nos Jours*. Apparition, on page 112, should presumably be appearance. "Repeat his movements" (p. 124) is ambiguous, and there is something wrong with the last sentence on p. 125.

E. F. O'Doherty

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY: A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS. Edited by A. K. Cairncross. Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. 320 + xv. 30s.

Collections of essays, while enjoying the benefits of specialization, nevertheless have their shortcomings. Since unity and co-ordination are lacking, overlapping is unavoidable. Professor A. K. Cairncross, however, has succeeded in reducing these defects to a minimum in his editing of *The Scottish Economy*. In a clear and lucid introduction he gives an outline of the Scottish economy, which he bases on the conclusions of his contributors. The result is a mountain top view of the countryside, details of the topography being supplied by the essays that follow.

The symposium, written by members of the staff of Glasgow University, deals with chosen features of the social and economic life of Scotland, which can be measured in figures. It deals with the growth and movement of population, the trends of births and deaths, manpower, income, production, agriculture, coal mining, manufacturing industry, trade, wages, consumption, local government, finance, housing, health, crime, education, youth and recruitment to industry, trade unions and the churches. Acknowledging the fact that a purely statistical interpretation of information on these subjects is all that is attempted, the book does not pretend to give us a complete description of present day Scottish economy. But it does indeed furnish an admirable statistical background upon which any complete study might be based. In addition it concentrates in one volume copious statistical matter,

which beforehand could only be gleaned from widely scattered sources. This information enables the contributors to make tentative comparisons between the Scottish economy and the economy of Great Britain as a whole, and to analyse the direction and magnitudes of changes in the social and economic structure of the country.

For the economist the chapters on population, production and income should prove particularly valuable. Some features of Irish population trends apparently find striking parallels in Scotland. Scottish population like the Irish population is unevenly distributed, three-quarters of it living in the central belt, around the large cities. Scottish population is becoming more urbanized, with over half living in large towns and cities. Like the Irish the Scots are a migrating people. Since the war migration has accounted for 84%of the natural increase, so that Scottish population growth like Irish population growth is almost static. The fertility rate of the Scots, like that of the Irish, has always been high and so the large exodus every year tends to enhance the influence of Scotsmen overseas. Scotsmen and Irishmen together have always been instrumental in shaping the development of English speaking countries abroad.

With regard to income and production, comparisons of Scotland with Great Britain as a whole afford much interest. Per capita income in Scotland is lower than for the United Kingdom as a whole. Income per head in Scotland, over the period 1924–1948, was on the average 10% lower. The chief reasons for this discrepancy appear to be the lower levels of income from work in Scotland, the lower proportion of occupied persons in the Scottish population and the higher rate of unemployment in Scotland. Scottish industrial productivity appears to be less than for the rest of the country, which may in part at least be due to the newfound Scottish indifference to technical progress. Indeed from the comparison with the United Kingdom it appears that Scotland has a progressively decreasing proportion of the population, production and income of the area as a whole.

The merits of Professor Cairncross's book lies in its presentation of the Scottish economy. But the merits do not end here. The book suggests the need for a comparable study of the Irish economy. Such a work would be a useful preliminary to an intelligent appraisal of Irish economic problems and a starting point for policy recommendations. At present statistics and information on Irish social and economic affairs have to be collected from widely scattered sources. A unified work would greatly simplify the position ; and incidentally, be a boon to students of national economics.

MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH

INCOME REDISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL POLICY, A SET OF STUDIES. Edited by Alan T. Peacock. London : Jonathan Cape. 1954. Pp. 296. 25s.

THE aim of this set of studies is to enquire into the magnitude of the redistribution of incomes as a result of government action, in selected countries. The first part of the book—Theoretical Studies—is concerned with the application of economic analysis to the problems of income redistribution.

The second part—Regional Studies—examines the consequences of income redistribution in Denmark, France, Great Britain and the United States. A final chapter deals with effects of redistribution of income in underdeveloped territories.

A book of this nature raises problems, not the least of which must be solved by the editor. In this case, the editor, Mr Alan T. Peacock, cannot be said to have entirely succeeded. For the greater part of the introduction he discusses the meaning of redistribution of income to the point of tedium, particularly as it recurs so often in later chapters. It would have been better if the editor had pointed out some of the common difficulties that faced his contributors as well as some of the dissimilarities in treatment necessitated by the situations in different countries. That approach would have spared much repetition.

Findley Weaver's conclusion, for instance, about the post war growth in redistribution of income is quoted word for word both on page 156 and page 277 ; while the conclusions of Tibor Barna are reiterated throughout the book. One is left with the impression that each study in this book was written quite independently of the others. The different writers apparently had no access to the contributions of their colleagues and so many of the essays traverse common ground.

The first essay by Mr H. G. Johnson attempts " to present a theoretical analysis of the effects of income redistribution on aggregate consumption and economic activity ". This exercise, while admirable in itself, is completely out of place in this volume, since it is in no way complementary to the regional studies. The same may be said about Mr D. Berry's paper, which examines the possibility of using the conclusions of welfare economics to enable countries to choose between various methods of income redistribution. This essay, a bare ten pages, is much too short to accomplish its purpose. The field of welfare economics is one of the most difficult and most widely discussed in economic literature and Mr Berry asks his readers to assume too much.

The regional studies, save for the fault of repetition, have their merits. Professor Zeuthen and his collaborators preface their remarks on income redistribution in Denmark by a clear and concise history of the growth of state intervention in that country. This places Danish redistribution in its proper perspective. The study by Messrs Rotier and Albert is confined to investigating the effect on redistribution of the French social services in 1949. This is a plausible line to take largely for two reasons. First, statistics are not as profuse in France as in Britain or the United States. Secondly expenditure on social services in France forms a very large part of the proceeds from taxation. This causes a marked difference between the total receipts of wage and salary earners and their net earnings.

Messrs. Peacock and Browning approach the subject of the British social services from the point of view of the three providing agents, the central government, local authorities and the national insurance fund. They express the widely accepted opinion that a rise in insurance benefits over the next few years may almost certainly involve the financing of social insurance by general taxation.

Mr A. H. Conrad treats of the effects of redistribution of income in the United States. This is the best chapter in the book, but it is marred to a certain extent by a needless array of technicalities and economic jargon. A comparison of prewar and postwar effects of redistribution of income in the United States is interesting and illuminating. The author's conclusion is that taxation has become increasingly more progressive in the United States in recent years. This increasing progression has effected a more significant equalization of incomes for 1950, the last year considered, than for any previous year.

The book is brought to a close by Mr Lim's rather weak chapter. He is concerned mainly in reiterating what has already been said about conditions in Britain and in the United States. It is certainly no startling revelation to be told by Mr Lim that conflict must arise in underdeveloped territories between social service provision and investment programmes.

MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH

POLITICS AND OPINION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By John Bowle. London: Jonathan Cape. 1954. Pp. 512. 25s.

THIS book is distinctly better than Mr Bowle's other general volume on political thought; its canvas is narrower and therefore more susceptible to the compression and generalization which is the author's particular *forte*. Mr Bowle obviously knows his authors at first hand and is wise in never allowing us to get far away from the documents he studies.

The nineteenth century is presented as the period in which the two ancient philosophical traditions of Western Europe, Christianity and Humanism, were challenged by ways of thought deriving from the Romantic cult of will and of conflict as the basis of human development. Hegel is seen as the *fons et origo* of this grimmer doctrine of world history. The various thinkers whom Mr Bowle selects as typical of the period are discussed largely in their relation to this underlying struggle between the "classical" European tradition of law, reason and harmony and the new philosophies of destructive conflict and radical revolution.

Marxism and proto-Fascism are the two chief exponents of this new "voluntarist" thought, which Mr Bowle makes no secret of disliking. His chapters on Marx and Engels are particularly useful, as they emphasize the essential "period piece" character of orthodox Marxist theory. "The basic programme of modern Communism is still to be found in this nineteenth century dogma . . . In a changed environment it retains the old fashioned period quality!" (p. 301). Mr Bowle shows that it is this "dated" character of Marxism which makes its influence particularly dangerous in these atomic days. "Doctrines of class war which might merely damage society in the days of the Crimean War or the Paris Commune, spell cosmic ruin and disaster in the age of thermo-nuclear weapons of mass destruction. If Marx's nineteenth century doctrines of inevitable conflict are true, civilization is doomed." (ibid.)

The chapter on Schopenhauer and Nietzsche may be selected as another example of happy exposition. Mr Bowle performs the rare feat of making

Nietszche an understandable, if not a sympathetic character, though he regards his philosophy as perverted in its reasoning and disastrous in its consequences. The error of regarding Nietszche as the philosopher of brute force, the ancestor of Hitlerism and Belsen, is finely demonstrated ; in fact this strange and tortured man seems to have set his Utopia in a world governed by artists, who alone could impose a temporary order on each phase of the cyclic meaninglessness of the world. It is surprising that Mr Bowle should not have mentioned Fr Copleston's books on Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in his bibliography. The author turns with relief from these prophets of Will to the more sober clinical approach of sociologists like Emile Durkheim and Graham Wallas. Mr Bowle sees the salvation of the world in an acceptance of what he calls " the new Humanism " which will take its stand on the old idea of dogmatic and final truth, of metaphysical total explanation . . . " (p. 478). The future of political thought will be embodied in a perpetual series of sociological case-histories ; the new political philosophy will perform the functions of the analyst's couch with communities instead of individuals as its patients. Mr Bowle points out hopefully : " This outlook is not intolerant . . . For those for whom Classical Humanism or Christianity are final truth, it has no enmity. Rather it invites their collaboration. It is hostile only to cults of death." (p. 482). Mr Bowle here betrays no profound insight into the nature of the claims of the Christian religion, which can hardly regard his own scientific humanism as any other than a " cult of death " if it denies the existence of objective values which find their basis beyond this world. By assuming that the modern world's ills can be cured *solely* along the lines of alleviative social psychology, Mr Bowle's ideal of agnostic humanism debars itself from the possibility of reaching any agreement on fundamentals with Christian and particularly Catholic tradition. It can, however, be admitted that co-operation on a limited practical scale between Christianity and this type of well-intentioned secularist humanism might be possible and even desirable in view of the menace to both from irrationalist totalitarianisms of the Right and the Left.

Some sections of the book distort the thinkers they purport to interpret by failing to note changes in the viewpoint of their subjects. Thus the conservatism of Lecky's later years is emphasized ; but it is not pointed out that the anti-democrat who wrote *Democracy and Liberty* was in earlier life the radical who wrote *Leaders of Public Opinion* and who had to keep this fact dark from the authorities of his College, Trinity. Lecky's thought was certainly not all of a piece ; his famous *History of Ireland in the 18th Century* was a patriotic Irishman's reply to Froude's pro-English historical manifesto *The English in Ireland*. Yet Lecky was later to prove fanatically opposed to Home Rule.

The book hardly does justice to the variety of Catholic political thought during this period. The Liberal Catholic movement, in particular, receives only inadequate representation in the inconclusive deliveries of Acton ; the much more central figure of Lamennais is dismissed with the incomprehensible appellation of " Bohemian aristocrat " (p. 29).

As far as it goes, Mr Bowle's book is a reliable guide to some of the main threads of nineteenth century thought ; but it is far from complete.

JOHN B. MORRALL

A CHINESE CLASSIC

THE CLASSICAL ANTHOLOGY DEFINED BY CONFUCIUS. Translated by Ezra Pound. London : Faber & Faber. 30s. net.

THE Book of Odes, divided into three types of verse, Feng, Ya and Sung—Folk, Courtly and Religious—is one of the canonical books of China's classical literature. For many centuries these poems have formed a colourful background to the cultural heritage of the Flowery Kingdom. They have been committed to memory by countless millions ; they have shaped the speech and ideas of litterati ; they have been sung to the lute by wandering players ; they were loved by Confucius with whose name they are closely connected. The poems are rather primitive in form, written in a crabbed and tightly-packed allusive style, and were considered difficult enough to test University students in pre-Red China. Since they belong to an aristocratic and capitalistic past doubtless they will be scrapped by the jerry-builders of China's future.

Difficulty in understanding the Odes arises from constant allusive parallels and metaphors taken from nature, which were presumably clear enough in the age in which they were composed, but have long since been clouded over in the people's memory. As one might expect, further trouble comes from the disconcerting changes which words, in any living language, undergo over the passage of many centuries. Ezra Pound has very courageously faced the daunting task of translating these poems into rhythmic verse. Mr Pound, for long a leading ex-patriate American poet, has quite a history as a translator. He began translations from the Chinese as early as 1915, and the present volume is his most ambitious effort. When one finds a foreign poet translating Chinese classical books one expects that the work will be publicized less for its scholarship than for the interest aroused by the rhythms and word-music which the author feels inspired to consider Chinese. It comes rather as a surprise then to find that the Harvard University Press is to publish the Odes in the ancient " seal " characters accompanied by Mr Pound's translation. Some may feel that he proves his scholarship in those footnotes which are little gems of " one-upmanship," more particularly when he is patronizing Legge, a very well-known Confucian translator. I have taken one of his verses, one of his best, and compared it in detail with the original, of which Confucius is made to say in Poundese : " when Music Master Chy began the ensemble finale of the fish-hawk song, came wave over wave an earful and how ! "

In this ode he has caught much of the Chinese rhythm and the feeling of the piece. The translation is very free, but not unfairly so ; unfortunately however he has translated only three out of the five allusions, and falls into a measure of unintelligibility in his efforts to atone for having jettisoned the more cryptic characters. His use of the Chaucerian " fere " (a bride) to rhyme with " clear," could have been avoided profitably since " clear " is not an acceptable translation for " tiao." " Sy Fu," becomes " thinks how her robe should be." In modern Chinese the characters could bear this meaning, but in the Odes it is simply " to cherish," without any connotation

of clothes. In the following two lines he ignores or mistranslates the key-words, " ts'ai " in its verbal sense, and " mao." He finishes splendidly with a piece of impressionism which is brilliant if one has read the Chinese, but otherwise may sound rather obscure.

Pound carries off a number of odes in this impressionistic style, but his imagination runs away with him, and leads him into two of the defects inherent in impressionism, obscurity and inconsistency. He appears to exult in inconsistency, and endeavours, unsuccessfully, to make of it a virtue. Flitting butterfly-like from one style to another, he sings one ode in a broken hill-billy, and the next is redolent of Dixie and the deep South. He breaks effortlessly into Hollywood Executive :

" The big shots quit, there's none to know
if I do my bit ; how I sweat.
The three top men cut short their office hours."

or glides off into early surrealist verse of the " lambs and cuttlefish " variety :

" In fleecy coats with five white tassels,
affable snakes, the great duke's vassals glide
from his hall
to tuck their court rations inside."

Finally he puts himself outside the pale when he calls upon :

" Hep-cat Chung, 'ware my town,
don't break my willows down.
The trees don't matter
but father's tongue, mother's tongue
Have a heart, Chung,
it's awful."

The mind boggles at the thought of the staid Confucius hotting it up among the hep-cats. It was T. S. Eliot who called Ezra Pound " the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time." The remark was accepted as a compliment, but as O'Casey would say : " Inventor ' is a right good word with a great deal o' meanin' in it.' "

JOHN GANNON, S.J.

OUR DEBT TO THE CLASSICS

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND ITS BENEFICIARIES. By R. R. Bolgar. Cambridge : at the University Press. 1954. Pp. 591. 45s.

FOR an argumentative people and an educated people, we indulge remarkably seldom in an educational crisis or controversy. We have crises in agriculture, in industry, in banking and, in a minor and slightly repetitive way, in politics. But as to the aims for which, or the methods by which we or our children should be educated, our daily papers are silent—or, if they do give utterance, are disarmingly unanimous. Compulsory Irish and, for a brief space each year, the standard of public examinations are the only educational topics capable of eliciting letters to the Editor on a scale comparable with, say, the ethics of introducing myxomatosis, or the rugby selections of the Big Five. The rights and wrongs of a classical education have a musty flavour. Surely

all that was settled long ago? The argumentative public is no longer to be drawn by this chronic bone of contention, and so the practice in our secondary schools and universities continues in the shape given it by the presumably unassailable theories of thirty years ago.

If and when, however, the question of classical education comes again under discussion, Dr Bolgar's book will be indispensable. It is a massive work, beautifully produced, well indexed, and heavily yet unobtrusively documented; in its own way undoubtedly a standard work, despite the modesty of its author's claims for it; and written with a clarity, grace and wit that mark it in its own right as literature.

The classical literature of Greece and Rome has a long and chequered history in Western civilisation. It has been forgotten, partly lost, partly rediscovered, step by step, sometimes welcomed rapturously, sometimes suspected and repressed, translated a thousand times, often misunderstood, but seldom failing to provoke a lively reaction from its impact on its readers. Dr Bolgar has written the history of that impact and those reactions. Not a completely comprehensive history, for that would presuppose a far fuller knowledge of the contents of medieval libraries and a more searching analysis of the classical elements in medieval and later literature, than are at present at the scholar's disposal. Dr Bolgar calls his four hundred pages of text "a brief introductory account", but it is complete at least in its description of the aims and attitudes with which, in succeeding ages, men hungry for education have approached the classical heritage. Are any of those aims and attitudes still valid for us? And if not, by what rights have the classics retained their place in our curricula?

For some three centuries after the barbarian invasions, the preoccupation of Europeans with keeping alive hindered all but the most tenuous interest in their classical heritage.

> . . . . The memorials of the Graeco-Roman past lay scattered in a thousand manuscripts, inscriptions, monuments and works of art which could not be interpreted without expert study. Roman civilisation survived in every town, in every village almost, but it was as useless to their inhabitants as an outcrop of coal to a shivering savage.

The initiative in education passed to the untroubled West, to Ireland. The Celts knew Latin simply as the language of Christianity, and they welcomed its literature more unreservedly than those who, like St. Augustine, had been painfully weaned from the attractions of pagan rhetoric. The *De Officiis* and the *De Civitate Dei* arrived in Ireland, as it were, in the same boat, and found a people prepared to make the whole of ancient knowledge welcome.

The welcome extended to Latin by the Carolingians was more selective. It was for them the official medium of the Church and the language of diplomacy. The study of Roman literature was for them eminently utilitarian, the best method of learning this indispensable tongue. Even the contents of the classical works were seen first from a utilitarian angle. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the revival of medicine and natural philosophy sought its inspiration from Greek and Graeco-Arabic sources. The growth of legal literature and theory owed almost everything to the study of the Justinian code. And the philosophy of High Scholasticism was the laboriously wrought synthesis of Platonic, Aristotelian and Christian thought.

The men of the Renaissance approached the classics with other aims. They were preoccupied with literary form, and by their laborious techniques of assembling and memorizing lengthy word-lists from the ancient authors, and by assiduous study and imitation of styles, they learnt inestimable lessons in creative writing.

> Without the note-book method and all the work it implied, the Humanist contribution to European culture would have lost much of its importance . . . . The literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stripped of its great epics, its classical tragedies, its comedies that derived from Terence, its artistic histories and its formal odes, would have appeared very different to our eyes to-day, freer perhaps and simpler, more charming, but without the strength which comes from the artist's struggle with a difficult form.

But besides a sense of literary style, Petrarch and his successors sought an insight into the Greek and Roman outlook on life. From Greece in particular they learnt to take the individual as their final court of appeal, to look upon man as the measure of all things. Yet, as compared with the balanced humanism of St. Thomas Aquinas, these humanists had no clear concept of man's nature and destiny, and left the most basic human questions, of sin, of suffering, of death, unexplored. Their blissful self-centredness was swallowed up in the bitter theological disputes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and when the smoke of these cleared, a new era in classical education had dawned. A linguistic and formal study of the Latin and Greek authors was the staple of secondary education in Europe. The *doyens* of this new training were the textual critics and editors, men of colossal learning who devoted it solely to purifying the texts and facilitating the interpretation of the classics. The nineteenth century added to their number, but raised new problems in education. Latin was no longer the universal language of educated men and the rapidly developing physical sciences cried for a place, or a bigger place, on school curricula. That situation, in a form still further complicated by the demands of modern languages, faces us today, and the claims of Latin and Greek on a schoolboy's time and energy have been submitted to repeated proofings. Dr Bolgar points out that we no longer seek from the classical heritage what the Carolingians sought, namely a knowledge of spoken Latin ; nor yet the factual knowledge medicine, law and logic for which the early Scholastics looked. A feeling for literary form may perhaps be got from modern literatures, though there is probably no training in the careful use of language as efficient as Latin or Greek prose composition. Dr Bolgar passes over other arguments, which were presented eloquently thirty years ago by Sir Richard Livingstone in his *Defence of Classical Education*—interest in the origin of our civilization, of the sources of English language and literature—and emphasizes the formative value of the classical discipline " as the most intractably Humanist of all the Humanities ", in the dehumanizing industrial society of today.

The line of defence which Dr Bolgar has chosen would hardly be the strongest for Ireland. We feel less acutely the organizing pressure of state and industry, we are armed with a religion and a philosophy which guards more surely than any Periclean precepts the dignity of the individual, and the fact that Latin is the language of the Mass is as strong an incentive to learn it as it ever was. Yet the Christian ideal to which our education aspires is certainly the richer and livelier for a knowledge of the classics.

The book under review, however, is no mere tract on education. Indeed in all but the last chapter Dr Bolgar refrains from any judgments of value, and is content to record and describe. For that panoramic record, growing in interest as it approaches modern times, the graceful product of immense learning, one can express only gratitude and admiration.

PAUL ANDREWS, S.J.

HISTORY

MEDIEVAL ESSAYS. By Christopher Dawson. London : Sheed & Ward. Pp. vii, 271. 16s.

ESSAYS IN THE CONCILIAR EPOCH. By E. F. Jacob. Manchester University Press. Pp. viii, 264. 25s.

BOTH these books are second editions of previous works by their authors, although important new material has been added to each. Both are concerned with some of the fascinating problems of medieval history, though their respective approaches are very different.

The backbone of Mr Dawson's book is the collection of essays published in 1934 under the title *Medieval Religion.* To this has been added four essays (Chapters I, II, VI) and two previously published articles (Chapters III and V). In the first chapter (" The Study of Christian Culture ") Mr Dawson explores again a theme on which he has had much to say in recent years. His plea is for "—a comprehensive course of studies which would deal with Christian culture in the same integrative and objective way in which the humanist educators dealt with classical culture " (p. 7). Opinions may differ on the practicability of such a course in the framework of our present system of higher education ; but Mr Dawson leaves us in no doubt about his conviction of the urgency of the problem.

The remaining essays form a blueprint for the study which Mr. Dawson envisages. The treatment is of a generalized character, but Mr Dawson touches on some attractively unfamiliar ground, as in the few pages on Armenian Christianity (p.24/26), or in Chapter VII, where he emphasizes the importance of the Moslem contribution to medieval Western culture. In the latter Mr Dawson pursues the line of argument which he followed in the noteworthy essay on " The Origins of the Romantic Tradition " (reprinted here as Chapter XI).

Professor Jacob is not, like Mr Dawson, preoccupied with warning us against the loss of our medieval heritage. Perhaps for that reason his book brings us into more direct contact with the complex reality of the Middle Ages. These essays are all concerned with that transitional period in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when, to use Professor Jacob's own words, " the human spirit was conscious that it was on the brink of new things, but it could not everywhere take the plunge ". (p.v.) This theme is brought out most strongly in Chapter X, where Professor Jacob discusses the elusive concepts " Middle Ages " and " Renaissance " and emphasizes the continuity between the two periods. Two new essays deal respectively with the impact of humanism on letter-writing, official and unofficial, in later medieval England (Chapter XI)

and the problems of English University clerks in maintaining themselves during their academic studies and in obtaining a benefice afterwards (Chapter XII). The emphasis on the assistance provided to these needy graduates by the system of Papal provisions and reservations brings fresh corroboration to the tendency of some recent scholars to view the Curial system of appointments in a more favourable light than had been previously allowed.

At the end of the book Professor Jacob appends some valuable additional remarks, surveying the progress of research in the various fields dealt with since the first edition of this book in 1943. Among these may be mentioned the discussion of Canonist influence on Conciliar theory (p. 240/241), the details of Papal finance, or lack of it, during the Avignon period (p. 241/243), the relation between Ockham's philosophical and polemical works (p. 245/247), and the statement of the present position of the controversy on the authorship of the *Imitatio Christi* (p. 248/250). It seems that the currently favoured solution to this last problem is that Thomas a Kempis was merely the copyist and elaborator of a Latin version of the originally German work produced by the earliest generation of the Brethren of the Common Life. The whole of the book is carefully documented and does much to disclose the concrete realities which underlay the apparently abstract nature of the thought of the Conciliar period.

JOHN B. MORRALL

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS: VOLUME VIII (1660/1714). Edited by Andrew Browning. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. Pp. xxxii, 966. 80s.

THE second volume to appear in this important series is devoted to the complex period of the later Stuarts. Professor Browning's selection of documents and his introduction follow, for the most part, conventional lines. His leaning towards the "Whig" interpretation is evidenced in such remarks as this one from his apologia for Macaulay's history: "Its failings in the shape of partisanship, over-emphasis and neglect of certain aspects of history, are sufficiently obvious, and have been unsparingly indicated by the small men who love to disparage the great; but its striking merits, historical no less than literary, bid fair to rank it among the immortals." (p. 44). The introduction is largely confined to the political sphere and does not give a complete picture of the ground covered by the whole book.

Professor Browning has collected a remarkably illustrative selection of documents. Perhaps he might be criticized for giving too much space to literary sources, and more extracts from Parliamentary debates would have added to understanding of the statutes and acts which are printed here. The section on Ireland suffers from containing no documents representative of the native Irish point of view, though we are given some interesting reports by foreign visitors like de Rochefort and John Stevens. The volume is enriched with a number of maps and diagrams which assist in the understanding of the selected texts.

JOHN B. MORRALL

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION. A. R. Hall. London: Longmans, Green. 1954.

FOR all the implications of its title "The Scientific Revolution", this book stresses the gradual nature of the changes which took place in the transition from what used to be called "medieval" to what used to be called "modern" times. There is no doubt, of course, that during the last four centuries the scientific legacy of the ancient world, which had been painfully re-assembled during medieval times, has been by and large rejected in Western Europe. Our modern outlook, despite all that is written of our debt to Greece and Rome, derives most of its essential features from the changes which have taken place since 1500. The scientific work of Aristotle has been thrown on the bonfire and the day has gone when Dr Caius could order the imprisonment of a young doctor who was reported to have said that Galen made mistakes. But the change was not a violent one and one of the merits of Dr Hall's book is to bring out the slow pace at which it took place.

Until comparatively recently, the history of science suffered from the fact that the scientists who wrote upon it (like Dampier) were not historians, while historians kept well clear of a field which demanded so much technical knowledge. Professor Butterfield, however, in his *Rise of Modern Science,* blazed a trail for Dr Hall, who is both scientist and historian. Dr Hall in this present book, in which he follows up a detailed study of ballistics in the seventeenth century, is remarkably successful in giving a coherent and intelligible picture of the various scientific changes during the period 1500–1800.

He gives due weight to medieval developments which took place outside the circles of strict Aristotelian orthodoxy. He shows for example (pp. 56–8) how Nicole Oresme in the commentary "De Caelo" put strong arguments against the geostatic view of the universe only to come down eventually in favour of the conventional doctrine on theological grounds—"all maintain", he wrote, "and I believe that the heavens are moved and the earth not, for God fixed the orb of the earth which shall not be moved". (Psalm 92–93). The chief contribution of Copernicus was the notion of the *annual* motion of the earth and it was in this idea that his originality lay. Mathematically speaking, however, Dr Hall points out, Copernicus did not create a new astronomy; he merely re-interpreted the Ptolemaic structure from a heliocentric point of view. He preserved the spheres, the belief in circular motion and the fundamental distinction between the laws operating in the celestial and sublunary regions.

Figures other than Copernicus emerge from Dr Hall's analysis as less revolutionary than one believed. Vesalius, the sixteenth century anatomist, is assessed critically; "he was not unique in his originality, rather he was the most successful exponent of a new procedure that was beginning to gain adherents over all Europe, some of whom Vesalius did not scruple to beat unfairly" (p. 45). Paracelsus is described as "a picturesque ranter". The once popular notion that Bacon invented and described the method of experimental science is, in Dr Hall's opinion, no longer acceptable. Descartes' researches in optics and mathematics were extremely valuable but in his

attempt to set himself up as the Aristotle of a new scholasticism, he overestimated his own importance. Newton cannot be described without reservation as a modern scientist ; alchemy seems to have given him a greater sense of the ultimate mystery of things than his unfolding of the celestial system. Dr Hall stresses the contribution of Galileo as a figure in his way more original and significant than Newton. Not the least among the figures of the seventeenth century was William Harvey, a discussion of whom forms one of the best chapters of the book. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood was not accepted for twenty years, a time lag which was typical of the reception accorded to many others.

Dr Hall leaves the question open of the relationship of these changes to society as a whole. To anyone but a Marxist the whole problem of the connection between scientific discovery and social and economic demand is in doubt. But the field cannot be left to the dogmatism of the Marxist historians and it is to be hoped that at a later date Dr Hall will attempt to deal with some of the problems which he raises at the very end of his book.

H. F. Kearney

SCIENCE IN SYNTHESIS

SCIENCE IN SYNTHESIS. A Dialectical Approach to the Integration of the Physical and Natural Sciences. By William H. Kane, John D. Corcoran, Benedict M. Ashley and Raymond J. Nogar, of the Order of Friars Preachers. River Forest, Illinois : Dominican College of St. Thomas Aquinas. Pp. 289.

Most scientists today who have the inclination and the leisure to wrest their attention from their particular department of research and take a comprehensive view of science would agree that there is a crisis in science. Its epistemological and philosophical foundations seem to be in need of review (especially in physics) ; some integration of its over-fragmented departmentalization is needed. Yet, the scientist feels his lack of a sound and systematic philosophical training. Nor is the philosopher equal to the task, unversed as he is in the specialized techniques of science. Those interested in this problem will welcome this report of a five-weeks discussion between scientists and philosophers. Seventeen members of the Dominican Order, trained in the Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy and also obviously well versed in the modern sciences, and sixteen scientists—professors, students, practising physicians and psychiatrists—took part in the discussions. One week each was given to physics, chemistry, biology and psychology, and the fifth week was devoted to summarizing the results. The book is not a verbatim report, but a paraphrase of the discussions and lectures ; it has been done with great skill, as the result is most readable.

It would be unfair to expect much in the way of concrete results so soon. We might expect that the different participants would be mainly occupied in this first session with finding one another's level. This is necessarily slow and laborious but extremely interesting to watch in process. We cannot but get the feeling that the rigorous dialectic of the philosophers somewhat

overwhelmed the pure scientists, even before we read at the beginning of the second week that " some of the participants had complained that the dialectical method in the hands of the leader permits him to push through to conclusions which are not really accepted by all." Nevertheless, we see throughout a sincere desire on the part of both philosophers and scientists to understand and sympathize with each other's point of view.

In the week devoted to physics, as one might expect, the difference of opinion between participants was most marked. The working physicists were emphatic in maintaining that for the ordinary research man, " his use of mathematics and of idealization is only a tool. He well realizes that its application is only approximate, and since this qualification is understood in every theory he puts forward, the theories, (when they are established by their correlation of many facts) are *certain*, since their real content is not the mathematical formalization, but the certain facts which they order." Others, apparently chiefly philosophers, doubted this and thought that the scientific principles on which modern physics are based were neither physical nor certain. They held that the pre-Galilean science had such strictly physical and certain principles.

Much of the time was given to an examination of Aristotelian science and attempts were made to find out how much of its findings was valid and still useful as basis for a modern synthesized science. In biology and psychology, general agreement was reached that, except for details, Aristotle's outlines of the principles of these sciences were in no way incompatible with modern findings and promised to provide a basis for unifying both these disciplines. Agreement was not so general as regards physics and chemistry.

One may be permitted a criticism, not of the report, which was very well done, but of the direction of the discussion. A synthesis of modern natural science is sought. But what kind of a synthesis? Perhaps if the discussion leaders had been more explicit as to the type of synthesis aimed at, more might have been achieved. Obviously, a synthesis after the plan of Leibnitz's *Scientia Universalis* is not looked for. Now, a synthesis might be on a purely scientific plane. Such would be purely scientific theories which unify a mass of data, for example the theory of evolution or the atomic theory in chemistry. Or the synthesis may be based on non-scientific principles on which all the natural sciences depend. Apparently neither of these was desired. As far as one can make out, the synthesis aimed at is based on some mixture of scientific and philosophical principles. Unfortunately, the leaders of the discussion were not explicit enough in specifying the task to be accomplished and this may have caused confusion and diffuseness in the discussion. They try to urge Aristotle's analysis of change on the physicists, all the while strongly maintaining that they are steering clear of metaphysics, and are surprised when the physicists regard these principles as " trivial." Would it not have been better to point out that natural science and the philosophy of nature are two quite distinct disciplines, and that the distinction is valid, based as it is on the different degrees of abstraction which they employ? Much confusion would thus be avoided and the scientists present might be more inclined to appreciate the value of Aristotle's philosophical analysis and would be brought to see that this is still valid and perhaps useful in attaining the

undefined " synthesis." True, they do not seem too favourable to such a distinction : " a ' philosopher of nature ' who is not obliged to follow out the natural impetus of natural questions to the concrete, or a ' scientist of nature ' who can find theoretical unity without going back to fundamental considerations of a ' philosophic ' sort, has not yet been exhibited." This is perfectly true, but an appreciation of the distinction would make it much easier for the " scientist of nature " to find theoretical unity by " going back to fundamental considerations of a ' philosophic ' sort."

One feels that this whole task of clarifying the position of the ' philosophy of science ' —the task of ' synthesis,' if you will —must be the work of one mind ; not one mind in isolation, but some giant of a mind coming at the end of a long period of intense study of the problem and successfully synthesizing everything of value that arises from the fruitful clash of opinions.

JOHN J. MOORE, S.J.

ADVENTURES IN FAITH

A PRIEST IN RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC. By Charles Bourgeois, S.J. Introduction by Sir David Kelly. Translated by the Earl of Wicklow. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd. 9s. 6d.

WHEN I read some of this book as it first appeared in *Etudes*, I was struck by the air of stillness and quiet that pervaded the pages. The same atmosphere is to be felt in this excellent translation by the Earl of Wicklow. It is mirrored in but not explained by the landscape through which Fr Bourgeois travelled and in which he lived : the landscape of Esthonia, grey seas and frozen lakes, bordered by the great dark forests stretching back over Russia almost to infinity. It is an atmosphere of austerity, poverty, renunciation and of very close union with God : the atmosphere of the man who wrote this book. Fr Bourgeois and men like him, who have changed the Latin for the Eastern Rite to work among Eastern Catholics, have made what must be the ultimate sacrifice asked of a missioner. In a way it is harder than martyrdom. They leave not only their native land and native culture but also, and of necessity, their very mentality ; and that at the most intimate level where it regards their approach to God. They must put on instead a mentality that is entirely slavonic. For this sacrifice they are rewarded, not merely with a joy in and love of the beautiful and venerable eastern Liturgy, but with a share and an understanding of that mystical love of Christ and the Blessed Virgin that is one of the glories of Eastern Catholics. The atmosphere is everything in this book. The story, in my opinion, counts for relatively little in comparison. When the Russians joined the Allies in the last war Fr Bourgeois, who had waited on the threshold for twelve years, at last managed to visit Moscow and meet his beloved Russian people. He was disappointed in his hopes for them. He found the Eastern Catholics, forbidden the use of their Liturgy, spied upon and restricted. The great Orthodox Church, which he is forced to adjudge servile in its relations with the State, he found unshakeable in its prejudices against western Catholicity. He makes two interesting judgments here : that servility is easily imposed

on the essential passivity in the Russian temperament ; that the Iron Curtain would have been an impossibility without the strong anti-occidental prejudice in the Orthodox Church. Fr Bourgeois is now working for Russians in Brazil. I recommend this little book very strongly not only for its own sake but because it will stimulate readers to pray for Eastern Catholics and the priests who work for them ; to pray also for the Orthodox, so near us and yet so far away, that they may be united to us in the One Christ Whom we both worship.

JOHN C. KELLY

SAINT BRIDGET OF SWEDEN. By Johannes Jorgensen. Translated from the Danish by Ingeborg Lund. Longmans Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. 1954. Two Volumes : Vol I. Pp. xiii + 310. Vol. II. Pp. ix + 354. 25s.

AT the great Manor House of Finsta Gaard in the country " which lies most northerly " in the world on a night in June 1303, Bridget was born the seventh child of pious parents of noble rank. After her mother's death, her father entrusted her to her aunt in another great manor house, where she spent two happy years. Then came her marriage to Ulf, Prince and Lawman, and her married life of twenty years in a third great manor, where her eight children were born.

Her first pilgrimage was to the tomb of the martyred brother of Saint Erik, a long and wearisome journey of 35 days by a cheerless and dangerous road. Her husband and their escort rode on horseback, but Bridget went on foot. As she knelt by the Tomb of the Saint, she knew what God demanded of her. She was to found a convent in Sweden for the salvation of her country.

Her second pilgrimage was to the Tomb of Saint James of Compostella, the traditional pilgrimage in her family, made by her father, her grandfather and her great-grandfather. On the return journey, Ulf became seriously ill and died in the Monastery of Alvastia. Bridget who was a very rich woman decided to realize the Franciscan ideal to give all to the poor, as soon as she had made provision for her children.

She went to Rome for the Jubilee Year of 1350. The concourse of pilgrims was immense. Brigid and Petrarch were among them, as Dante had been fifty years earlier.

Her final pilgrimage was to the Holy Land. She felt old and feeble, but the Voice of the Lord bade her go. The little Britta who as a child had wept over the sufferings of Christ, now as an old woman of seventy, wept bitterly when on Golgotha, she kissed the gold plate covering the spot where the Cross stood.

Her pilgrim wanderings were over and surrounded by her faithful followers, as day was breaking on the 23 July, 1373, she commended her soul to God. She died in the room in which she had written her Revelations and from the interior window of which she could see the Tabernacle in the Chapel of the Convent of the Bridgettines, in the Piazza Farnese, where she had been living for many years.

God's Ambassadress, as she has been called, was as merciless in her denunciation of priests who by their conduct dishonoured their office as she was firm in her belief that such dishonour did not lessen their powers of consecration or of absolution. She distinguished sharply between the priest and his office. She had an unwavering faith in *Tu es Sacerdos in Aeternum.* Men and women of the Middle Ages had a great advantage over those of our own time, as Jorgensen says, " they knew what was the purpose of existence. Dante knew it, Bridget knew it ; here is the earth, below us is Hell, above us, Heaven ; it is our task so to live that we avoid Hell and attain Heaven . . . . Only against this background of the everlasting joys of Heaven and the everlasting torments of damnation can a figure like that of Bridget be imagined or realized."

Jorgensen's Life of Saint Bridget is not merely a Life of the great Swedish mystic, it is a history of the manners and morals of that time, with problems and material solutions strikingly like those of the present day. Jorgensen's narrative is so interspersed with " analogies from other persons and events, personal reminiscences of places and friends, hundreds of anecdotal tit-bits that," as Karl Stern points out in his review in *Commonweal* (31 December, 1954), " the figure of his heroine is in danger of losing contour " and the reader " of losing inner contact with the subject." The author was aware of this and in his Preface to Vol. II, published two years after Vol. I, he admits that he has mixed too much of his own " flour in Bridget's sack " and he says " I must apologize for it. But as it happens, I am used to having my *franches coudées* when I write, that is a little elbow room for my personal whims."

The book is well documented with Notes, Sources and an Index at the end of each Volume. In addition, in Volume II, there is a most useful Chronological Survey in two parallel columns, the first relating solely to Bridget, the second to important events, national and international from 1349 to 1378.

BRIGID STAFFORD

THE PRAYER OF FAITH. By Leonard Boase, S.J. London : Messenger Office. 6s.

THE MEANING OF HOLINESS. By Louis Lavelle. London : Burns and Oates. 1954.

FOR many good Catholics religion is like a narrow little street in which they have lived all their lives. It is a very respectable street but dull, shabby and uninteresting, without a quiver of vitality. I think there is a repository of religious art at the corner. At one end the little street is a cul-de-sac and at the other the view of the great City is cut off by a sharp corner. If the inhabitants of the street would only turn that corner they would see open before them the broad squares and sweeping streets of the City with its noble buildings. They are free to walk in the City if they will, because they are full citizens, but somehow they never do. They never even turn the corner. In the Christian life one never walks to the corner and turns it without mental prayer in some form or other. Fr Boase's book will do much, I am sure, to

set Catholics of all kinds free from the " little-street " religion and make them free of the open spaces of the City of God.

His teaching advances a step, maybe two, beyond the instructions ordinarily given to beginners in mental prayer. For that reason alone it is a delight. St Augustine did say that we should never cease to speak of those things that should never be absent from our hearts, but he did not say that we should go on saying the same things over and over again in the same way. The teaching we receive is sometimes inclined to be static (especially in prayer), whereas the spiritual life, because it is a *life,* must change and grow and be dynamic. One knows of persons who have been eight years and more in religious life who have never learned that the possibilities of mental prayer are not exhausted by discursive meditation alone, necessary and useful as that practice is. It is normal and the result of normal human psychology that, after a relatively short time spent in the practice of mental prayer, discursive meditation becomes difficult or impossible. The reason is that one cannot repeat the same process over and over again forever and still be gripped by the novelty of it. The mind and imagination become weary and satiated. It is when this weariness and difficulty set in that Fr Boase's book becomes useful. He calls this stage of prayer " Becher's Brook ", because it is here that the " field is frequently thinned out." If people could be brought to see that these " difficulties " or " impossibilities " in prayer are not really difficulties but the symptoms of the emergence of prayer in a new form, at once quieter and more simple than meditation, they would be greatly helped in persevering with mental prayer. *The Prayer of Faith* should be of immense help to these people and to those who have to help them.

There is nothing, I am sure the author will agree, in the book that will not be found in the first few chapters of Poulain's *Graces of Interior Prayer,* but the doctrine has been collected, set in order and admirably expressed. First of all he makes it quite clear that, in its widest sense, prayer is the same as life itself. It is the work produced mysteriously by the co-operation of God and the human soul ; made up of our daily work, our play, our Cross and our prayer properly so called. The love of God is the important thing that we must seek in everything and prayer in its proper sense is a necessary means to ensure the growth of that love in us. Prayer in this sense Fr Boase describes admirably as, " loving God through some sort of knowledge, awareness, attention, which is directed to Him through thinking about Him." We have in the infused virtue of faith the germ of a knowledge of God that is supernatural and the development of prayer is the gradual emergence and strengthening of this mode of knowledge in us, increased and deepened by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, especially wisdom and understanding. So that what follows the natural death of meditation is the prayer of faith.

It is a simple prayer in which few acts are made. It is a dark kind of prayer in which we do not learn anything of *what* God is, but only *that* He is. It is a " felt " experience of God's presence, either with emotional sweetness or more commonly, without it. This kind of prayer is by no means immune from distractions, indeed sometimes the only sign that one is praying is the gnawing desire to pray. " Points " prepared the night before will often be found of no use when this simple prayer begins in the morning. All that is

needed is a " contact " that brings the awareness at once of God's presence ; the act of kneeling, opening the New Testament, fingering the beads. However, preparation of points for prayer, spiritual reading and study must be kept up outside the time of prayer, because spiritual education (the end of meditation) must be sustained throughout the spiritual life. Now this kind of prayer, it is clear, can be persevered in with God's grace. It is not fatiguing. It may indeed be a rest for soul and body ; it strengthens and it soothes. Moreover it is for everybody ; for the learned theologian as well as the old lady saying innumerable rosaries.

Fr Boase deals with the prayer of faith in a masterly, confident way and with great clarity. His book will be of the greatest assistance to all and reveals him as a far more important spiritual writer than, I think, he suspects himself to be.

The late M. Louis Lavelle succeeded Henri Bergson in the chair of philosophy at the *Collège de France,* and was interested in philosophy from no purely academic standpoint, but in a human and Christian way. But, I must admit frankly, I do not know what to make of *The Meaning of Holiness.* The first chapter is a meditation on holiness in general and is followed by essays on St Francis of Assisi, St John of the Cross, St Teresa of Avila and St Francis de Sales ; an attractive quartet. It was from these essays that the book took its original title of *Quatre Saints.* In spite of the warning and the aid given in the introduction by Dom Illtyd Trethowan I found the book exceedingly difficult to read. Its theme seems to be that holiness is a gain ; that is, a gain for one's humanity. Religion is an integration with oneself and with the universe. It is the completion of a personality, but much more than that, it is the resolution of apparently inescapable conflict ; it is the reconciler of irreconcilables. St Francis, by renouncing all things, came to possess all things safely in joy ; St John of the Cross renounced the intellect and the will in order to come to the fullest life of the spirit ; St Teresa reconciled action and contemplation ; St Francis de Sales resolved the conflict of will and desire in the act of loving God. These are excellent things to say, but they are said in a very abstruse way so that the book tastes like a mixture of de Lubac and Chesterton. It is certainly a remarkable, reverent and saintly testimony to his religion on the part of a lay man. I am sure I find it difficult because it was not written for me. I am sure that its obscurity is the result of an apostolic aim. In 1951, when the book first appeared, minds in France were in a turmoil. The old forms of preaching being out of favour, men sought truth in anguish without any real hope of finding it. The syllogism was derided (the absence of apparent logical form in M. Lavelle's paragraphs is bewildering) and there was what might be called a mania for the obscure. Truth, people seemed to think, if it could be found at all, was too precious to be the result of any simple, clear process but must come from some long labyrinthine quest. Very laudably then M. Lavelle seems to have fallen in with this fashion in order that his message might be acceptable, and it was accepted with enthusiasm in France at the time it appeared. But give me Fr Boase.

JOHN C. KELLY

SHORTER NOTICES

THE AUGUSTAN WORLD: LIFE AND LETTERS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By A. R. Humphreys. Methuen. London. 1954. 16s.

THIS book, designed for the Common Reader, is a survey of the main social and intellectual interests of British 18th century life as they affected the writers of that age. It consists of six long chapters, entitled Social Life, the World of Business, Public Affairs, Religious Life, Philosophy Moral and Natural, and the Visual Arts: each chapter has a special section in which the main theme is related to 18th century literature.

Mr Humphreys's view is that "Augustan society with all its imperfections was a sterling collective achievement of the British people" (p. 51): his account of the period is intelligent, many-sided, and orthodox. Briefly, he emphasizes the Augustan sense of society, "the sense of living under a comprehended system of freedom and loyalty" (p. 128), and most of his final paragraphs read like Majority Reports. For instance, he has the full support of Orthodoxy in naming Swift, Pope, Fielding and Johnson as "the century's greatest writers" (p. 22), and in writing of the Augustan authors:

> "... first, that writers take as their main material man in society, not man as an individual soul faced with fateful metaphysical problems, or as a seeker for personal experience, an asserted of self; second, that man and society are shown in normal size and proportion, not as exceptional: and third, that the aspects of life treated in literature tend towards a family resemblance".

Similarly, Mr Humphreys brings Pope's *Essay on Man* and *Hume's Treatise of Human Nature* to prove that the "Age of Reason" is a misnomer.

Clearly, the specialist reader of English Literature need not bother with Mr Humphreys's book: as for the Common Reader, if his appreciation of literature can be furthered by background-material, he will find enough in these 270 pages. Mr Humphreys picks his witnesses with care and, blessedly, allows them to speak for themselves: Defoe, Wendeborn, Moritz, the list is impressive. Experts will quarrel with some of Mr Humphreys's arguments: there are a number of painful oversimplifications and, in my opinion, an excessive insistence that "the Augustans were not deficient in religious feeling" (p. 178).

If this book were offered as straightforward "background to Augustan literature for the Common Reader" it could be welcomed: one is distressed, however, to find that the author is more ambitious. In the Preface, he writes:

> "Its intention was as much critical as social-historical, and if the critical aim is imperfectly realised that is my own shortcoming ....."

I am afraid the critical aim is more than imperfectly realized: I cannot see that it was even seriously *attempted.* A reading of the book leaves no doubt in my mind that Mr Humphreys is interested in a poem such as Cowper's *The Task* only for its documentary relevance: I sincerely hope the Common Reader for whom the book is intended will not follow suit.

DENIS DONOGHUE

TEAGUE, SHENKIN AND SAWNEY. Being an historical study of the earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish characters in English plays. By J. O. Bartley. Cork University Press. 1954. 25s.

This book makes no real contribution to the study of English drama, but it will interest those who use theatrical history as a hunting-ground for facts and fancies of social convention. The author has examined English plays of the period 1587–1800, picking out references to the character and manners of the Irish, Welsh and Scots. For example, he is in a position to tell those who are interested that the shillelagh appeared for the first time in Thomas Sheridan's *Brave Irishman* (1737) : many facts of this nature are duly noted.

I cannot pretend that I regard this work as scholarship of a high order, especially as many of Dr Bartley's statements depend on the doubtful authenticity of such works as Kirkman's Memoirs of Macklin : I am afraid Dr Bartley's confidence in the veracity of certain authors is excessive.

The book contains an extensive bibliography, parts of which will be useful for theatrical historians. Here, however, Dr Bartlet sins by excess : for instance, the fact that he drags in a quotation from Professor I. A. Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism* is not sufficient justification for the inclusion of that work in a bibliography which would have been impressive enough without it.

Denis Donoghue

SIGRID UNDSET. By A. H. Winsnes. Translated by P. G. Foote. London : Sheed & Ward. Pp. 258+xi. 15s.

A study of this significant Catholic realist writer has long been overdue in English. The present book, by a friend of Sigrid Undset, is a short and readable biography, combined with an account of her literary development. The road to Catholicism of this famous Scandinavian convert was beset by both emotional and intellectual difficulties, which are not disguised by Mr. Winsnes. He emphasizes that conversion for Sigrid Undset was no sudden illumination but (as with her English contemporary, G. K. Chesterton) the fruit of a long and gradual process. Like Chesterton, her acceptance of Catholicism was facilitated by a deep love for the Middle Ages, which she knew as a specialist and which is the setting for her most famous novels, *Kristin Lavransdatter* and the Hestviken series. Throughout the book Mr. Winsnes places Sigrid Undset against the background of the 20th century " Christian Renaissance " of which she herself was one of the brightest ornaments.

John B. Morrall

FROM ROMAN EMPIRE TO RENAISSANCE EUROPE. By Denys Hay. London : Methuen (Home Study Books). Pp. 240+viii. 7s. 6d.

This is one of the best short works on medieval history so far to be published. Its title indicates that the author does not treat the Middle Ages as a purely static unity but as a period containing epochs of great diversity. Within a broad chronological framework Mr. Hay describes concisely the main aspects of medieval life ; the chapters on the structure of society and the towns are particularly illuminating. Mr. Hay makes several original points, the most

noteworthy being his emphasis on the gradual change in medieval civilization's description of itself, the transformation of " Christendom " into " Europe ". There could be no more telling illustration of the progressive secularization of society during the last part of the period covered by this book.

JOHN B. MORRALL

THE RULE OF ST BENEDICT in Latin and English. Translated and edited by Abbot Justin McCann, O.S.B. London : Burns Oates. 16s.

THE new series of " Orchard Books " are rendering a real service to the cause of ascetical literature by the scholarly editions of classical works, made available to the public. The Latin of St Benedict is the Latin of the transitional period, which ultimately gave birth to the Romance languages. It differs considerably in vocabularly and syntax from Classical Latin ; and Dom McCann's translation, with his extensive notes, not only tides us over obscurities, but offers an interesting guide to linguistic shiftings.

In its upward struggle, from the days of the Catacombs, Christianity had to contend with many adverse forces. Christ had warned His disciples : " if the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated me before you." (Jo. 15.18). One of the earliest reactions was flight from the world : hermit life. Self-renunciation was an important Christian ideal ; but a renunciation of self that should lead to a complete finding of one's life in God's plan : " he that shall lose his life for me, shall find it" (Mt. 10.39): it was easy to substitute a bodily asceticism for the real discipline of the soul, producing the type of monk so strongly condemned by St Benedict in the opening chapter of his Rule. In the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries many efforts were made to make the " more perfect way " of life more normal. We recall the names of Antony, Pachomius, Basil. St Basil had insisted that " the purpose of work is not merely to mortify the flesh, but to exhibit love for our neighbour." It was, however, left to Benedict to make effective the Basilian ideals ; and he proved himself a spiritual genius in the task.

A fair section of the Rule has to deal with practical details of everyday life ; but the Saint never loses sight of the foundation of the Christian law—Love. If severity be called for, let the abbot " *always set mercy above judgement* so that he himself may obtain mercy. Let him hate ill-doing but love the brethren."

GEORGE BYRNE

Perón and the Church

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

IN the years prior to the Nazi annexation of the Republic of Austria one heard at times in Germany the following distinction between the Austrian political situation and that of Germany. In Germany, the remark would be made, things are serious yet not hopeless, whereas in Austria they are hopeless but not serious. This distinction, I could not help feeling, did less than justice to the political efforts of men like Mgr Seipel and Dr Dollfuss. In similar vein some people may be tempted to dismiss recent attacks upon the Catholic Church in Argentina as just another of those curious events that occur in far away countries, as though we ought never be surprised at what happens in South America. It is true that the manner in which these attacks on the Church seem to have collapsed, after they had been pressed forcibly during several months, was rather mystifying and calls for an interpretation. It is true also that there is frequently an element of *opera bouffe* in Latin American politics, in which personalities as a rule play a more prominent part than do policies. Yet, it has to be remembered that these were serious attacks, not mere local or personal skirmishes, and that they were abandoned, if indeed we have seen the last of them, because of strong pressure on the President and the Peronista party, to a certain extent from outside.

The Peronista campaign against the Church came on the whole as a surprise. Hitherto relations between government and Church had been quite correct and even friendly. The President had certainly tried to gain the favour of Church authorities by the introduction of religious instruction into the State schools and through public assistance accorded to Catholic schools and seminaries. Church representatives were closely associated with members of the government at national festivals and ceremonies. There were in fact Catholics who felt that these close relations had certain disadvantages and that the Church might be putting herself into a false position by seeming to give too great an approval to the Perón government.

My own impression, when I was in Argentina in 1947 and 1948, was that a large number of Catholics—and by *Catholics* in this context I refer to persons who were consciously and sincerely Catholic—did support the régime, and this for a variety of motives. In the first place, they felt that, by his programme of social reform and welfare, the

President had removed all danger of Communism. I am very doubtful whether any such danger seriously existed, but this is the way they spoke : and Catholics have sometimes been all too tolerant of parties which claimed to be opposed or to have an antidote to Communism. In the second place, they approved in the main of the social programme, though they might criticize the speed with which its measures were introduced and could not be blind to the political opportunism that lay behind it. It was, so they considered, an attempt to give a fair deal to the working classes and the *peones* and to put into effect the principles of the great social encyclicals. To these two motives a third may be added : the welcome these Catholics gave to a note of national sentiment in the new government. I have called this ' national sentiment ' and not ' nationalism,' for the latter has come to have an unpleasant sound in Europe, where we have seen and suffered so much from its exaggeration. But national sentiment, in a country like Argentina where the majority of the people are only two or three generations removed from Europe, is not necessarily nationalistic ; it is directed not against other peoples but towards its own citizens with the intention of giving them an awareness of their common interests and bonds.

On the other hand, there were many other Catholics, who objected to the arbitrary character of the régime, to its efforts to secure a firm hold upon industry and commerce and to mould public opinion in one direction. There was a movement, not yet widespread or developed, towards a Catholic democratic outlook, parallel with that of the M.R.P. in France. Catholics of this sort suspected the absolute and perhaps totalitarian leanings in the Peronista movement ; regarded the friendliness of the government as a snare and danger and were sceptical of its sincerity ; and recalled that several members of the government had been close friends of the Nazis and Fascists. It is interesting to remark that in the past few years there has been a certain cult of Rosas, the dictator of Argentina in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century. But it would be premature, perhaps, to speak of a Catholic democratic movement, in the political sense.

What, therefore, were the reasons for the attacks upon the Church which began in November, 1954 ?

They were launched in a radio address by President Perón himself. He had spent a day in conference with the governors of the different provinces. That evening he broadcast a report of these conversations, in the course of which he declared that most of the governors had spoken of a conspiracy against the government which was being directed and fomented by a handful of clerics. He admitted that these were few in number and that they were in no way representative of the Church in Argentina. However, among them, he named three members of the

hierarchy, referring to them with scant courtesy and denying them their title of *Monseñores*. The prelates in question were Mgr Lafitte, Archbishop of Córdoba, Mgr Fasolino, Archbishop of Santa Fe, and Mgr Ferreira Reinafe, Bishop of La Rioja. The President insisted that he was not attacking the Church or the clergy but was protesting merely against the improper behaviour of a few clerics.

This radio address was followed on the next day by a wholesale, and obviously prepared, attack upon the clergy. The attack was swiftly shifted from the handful of clerics, whom the President had reproved on the previous evening, to the clergy as a body. Mgr Lafitte and Mgr di Pasquo, Bishop of San Luis, were charged with encouraging *infiltración*, that is the penetration of Catholic and unfriendly elements into the Trades Unions movement, the C.G.T., organized under State control, which is the main citadel of Perón's power and political influence. The clergy—the articles declared—had always been on the side of the wealthy and of employers : now they were attempting to infiltrate into the Unions in order to lay their hands on the *obreros* and to hand them over to their former masters. " Hands off the C.G.T." was the first theme of this press campaign. *Democracia*, for 25 November, did not hesitate to censure " the active political disturbance on the part of a large part of the clergy." These, it asserted, were evil priests, worthy of punishment ; they were " men who were false to their duties both as Argentines and as pastors," they were men outside the pale of " the laws of the country and the Law of God." (*Democracia*, 11 November).

These " wicked pastors " were members of a " materialistic section of the clergy " which could not be accounted Christian or Catholic or ecclesiastical. Using every device on which they could lay their hands, they were penetrating into the Unions under the pretext of the apostolate. In point of fact, they " are selling Christ and denying His teaching " ; they " are struggling in the darkness against the gospel of living light which is the doctrine of Perón ".[1]

" They have placed their churches, their altars, and their false teaching at the service of extremists and Communists and of the Radicals and Conservatives."[2]

" These are the men who have shown themselves disloyal to their sacerdotal promises, putting the Church herself into an equivocal situation and seeking to bring her into conflict with the State, all the while serving dishonest and unworthy purposes. . . . It would not surprise us if there were Communist elements among them. Indeed it is very

[1] *Democracia*, 12, 18, 19, 20 November.

[2] Discourse of Señor Vuletich, President of the C.G.T., at the Luna Park rally, 25 November, 1954. The Radicals and Conservatives are two of the older political parties in Argentina. In Parliament during the past nine years the Radicals have provided what opposition has been possible.

likely that in a Catholic land such as Argentina the Communists would have selected members of the clergy, religious and even bishops—men not properly grounded in the sentiments of humility, abnegation, self-sacrifice and patriotism—to entice and then corrupt them."[1]

It is clear therefore that the first motive for this attack upon the Church was resentment of any attempt to bring Catholic influence to bear within the C.G.T. or on its members. The Unions are the stronghold of Perón's power, and his party is anxious to keep them unaffected by other ideas than his. The same argument applies also to various professional and student organizations. " I do not understand "—Perón had declared to the provincial governors in November, 1954—" why there spring up these associations of Catholic lawyers and Catholic doctors. We also are Catholics, only to be Peronistas we do not say that we are Catholic Peronistas : we are simply Peronistas, and in our inner selves we are Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Orthodox or what you like. To be a Peronista we do not ask a man to what God he prays."[2]

Acción Católica is well organized in Argentina. Its aims and purposes are perfectly well known. It is the organ of the lay apostolate on which Popes Pius XI and Pius XII have placed so firm an emphasis. The movement is not concerned with party politics nor indeed with politics at all, though nowadays politicians have ' politicized ' practically every question, and in many of them moral and religious principles are at stake. It is significant that Peronista propaganda has been repeating the Nazi slogan that it is the Church's business to prepare men for Heaven and the affairs of State or party to look after their interests upon earth, the corollary of this being that the Church should have nothing to do with man's temporal interests or concerns. Religion is for home and church, we are told : public life, and work and social welfare—all this is no business of the Church. It is a very unfortunate thing, has stated Señor Vuletich, when theology gets mixed up with day to day life. It is obvious what this propaganda envisaged—a complete separation between Church and State in the sense that the Church should have nothing to do with education, the formation of youth, social work and welfare. This was all claimed as the chosen territory of the Peronista party.

Towards the close of November, 1954, the hierarchy in Argentina issued two statements. The first was a letter to the President ; the second, a pastoral read in all churches. In the former, the bishops

[1] *Critica :* 23, 24 November ; *La Epoca :* 23 November.

[2] *Democracia,* 11 November. Señor Vuletich at Luna Park put the matter simply and revealingly : " We are the friends of God because we are the friends of Peronista doctrine, and because we believe that, if there was one man before Perón, who preached the doctrine of Perón, that man could be only a God. *This* doctrine—God has created it, Perón has applied it."

reminded the President of the great work done by the Church in Argentina and of his own previous commendations of that work and his recognition of the Church's social teaching.

> How frequently has Your Excellency proclaimed the necessity of Christian morality and the Catholic Faith! How often has Your Excellency insisted upon the need for Argentina of a morally healthy manhood and a strong, sane and generous youth! How often have you declared, Your Excellency, that true social doctrine was taught two thousand years ago and can have no other genuine foundation than the Gospel of Christ and the Papal encyclicals, which you have frequently recalled with reverence!

The pastoral reminded the faithful that Catholic Action must be kept within the proper limits prescribed by its constitution and regulations, and that there should be no interference in party politics. But, when Catholics are challenged by materialism or Communism or by the threat of divorce or a compulsory lay education, then they are not free to remain idle and unconcerned: then they must defend and stand up for truth and principle. Nor could the theory be accepted that the Church must confine its ministrations to churches and sacristies.

> We further declare that the mission of the Catholic Church cannot be circumscribed by the limits of its churches, chapels and sacristies. The Church must preach the Gospel everywhere, in accordance with the mandate of its Divine Founder. If men succeed in shutting before its face the doors of many a sphere of human action, we have profoundly to regret that there we shall be unable to fulfil our apostolic responsibilities. We, bishops and priests, are in the main children of the working classes. If by reason of our priestly office we have been in contact with the workers among our people, this has been in response to their formal and explicit wish for our ministration. In acceding to this genuine and faithful desire we have had no ulterior purposes. The sole motive that has guided our priestly word and act has been the higher and supernatural motive of clarifying and strengthening religious faith.

Blended with this desire of an arbitrary government and party to lessen Catholic influence upon the national life may be discovered another element that arises from an older manner of opposition to the Church. It would appear to derive from the older, radical and Masonic attitude to religion, that was so widespread upon the Continent of Europe in the late nineteenth century. It finds its expression in slogans such as "A free church in a free State," and puts forward a demand for separation between Church and State and the consequent laicization of education. It seems to me this element that has pressed for measures of divorce. The Peronista party has clearly attracted to itself men of very diverse backgrounds. These radicals want the Church to be driven from public life in order to inaugurate a lay State, freed from all

religious influence and atmosphere. The stricter Peronistas want public life for their own special field.

After the initial campaign against the Church on the grounds of its supposed *infiltración* into the Unions and professional and student associations the direction of attack was altered. A number of measures were adopted against Catholic schools. University students were arrested, sometimes under the pretext that they were Communists, though in fact some of the pretended 'Communists' were known to be daily communicants. Several Catholic student centres were shut. Teachers, both laymen and priests, were summarily dismissed. Important Catholic colleges had withdrawn from them the State recognition of their courses and examinations. State subsidies were in part abolished, and it was decided that religious instruction must no longer be permitted in State colleges. In addition, much petty persecution of schools and teachers went on at the hands of minor functionaries, anxious no doubt to ingratiate themselves with the party leaders.

This second and 'radical' factor can be seen active in the measures adopted against Catholic schools and generally against Catholic influence in education. The *Secretariado de Enseñanza Religiosa* was done away with, on the grounds that it was no longer advisable that bishops should appoint professors or teachers of religion. Religious knowledge was degraded as an examination subject and its place taken by gymnastics. There was to be no further instruction in ethics for this, it was declared, was something that could not be taught ; it had to be inculcated.

A further law decreed that each school would in future be provided with its *consejero espiritual* or moral advisor whose function would be precisely to inculcate this morality. These gentlemen and ladies were to be nominated by the *Fundación Eva Perón*, an officially Peronista body. They must make themselves—this was laid down in the preamble to the new decree—friends of the boys and girls, love them and gain their sympathy and confidence and prepare their young minds to understand and put into practice the counsels of morality. But the morality they are to encourage must be deep and not formal, free from all mental reservations and pretence and hypocrisy. They are to form youth to be wise and good, with all the qualities indispensable for them to become fine Argentines—men and women of real value both for life and fatherland. In other words, what was envisaged was a lay morality. No doubt the Church would be permitted to provide a religious top-dressing over and above this lay foundation but that, in the minds of the framers of these new projects, would be all.

There is a third and final factor which may be discovered in this campaign against the Church, and this time it is a frankly revolutionary factor, strongly affected by Marxism and Communism. Observers have noted a gradual growth of Communist influence in the administration

of the C.G.T., and this influence appears to have become so formidable that it was directing the C.G.T. policy. It is often stated that many Spanish Communists had infiltrated into the movement and that now that they had reached this powerful position, they were putting strong pressure upon the President, and insisting upon a more extreme policy as the price for their continued support. They looked upon these anti-Church proceedings as capable of creating a revolutionary situation which, had it developed, they would not have been slow to exploit for their own revolutionary benefit.

So much for a general analysis of the position in Argentina during the first half of 1955. What is puzzling is the precise degree of responsibility that attaches to President Perón. Clearly, as head of the government and the man with whom lay the final decision, he must accept full responsibility. Yet it is by no means easy to reconcile this attitude with his previous behaviour. I am doubtful about the hypothesis, elaborated recently in an admirable article in *Commonweal* by Francis E. McMahon, that Perón has all the time been deliberately working in this direction, biding his time and waiting for what he should judge the appropriate moment to attack the Church. I should look upon him as a tactician rather than a strategist, as a man who seizes upon the opportunity when it arrives and then makes use of it rather than as a man who follows out a pre-determined policy. Though he has not hesitated to employ arbitrary and violent methods, these have been used spasmodically and in fits and starts, and he in general won and maintained his position by persuasiveness as much as by force. He has shown, for instance, a remarkable talent for gaining over personal adversaries. My feeling is that Perón's own motives in this attack upon the Church were as much personal as political : a wounded vanity ruffled by Catholic criticism of the Peronista youth movement and strong complaints made to him personally by Mgr Lafitte, a touchy resentment at Catholic indifference to the cult of the late Señora Perón. Reports come in from time to time from Argentina, to which of course it would be unwise to give full credit, of strange changes in the President's character and conduct, which indicate a failing judgment and sense of proportion, a growing preoccupation with trivialities and mere amusement. It may well be that this has played into the hands of certain men who stand near to him till it is their policies and not his own he has been persuaded to initiate.

This interpretation is confirmed to some extent by what appears to have been Perón's reluctance to let these attacks upon the Church go too far. It was significant that, at the Luna Park rally in November, 1954, which was staged as a protest against the alleged Catholic *infiltración* into the C.G.T., it was Perón who insisted that after the rally the crowd should disperse peacefully and that there should be no violence of any kind. At that moment the atmosphere in Buenos Aires was

sensitive. Rumours had circulated that churches would be attacked and burnt. The Blessed Sacrament was removed from the churches, which were then locked. No incident did occur that evening, and it was noticed that detachments of police with motor cars were stationed conveniently near some of the larger churches in the centre of Buenos Aires to make sure there was no trouble.

On the other hand, it may well be argued that this clash with the Church was bound one day to happen with the development of an arbitrary government and of a State with absolute claims. Commenting on the Argentine situation, the Swiss paper *La Liberté* declared that " there would seem to be a kind of logical rhythm in the history of authoritarian régimes. After an initial period, in which the Catholic religion is thought of as an element of social and political order to be favoured and encouraged, there comes a time when, more certain of itself and anxious to exercise a growing influence on minds and consciences, the government finds the Catholic Church in its way, defending the freedom which is necessary to its apostolic work and mission."[1]

A Milanese paper, *L'Italia*, writing two weeks afterwards, returns to the same theme. " Dictatorship appears to be confirming in this particular episode its law of sad fatality. At a given moment it finds itself unable to tolerate the Church's work of Christian and human education. It becomes jealous of the influence that the Church, in keeping with its Divine mandate, exercises on the human mind and heart. And with a mixture of suspicion and loud protesting it throws off the friendly mask and from its ' Caesaropapist ' attitude of protection of the Church—a protection that was neither needed nor desired—it passes on to the stage of open conflict and explicit persecution."[2]

It is evident that any State that makes excessive claims for Caesar must in the long run have difficulties with the Catholic Church over the claims of God. And this trouble is most likely to arise in just those neutral spheres of interest—the realms of education, youth formation, social activities and welfare—which are not directly religious, yet in which important religious questions have to be considered. So far as education was concerned relations had hitherto been pleasant enough. The question of youth activities was more thorny for many Catholic parents were worried about the *Unión Estudiantes Secundarios* which controlled sporting and recreational events. Complaints were heard of its mundane, even promiscuous atmosphere, although in theory the boys were separated from the girls. The most delicate point was social welfare for here it was that the régime had made gigantic efforts to benefit and win for itself the working classes. Earlier charitable societies

[1] 26 November, 1954.

[2] 9 December, 1954. This and the previous quotation are taken from an article in *Civiltá Cattolica* for 15 January, 1955, entitled *La Svolta Politico Religiosa in Argentina*.

such as the well known *Sociedad de Beneficencia* that had been carried on for nearly a century by Catholic ladies, were taken over by the government and assumed into the various social schemes of Señora Perón.

In my opinion divided counsels existed in circles close to the administration. Some wanted merely to give the Church authorities what, in their parlance, was a salutary lesson, hoping to intimidate them and make them less ready to take the initiative in social work and the national life. There are signs that they misunderstood the minds of some of the hierarchy and even hoped to find and stimulate some difference of opinion among them. The President, in the radio address that inaugurated the anti-Church attacks, roundly declared that the bishop of Catamarca, Mgr Carlos F. Hanlon, was a Peronista : in spite of which declaration Mgr Hanlon's name figured with those of the remaining bishops at the foot of the joint letter to the President and the joint pastoral. But others in government circles intended to make use of these attacks on the Church and churchmen to inaugurate at least a partially lay State, this involving a disestablishment of the Catholic Church in Argentina.

They were surprised by the clear evidence of resistance shown by Catholics. Not only did the hierarchy speak both to the government and the people in firm, dignified and yet unprovocative words. The people themselves reacted strongly. It was quite embarrassing, I was told from several sources, for a cleric in soutane to travel around Buenos Aires. He would be everywhere greeted and saluted ; people would offer him a seat in bus or tram and pay his fare ; and more seriously, Church attendances increased noticeably. The churches were packed on Sunday mornings and the communion rails were thronged. The stimulus of attack from outside did what Lenten missions had been unable to do ; it brought the men back to Church and their religious duties : and this, I understand, on a decidedly large scale. The Catholic assembly in the Plaza de Mayo, on the evening of 8 December, 1954—consisting of some 100,000 persons—was a striking tribute to the feelings and determination of Catholics in the capital.

If these measures against the Church were conceived to secure political advantage for the Peronista party, they must have signally failed of their effect. Opposition was roused, not only in Buenos Aires but even more markedly in provincial centres like Santa Fe and Córdoba. In the latter province the whole provincial government resigned, with the exception of the Governor, in protest against the measures. Here, on a scale larger than elsewhere, were Catholic centres shut by the police, Catholic professors and teachers dismissed from their posts, individual Catholics, both priests and layfolk, arrested. The province of Córdoba, in North Central Argentina, is an older province, with a university established by the Jesuits at the start of the seventeenth century

and a Spanish colonial tradition, traces of which are still in evidence. Córdoba is sometimes referred to as the Oxford of Argentina, and it certainly has a quieter atmosphere than the capital, an air of detachment and culture. It is incidentally by far the most European city I saw in Argentina: in fact, it is the only Argentine city that might be transferred bodily to Europe and seem more or less in place. This clash of Córdoba with Buenos Aires may have another significance for it recalls the lengthy struggle during the nineteenth century between *federalistas* and *unitarios*, the former fighting for a decentralized federal constitution and against the hegemony of Buenos Aires, the latter claiming centralization. These attacks upon the Church may well have aroused again this older tension, for Córdoba is a particularly Catholic province.

* * *

I have given an analysis of the situation, as it developed from November, 1954, to June of this year. It grew less pleasant and more menacing. It seemed that the government was determined to force through an increasing number of anti-Catholic laws and to disestablish the Church, doing at the same time grave damage to the Catholic and indeed the national system of education.

Then rapidly the picture altered. Two Church dignitaries, Mgr Tato, auxiliary bishop of Buenos Aires, and Mgr Novoa were arrested, placed upon an aeroplane and flown out of the country. This arrest and expulsion of two prelates was the reason for the excommunication under the ban of which the President and members of the government concerned in his action, now fell.

Almost at once occurred the abortive revolution, planned by Navy and some Air Force officers. It was unsuccessful and ill-conceived. There was severe fighting for some time in and near the Plaza de Mayo. Three hundred persons were killed and more than a thousand injured. For a day and a night confusion reigned till it was seen that the army under the Minister of War, General Franklin Lucero, was in charge and in command of the situation. Outbursts of hooliganism in the centre of Buenos Aires caused the burning of several churches, including Santo Domingo, San Francesco, San Nicolas de Bari, the Socorro and the Merced, and the destruction of the archives in the archiepiscopal palace. These outrages were conveniently attributed to ' Communists,' but that is an official term employed by the party when it desires to disown some of the activities of its adherents.

We must be careful not to see, as did some papers in England, the relation of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* in this sequence of the prelates' arrest and the revolt. The anti-Catholic legislation of the government may have further irritated Navy and Air Force officers but the action they adopted

was taken for reasons of their own. For several years a thinly veiled hostility has existed between the Argentine Navy and the Peronistas, in part because of the Navy's sympathy with the British and American manner of life and its resentment of arbitrary and unprincipled rule. Nor should it be taken for granted that the army in Argentina has all along been identified with the President, still less with the ideas and practices of his party. One has so often heard the current opinion in Europe that Perón was put into power either by the army or the Church or by both together. Neither suggestion is correct. Perón's opportunity came to him because of the military coup d'état of 1943, under Generals Rawson and Ramirez, but his election as President in 1946 was due to the wide popular support he was already acquiring among the *obreros*. It is true that, in his capacity as Minister for War in the Farrell government, he provided a large budget for army expenditure and this made the officers reasonably favourable. But it is well known that they disapproved of several features in the Peron régime : the insistence placed upon the *obreros* and the cult of the *descamisados*, the lack of order and the indiscipline in the C.G.T., the interference of Señora Perón with politics. Nor did they welcome or could they have welcomed the build up of a well equipped and armed police force which many persons in Argentina considered might be powerful enough one day to hold the army in check. One of the most significant items of news in the days immediately following the revolt was that the army had taken over complete control of this police force. This was a sign that there would be no civil war and that the army would have something very definite to say in the work of reconstruction.

The revolt of the Navy and Air Force officers might have remained an incident of minor political importance. Yet there followed from it highly important consequences. It showed clearly a growing resentment in certain influential circles against the character and behaviour of the régime. During the revolt and for two or three days afterwards the President was in eclipse. The limelight was focussed upon Army personalities such as General Lucero and General Sosa Molina. Official pronouncements made it obvious that the army was in charge. Indeed so noteworthy was this eclipse that rumours were circulating to the effect that the President had abdicated or had been forced to hand over power to an Army *junta*. But when these days passed, he was still in the *Casa Rosada*, the official centre of the Presidency ; but he was a changed and chastened man. The tone of his speeches had altered : he used the language of reasonableness and peace; gone was the note of mob appeal.

Several features should be observed in the developments since the revolt and political crisis. The first was the restoration of order. A number of Peronista supporters used the occasion of the revolt to attack and burn several churches in the centre of Buenos Aires. This mob

violence came as a disturbing shock to the majority of the inhabitants, accustomed to a calm and orderly city rhythm. It produced a mood of consternation. The prestige of the President fell rapidly and there was a strong sentiment of revulsion from a party in which methods of the kind were adopted. Here, these people told themselves, was a foretaste of that ' rough justice ' of the mob which had been a familiar theme in the speeches of the President and his wife to the *obreros*. The people now wanted and demanded order. This only the army could guarantee. Demagogy is a dangerous weapon, especially when a politician employs it to inflame the feelings of a crowd and yet hopes to be able to keep those feelings under rein. The violence he has preached may well be the ruin, not of those against whom the feelings were aroused, but of the man who roused them. I believe that the burned churches of Buenos Aires have done more than any other factor to stimulate dislike of and anger against Perón.

The government was evidently sensitive to this popular mood, for it has made an offer to repair and rebuild the churches from public funds, an offer which up to the present has not been accepted by the Church authorities. One of the damaged churches is Santo Domingo, which the government has claimed it will restore on its own initiative with or without ecclesiastical approval, on the grounds that it is a national monument. Santo Domingo has an interesting point of contact with England. It lies in the *calle Defensa*, so-called from the defence of Buenos Aires against a British army under General Whitelock in the early nineteenth century. The church was a rallying point of the citizen defenders and contained several captured regimental flags.

When the state of emergency ended and the power officially reverted to the President and government, it was again clear that this involved some reservations. The anti-Church policy of the government was suspended. The decrees against the Church in respect of education are in abeyance, if they have not been already cancelled. Those arrested for supposed Catholic activity against the régime were freed. The tone became one of reconciliation and friendliness. Conversations have now taken place between the Papal Nuncio and other representatives of the Church and members of the government. This change of attitude may in part be a bowing before the storm. But it seems evident that the Army has imposed certain conditions as the price for its continued support. The most outspokenly anti-Catholic members of the government have resigned, among them Señor Borlenghi, Minister for the Interior, and Señor San Martin, Minister for Education, as also the chief of the police. With them has gone also Señor Vuletich, President of the C.G.T., whom I have mentioned more than once in this article. The men who have been in the main responsible for the campaign against the Church have had to be dropped. Again, it is the

army's price. It was therefore reasonably safe to prophesy that the anti-Church attitude of the government would not be maintained and that the government would now make great efforts for reconciliation. The attack or ' persecution '—for that in effect is what it was—has been abandoned, and the men who elaborated it have been its victims.

There remains the further question what consequences these upheavals will have in the long run for Perón and his movement. Their policies have failed or received a sharp defeat. Will they continue to be the dominant political element ? *Peronismo* means Perón. If he disappears from the scene, the movement will disappear with him. This does not signify that the social welfare measures introduced under his aegis will themselves vanish. Far from it. Once introduced they have to stay, and indeed, detached from their special political context, they were both necessary and good. The fact that Perón and the party rode to power on them does not invalidate their justice or their utility. There are one or two pointers which indicate a desire, stimulated by Army pressure and wide public opinion, to revert to more normal and constitutional methods of government. The leaders of the Radical Party have been approached on the subject of political co-operation, which they refuse to entertain except under fuller guarantees of political freedom than they have enjoyed during the past nine years. It is understood also that the amendment added to the Constitution in 1949 which made it possible for Perón to be elected to a second term of Presidency is to be repealed and that consequently Perón will automatically retire in 1958. The purpose of the original clause in the Constitution was to prevent just this development of a personal rule and personal party, such as had happened in Argentina under Rosas in the early nineteenth century and has occurred more recently with Perón.

Is it likely that the present detente in Argentine politics will involve a greater liberalization in economic policy? The Peronista régime has been one of tight State control. All financial operations are centralized so that the various banks are merely branches of the *Banco National*. Commerce has been impeded through the necessity of permits and leave to deal in foreign currency. A large governmental institute, I.A.P.I., has acted the part of a middleman in business relations, buying cheaply from the home producer and selling expensively abroad. One reason for dissatisfaction in Argentine is this crippling and restrictive economic policy that has proved disastrous.

Finally, I imagine that the attack upon the Church will encourage the growth of one feature which the government publicly resented. For underlying the Peronista dislike of *Acción Católica* and the influence of Catholic ideas within the Trades Unions was the fear of a possible Catholic political party. I have spoken of a current of Catholic democratic thinking analogous to movements in Europe like M.R.P. in France.

The clash between the régime and the Church will not only have alienated many Catholics who previously were in the main sympathetic towards it. It will have opened their eyes wider to the dangers of any arbitrary and absolute government. Perhaps the most striking political feature in Western Europe since the war has been the strength of democratic Catholic or more widely Christian parties, such as the Christian Democratic Union in the West German Republic and the *democristiani* in Italy. I think it very likely that a movement of this kind will develop, and perhaps rapidly, in Argentina.

Postscript.

During recent weeks the situation in Argentina has taken a new and unpleasant turn, though this does not appear to have issued in further direct attacks upon the Church. Absolute rulers and parties do not take kindly to criticism and constitutional opposition, and it is clear that Perón and the Peronistas have grown impatient with the policy of " pacification " and are making one final effort to re-establish themselves where they were prior to June. The methods of " pacification," imposed partly by army pressure, have been set aside. Perón's gesture of resignation, which was at once withdrawn because of the supposed acclaim by the C.G.T., was a manoeuvre designed to test how far the C.G.T. or, to be more exact, its leaders would support a new bid for absolute control. His subsequent speeches confirm the growing suspicion that he is now mentally and morally unfit for high office, and there exists a widespread conviction throughout the Argentina that there can be no genuine " pacification " until he abdicates or is removed. The broadcast talks allotted to opposition speakers revealed the extent to which extremist influence had penetrated into the C.G.T. and the infiltration of Communists into the press. Perón's latest measures have identified him more closely with the more extreme elements : whether as leader or instrument is maybe not so clear. *Peronismo* has now become a mask or cloak for individual ambitions that threaten disaster to a country rich in natural resources and to a people who deserve better political conditions. The new upsurge of violent speech and the threat of violent action may blow itself away like the *pampero* that races across the central provinces of Argentina, or it might gather to the dimensions of civil war. Much will depend upon the reality of the C.G.T. support for Perón, for there are considerable doubts about the genuine unity within that movement, and on the power of the army to maintain ultimate control. The present situation will not and cannot last. Either the extremists will assert themselves in fact as well as language, or *Peronismo* will have to make way for more orderly and responsible government.

Hungary: Satellite State

by JOSEPH SZÖVÉRFFY, D. ÈS L. (Budapest), DR HABIL. (FI)

TWO influences determined the nature of the new Hungary that emerged after the Russian occupation: the Russian forces and the policy of the Western Powers. To satisfy the wishes of the British and of the Americans, the Russians appointed a "Provisional Government." This consisted of a few generals of the Hungarian army who had gone over to the Russians and members of the Hungarian Communist Committee which had been fostered in Moscow for some twenty-five years. The Russians also set up a new Parliament: its members were recruited from unknown provincial civil servants in the Russian occupied area, nominees of the newly-formed Hungarian Communist Party (H.C.P.), some members of the scattered Social Democrats and delegates chosen by the Russians in an arbitrary way. In one small provincial town, Mako (the centre of the onion trade) farmers and onion merchants had come together a few months after the Russian occupation. The Russian commandant of the town was ordered to select thirty members for the new "parliament." To do so, he surrounded the market-place with his troops, put everybody found in the Square into lorries and transported them to the provisional capital, Debrecen (north-east of Budapest). The kidnapped party learned on arrival that they were appointed M.Ps. It is understandable that they showed little courage or skill in politics.

The Russian occupation opened up new aspects of life for us. Roads, railways and bridges were rebuilt by slave-labour, by people collected on the streets and driven to work. "Undressing" people on the streets was another unpleasant innovation. I saw this happen myself. Russian soldiers strolled along the streets at dawn in groups of three or four. In the streets, still unlit, they halted the passers-by, ordered them to undress and hand over all their garments. After this they released their victims naked. Next day, they sold the clothes on the black market and bought food and drink with the money. The only thing we could do was to shout in the hope of attracting a patrol. The newspapers, now printed under Russian control, reported thousands of cases, blaming hiding SS soldiers and Hungarian Nazis for the robberies.

The Western Powers urged the Soviets to allow some sort of political reconstruction and, as at this time the Russians could gain more by friendly relations with the West, five political parties were permitted to organize: the H.C.P. supported by the Russians, the Small Holders (before 1945 an opposition group in Parliament), the Social Democrats,

the Peasant Party (a mostly near-Communist farm-labourer organization), and the Liberals (a small group mainly supported by the Jews, the successor of the Radicals).

Communist propaganda tried to make clear that no real improvement could be expected unless they were to gain power. Rumour promised retaliation should the people decide otherwise. The Russian atrocities and the increasing number of political arrests by the Communist-sponsored political police convinced the people that this was not purely propaganda. The puppet Government and Parliament had no control over this independent and Russian-supported political police.

A few early attempts were made to set up a Catholic Party, but no official recognition was given and plans had to be dropped.

The first word of public criticism and protest against the intolerable conditions came from the Catholic bishops who issued a common Pastoral Letter in the Spring of 1945 deploring the atrocities and pointing out the moral responsibilities of individuals and of the community. This statement caused a sensation and led to popular protest. The only non-Communist party with some reasonable chance of success, the Small Holders, gradually became the main centre of resistance to Communism and to Russian policy.

Another event that increased the self-confidence of the Hungarian resistance was the gesture of the American authorities in restoring the relics of St Stephen, first King of Hungary, to the country. These had been taken (together with the " Holy Crown ") to Bavaria by the Germans early in 1945. They arrived at Budapest by plane on St Stephen's Day (20 August) and after the traditional procession led by the new Primate of Hungary, Joseph Mindszenty, thousands rushed to the headquarters of the American military mission to express their gratitude. I never saw a crowd show more enthusiasm. Everybody believed that this gesture marked America's intention of helping effectively to restore Hungary's independence. However, this was the last direct step taken by the United States on Hungary's behalf. Later lukewarm protest-notes did not result in changing Hungary's fatal course. The permanent appeasement policy of the Western Powers was exclusively responsible for the fact that Hungary and her neighbours were taken over by the Communists.

When the election preparations of the Communist Party were sufficiently advanced and the Russian political observers had come to the conclusion that the method of political pressure, rumours, and military terror exerted sufficient influence on the population, the Inter-Allied Control Commission headed by a Russian general announced that the Budapest corporation elections would be held in October 1945 and would

be followed by a general election. The Russians were sure that the Communist Party list would sweep the polls. The Western Powers could then raise no objections to Hungary's swift bolshevization.

But their hopes were short lived. The Communist Party did not win more than sixteen per cent. of the seats while the unorganized Small Holders gained some sixty per cent. The Russian reaction was prompt : they refused to accept any government unless all the democratic forces joined in it and the Communist Party declined to take part in the Government unless they were given control of the police force, local government, and a large section of the economic life of the country. The British and American representatives in the Control Commission could do no better than to advise us to yield. They offered the same advice at every later crisis and were never able to offer the least support to the anti-Communist parties.

As the Communists needed the assistance and experience of Hungarian business interests, their initial nationalization programme was a very limited one. However, they did push through Parliament an important bill changing Hungary's constitution from kingdom to republic. This step was absolutely unconstitutional as the Parliament had not been elected on this issue and had no special mandate to make this fundamental change.

Meanwhile the country's economic life declined rapidly. It is true that most of the factories were again rebuilt, but their increasing production had no effect on the standard of living of the population. There were several reasons for this : the Russian military government pressed the Hungarian Government to undertake " reparation deliveries " which were neither paid for nor registered with the Control Commission ; Russian state factories and firms gave orders to Hungarian factories, payments being made in raw materials but the payments were so low that they did not cover the current expenses of the factories involved ; the Communist Party's economic experts made a general drive to break down the country's capitalistic structure by artificially increasing the currency inflation, and by earning money for party machinery and propaganda by means of their own trading firms and banking concerns. Very few people abroad know that the Hungarian Communist Party took possession of a number of factories and firms, and controlled one central banking house with a number of minor affiliations. The guiding spirit in all these matters was Zoltán Vas.

This reckless follower of Russian policy came to Budapest as colonel of the Red Army (and a member of the Hungarian Communist Committee in Moscow) and took up a leading position in the new H.C.P. As head of the city corporation he dealt with a serious food shortage in characteris-

tic manner. From the Russian city commandant he obtained some hundred and fifty lorries. These, he announced, would bring food from the country for the starving city population. Next day the lorries disappeared, and later reappeared driven by Russian soldiers. They *really* transported food to Budapest, but Vas sold everything on the flourishing black market and the profit was shared by himself, the Russian officers involved and the H.C.P. The city was fed and Vas became a rich man.

One of the main objectives of the Communist Party was to create widespread corruption and to involve leading politicians in such scandals that it would become impossible for them to follow an independent policy. To create the necessary atmosphere and means of control, the H.C.P. set up a third police force (in addition to the ordinary security and the political police) called the " economic police " to control economic activities. These had to deal with economic offences and charges of corruption ; their special function was to collect evidence against leading members of the coalition.

By the middle of 1946 nearly all Hungarian factories were again working to full capacity, but the currency inflation continued to soar. A new trade organization, " West-Orient," was opened in the building of the Hungarian General Credit Bank. It was seemingly innocent and unpretentious but it became the controlling centre of Hungary's external trade. No export was possible without the consent of the " West-Orient " and nothing was imported without its co-operation. The difference between the inflated currency of Hungary and the foreign currencies was levelled by the transactions of the " West-Orient " which paid niggardly sums for Hungarian produce and sold them abroad at world market prices. The profit was divided among Communist supporters of the " West-Orient."

The Russians took over all assets belonging to German citizens or institutions in Hungary. Earlier, during the occupation of France, the Germans had compelled certain French concerns to sell their interests in Hungary at a nominal price. The Russians declared that these were German assets and now took possession of them. In this connection I took part in economic conferences with the Russian representatives concerning these firms. The talks proceeded through interpreters, although I found out that many Russians knew Hungarian. They never resembled normal trade talks ; they consisted only of Russian statements and orders. Though no account was ever taken of the Hungarian shareholders' objections, the conferences always ended in profuse banqueting with heavy drinking, caviars and endless toasts. It was no joke and no pleasure to be present on these occasions. Besides, nobody had a guarantee of safe return home from such " friendly " talks.

The crisis in Hungary's political life did not come as suddenly as one would imagine. It was the result of a carefully prepared time-table carried through by the H.C.P. on Russian instructions. It was greatly speeded up by the inert policy of the Western Powers and by the short-sighted and inept attitude of some Hungarian top-level politicians. The outstanding part played by Cardinal Mindszenty is not associated with party politics : it had a wider national function. He became the embodiment of Hungarian Christian traditions : that is why he was recognized as Hungary's real leader above party interests.

I worked for him for years and admired his simplicity, human greatness and stability. Before leaving the country, my last personal advice to him was that he, too, should leave at an appropriate moment, but he refused to do so. I knew that the Russians would not spare him, and I hoped that his presence in the West would keep the scattered Hungarian emigrants together and would help to open the eyes of the people abroad. But he felt it his duty to remain in Hungary.

The political parties reached a complete deadlock by the middle of 1946. The leaders of the majority party lost their popularity because of their policy of permanent appeasement. They paid no respect to Cardinal Mindzenty's stand. For his part, he disagreed with their readiness to make endless concessions often involving the sacrifice of moral principles. The people stood behind the Cardinal.

Certain elements dissatisfied with the policy of appeasement left the coalition. They organized a new parliamentary group. The rest of the right wing of the Small Holders showed similar leanings. Meanwhile Hungary was compelled to sign a humiliating peace-treaty which authorized the Russian armed forces to remain in Hungary until three months after the coming into force of the treaty with Austria. Every Hungarian anti-Communist hoped for a swift signing of this Austrian treaty. Preparations were made to eliminate Communist influence on the Russian departure from Hungary. But the treaty was signed too late. It did not come into force until July of this year (1955) ; by then the Russian grip on Hungary had been consolidated by building up the new political façade, supported by police and military forces of the H.C.P.

In 1946 the violence of the Communist political police became unbearable. Priests and civilians were arrested in increasing numbers ; concentration camps were opened for them. The Prime Minister and the Parliament had no control over these and several times I witnessed in Parliament violent outbreaks of indignation, the Small Holders' M.Ps. attacking the Communist Minister of Interior of their own coalition government. Every attempt failed. Some of the M.Ps. disappeared without trace. The situation did not improve.

One evening in early December 1946, I left a cultural meeting with some of my friends, partly higher civil servants and partly M.Ps. Next

day several of them were openly accused by the Communists of participating in an alleged conspiracy. Those without parliamentary immunity were soon arrested and forced to confess all sorts of crimes. The Secretary-General (leader of the right wing) of the majority party, Béla Kovács, was similarly accused. When the majority of the M.Ps. refused to sanction his arrest by the political police, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in Hungary personally arrested him. Against this there was no appeal. He was accused of spying and disappeared without trace. Soon afterwards, while the Prime Minister was visiting Switzerland, his Communist Deputy warned him by telephone not to return, but to resign. This he did.

The resignation of the Prime Minister took place during my visit to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1947. My experiences there made me feel that there was no hope for the full human life in Communist-ruled countries and I drew from them far-reaching conclusions. My impression still is that there was and is no difference between Tito's system and the Russian dictatorship. It is likely that one day Western advocates of friendship with Tito will discover this to their cost.

The Hungarian Parliament was dissolved that same summer. The majority party, now almost leaderless, lost its popularity. It faced the new election with little hope. In despair, the son-in-law of the President of the Republic (later hanged by the Communists) appealed to the Cardinal for help. In order to win full Catholic support he suggested that the Bishops should select a number of laymen as their representatives, and that these should be nominated as candidates of the Small Holders. The Cardinal rejected this suggestion, adhering to his principle of non-intervention, but he made it clear that if Catholics were prepared to stand for election as candidates of the Small Holders, they might do so. He himself did not favour such an alliance. I was called in by the Cardinal to give my personal views on the matter, together with two of my friends who were anxious to accept the offer. Personally I never joined any political party and had no intentions of giving up my principles in the matter. But apart from this, I felt it necessary to explain that in my view this step would lead nowhere. In the prevailing circumstances, by supplying such a list one would only render easier the work of the political police in making arrests. And even if elected, the Catholic M.Ps. could not change the situation : were they to resist the Communist policy in Parliament, they would share the fate of the Secretary-General of the Small Holders ; if they remained passive they would further the Communist cause by tacitly supporting them and by helping to give them the appearance of legality. The Bishops in their subsequent Pastoral issued a warning that they did not support *any* political party and did not wish to interfere in party politics.

One party, however, greatly profited from the rumours in this respect and its later fate completely proved the correctness of my views. This was the so-called Catholic party which owed its foundation and growth to my unfortunate friend, the famous Hungarian historian, Professor Julius Szekfu. He was offered the post of Hungarian Minister in Moscow in 1945 and at first declined the position. Under political pressure and influenced by his wife, he eventually accepted. In Moscow he came to believe in the peaceful intentions of the Soviets and became a foremost advocate of the policy of appeasement. In addition he came into conflict with Cardinal Mindszenty whose intransigent behaviour irritated him. Szekfu's following was small but a few short-sighted Catholic priests and politicians supported him. Some leaders of the Small Holders had feared from the very beginning that a strong Catholic party would end their supremacy. In order to break up Catholic unity they therefore favoured Szekfu's circle. The Hungarian government sent abroad one of the priests who were ready to collaborate (a man of great ability and of greater vanity whose ambition was to become Primate of Hungary), and he tried to convince high Catholic circles in the West that the Cardinal's attitude was harmful to the Church. I myself saw on the desk of the Prime Minister's secretary reports which verified this. The subject was dealt with openly in the Swiss newspapers. These accounts were supplemented by information received from the secretary of the Speaker of the Hungarian parliament who told me that Szekfu reported an interview in which he explained to Molotov that Hungarian Catholicism was truly represented by his own group and not by Cardinal Mindszenty. This was absolutely untrue.

Szekfu now set out to organize a new political party. Only his intimate associates knew that the party would not work in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic hierarchy. It would follow a policy of appeasement and cooperation.

This election (1947) brought a satisfactory result for the Communists. At the 1945 election only five parties were allowed to present candidates ; now, in order to disrupt the anti-Communist front, many more were permitted to do so. The Small Holders won instead of sixty per cent. only sixteen per cent. of the votes. The Socialists got roughly the same. Both joined the Communists in a coalition with a slight majority in parliament. The main opposition (anti-Communist) party was outlawed by the Communists soon after the opening of the parliamentary session, a step which was backed by the coalition partners. Thus in the autumn of 1947 the last trace of democratic liberty disappeared from Hungary's public life, but the new so-called Catholic party still remained in parliament, thereby fulfilling my forecast. They enabled the Communists to maintain while governing an appearance of constitutional democracy until the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty in December 1948.

Their party was then dissolved by the Communists ; many of its members were arrested or compelled to leave the country.

Since then Hungary has ceased to be independent. As a satellite state it is a true, if incomplete model of the Soviet Union. It faithfully copies every institution of the Soviet State, but its Communist government depends entirely on Russian army support. The people are oppressed and dissatisfied ; they eagerly await a complete change which cannot come about until the Russian troops leave the country.

Cardinal Mindszenty was arrested at a time carefully chosen by the Communists. After a vain attempt to involve him in a fatal motor accident they staged a campaign against his person and policy. They then felt that the West would show no real interest in the Cardinal's fate. He was therefore arrested. The government's main objective was to silence the last leader of the Hungarian people and by so doing to break their resistance. But the Communists were mistaken : the Western world reacted violently to this step and the Hungarian resistance subsequently grew stronger.

The chief characteristics of the present situation are : the republican constitution of 1946 is now a full-blown Soviet one. The so-called parliament elected without opposition at one-list elections has no influence on the political trend. All bills and orders are prepared by the Polit-Bureau of the H.C.P. which in turn receives every essential instruction directly from Moscow. The H.C.P. has no independent internal or external policy ; the struggle for leadership, which from time to time wells up in the party, concerns only the executive power. Besides, changes in the key positions must be sanctioned by Moscow.

All Catholic organizations are now suppressed. The single pseudo-Catholic journal is edited by Communists ; all newspapers are controlled by the Communist party. Catholic schools have been taken over by the state and their personnel dismissed. Religious orders were dissolved ; most of their members live in internment camps ; several bishops and a great many priests are in prison. Despite the recent " release " of the Cardinal there is no trace of a changing attitude towards the Catholic Church.

The government-sponsored " Peace Committee of the Hungarian Priests " is headed by two of my former friends, Richard Horváth, my Latin teacher at the Cistercian college, and Prelate Nicholas Beresztóczy. They have few followers. Beresztóczy was released from prison only on condition that he take up this post. His position is thus understandable. It is different with Horváth. As he was a close friend of our family I often had opportunity to notice that he had strange ideas concerning the development of Church doctrine. " The Church must develop " was his basic principle. At one time he was a well-known Catholic writer ; some intellectual fellow-travellers induced him to collaborate

with the Communists. When we escaped from Hungary and our flight was reported in the newspapers, Horváth wrote a leading article in *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation) in which without mentioning any names he referred to some close friends who had lately fled the country. He then explained his ideas concerning the duty of remaining in Hungary and of cooperating with the new regime. We read this article in Vienna and had every reason to assume that we were the persons to whom it referred. I believe that Horváth is determined to serve the Communists to the last and can find no excuse for him. His moral responsibility is particularly great as his Abbot, another old friend and teacher of mine, was sent to prison together with a number of his community.

The Hungarian judicial system and state administration are completely controlled by the Communists. Nearly everyone who had a responsible position was removed from it. All universities were closed and replaced by new ones ; professors were all dismissed. The position of party members is equally unsure as changes in the party leadership greatly affect the lower ranks of the party hierarchy.

The country's economic life is in a critical condition. The Communist party serves only Russia's interests and ruthlessly exploits Hungary's economy. Export trade with the West has almost ceased. Everything is exported to Russia or to other satellite states. All factories and practically the entire trade is already nationalized. Most of the factory experts were dismissed as capitalists and as a result production has been steadily decreasing. Ten thousand dismissed workers were deported from Budapest. The State officially favours collective farms instead of privately-owned ones, but the resistance of the country folk is so uncompromising that plans to increase the number of collective farms are progressing but slowly. The pressure on individual farmers resulted in lowering the food production and today there is a grave shortage of foodstuffs in Hungary, once Central Europe's main food exporter. Our country had never known such a shortage, even during the war years, except for the first four months of the Russian occupation.

Everyday life is at present under the strict control of the party and the political police. People are watched to see if they regularly attend party " training courses " and " democratic demonstrations " against the Western policy, etc. These are organized by the party committees. Workers are obliged to subscribe to state loans and to work overtime on " democratic " tasks such as the production of arms for North Korea and other Communist governments.

There is now little opportunity to leave the country, but it is estimated that earlier more than a hundred thousand emigrated. Mr Nehru stated

that he saw no Iron Curtain. His statement is a gross misrepresentation of the facts. Before leaving the country I read a government order in the Hungarian official *Gazetteer* concerning the establishment of this Curtain. Since my departure it has been completed : towers are erected at certain distances from each other ; barbed wire closes the whole border area ; mines are hidden in the earth ; patrols move around with dogs. Finally, what about the shooting down of commercial airliners along the borders of the Iron Curtain countries ? Is this a normal procedure in democratic countries ?

What will the future bring ? Will these countries, Hungary included, be liberated from the Russian yoke ? More than eighty million people in satellite countries are resisting Russian intimidation and pressure ; but how long can they resist without help or hope ? They cannot do so indefinitely. When the present generation dies out, resistance may decrease as happened in Russia, although the traditions and backgrounds of Hungary and Russia are basically different. Hungary's Catholicism and Protestantism have always linked the country with Western traditions instead of with Russian orthodox culture as was the case with Rumania. Nor does our national language allow of any intimate association with the Russian Pan-Slav ideology as did the Czech language. Europe will never be safe until the lost Central and Eastern European countries are restored to the community of Western nations. I am convinced that if Hungary and her neighbours are liberated, not only will their own interests be served, but safety will be brought to the whole Western world.

Conservatism in the United States

by DESMOND FENNELL, M.A.

WHEN on my first visit to America last year one of the most important and most definite impressions that gradually took shape in my mind was that " America is becoming more conservative every day." I had gone there with almost no prejudice and with the few commonplace ideas about America that fall to the lot of the average European. I let observation and the " feel " of the place do their work. I suppose, however, these few ideas were enough to make me surprised at the evidence of a growing conservatism, especially when I found it in the urban east and in influential sections of the Press. But I was not sufficiently familiar with American politics or constitutional history to be able to define this " conservatism " in any way. In fact it was not a political conservatism at all which I noticed. It was rather that in the substance and methods of education, in the family, in the relative standings of technology and the culture of the mind, in musical taste, in the relative standings of pragmatism and spirituality, materialism and religion, vigorous new currents were flowing towards the buttressing of traditional values and the assertion of the spiritual side of man. Of course, there is room within the dynamic physiology of American society for many simultaneous and even contradictory currents and these were by no means the only ones.

Ideas too, still move from east to west. I found for instance, in the sphere of education, in which I was particularly interested, that in the East these new conservative influences were making inroads on the tyranny of Deweyite pragmatism and progressive education, separating the permanently useful from the extraneous and artificial. On the other hand, the Dewey dogmatism seemed to be still in its hey-day in the Midwest, while in California progressive education was still gaily subjecting children to sunshine and happiness to see what would come of it. This visitor's personal impression does not of course suffice to define or even describe conservatism in America. Americans are constantly publishing books and articles on the " meaning of conservatism," and in discussions about politics they are constantly reminding each other, " It all depends what idea you have of a conservative."

Mr David Lawrence, editor of U.S. News and World Report, is a conservative who recently published in his journal an interview with Franco, which showed Spain to be a land of political freedoms and Franco a

ruler with less personal say in government than President Eisenhower. The Democratic voters in the South Eastern states form the conservative wing of the Democratic party. One of the leading exponents of Catholic conservatism in the press is the Brooklyn *Tablet.* It supported Senator McCarthy with apostolic fervour and usually adorns its references to Catholic " liberals " (such as those of *Commonweal*) with inverted commas. On the other hand, the Catholic popular monthly *Sign* in March carried a strong editorial attack on the " Ultra-conservative Catholics," meaning those who believe in an unalloyed individualism and regard the Papal encyclicals as socialist tracts, who oppose trade unionism on principle and are suspicious of all kinds of internationalism. In answer to the challenges which this editorial provoked, the journal replied in May with a public profession of its political faith, which it called " Progressive Conservativism." The Lions and the Elks, the American Legion and freemasonry are traditionally regarded as " conservative " bodies.

The Freeman is a conservative monthly magazine. It stands for free enterprise, low taxation, the strict limitation of central government, rugged individualism and distrust of the United Nations. (Except for the last point most Europeans would call this doctrinaire nineteenth-century liberalism or the School of Manchester ; but in America it passes for the most true-blue conservatism.) The editors of *The Freeman* are embarrassed by the other kinds of people who to-day are calling themselves or beginning to call themselves conservatives. In their July editorial " Conservatives conserve," they refused to rejoice over the Conservative victory in the English elections, because the English Conservative Party, like the Republican Party in America, has long ago betrayed conservatism. On the other hand they note with dismay in the U.S. " a nascent movement among Socialists—that is, New Dealers and self-styled liberals—to appropriate the Conservative label." Frank S. Meyer's article "Collectivism Rebaptised" deals with this phenomenon. He shows how the New Conservativism of such writers as Clinton Rossiter, Russell Kirk and Walter Lippmann in the last two years has thrown open the gate of the conservative camp to the " New Dealers and self-styled liberals." (The sea-change suffered by " liberalism " in America must not be forgotten. Instead of being associated with " individualism" it indicates a liking for what its opponents call " collectivism.")

Of these New Conservative writers Dr Russell Kirk is " undoubtedly the most significant." His book *The Conservative Mind* " precipitated the New Conservatism." The prominence of Dr Kirk as the leading intellectual exponent of contemporary conservatism is most disquieting for Mr Meyer—after all, what does Dr Kirk say of individualism ? Mr Meyer refuses to " imitate Dr Kirk's own arrogance when he

pontificates that 'individualism is anti-Christian'." Elsewhere in the same number *The Freeman* refers editorially to him as a "conservative liberal" (which, of course, is next thing to being a liberal liberal !)

The fact that both *The Freeman* and Dr Kirk should find common sustenance in De Tocqueville is perhaps merely an indication of De Tocqueville's amazing fecundity of thought. But both are also certain that political and social regeneration for America is to be drawn from the Federalist Papers and the other writings of the Founding Fathers. Dr Kirk in his *Conservative Mind* [1] takes his stand with Edmund Burke and John Adams, whom he recognizes as joint founders of that Anglo-American conservative tradition of which he is the historian and the continuer. His more recent intellectual ancestors are Irving Babitt and Paul Elmer More in America, W. H. Mallock in England.

Commenting on the conservative trend of political thought in America that began in the 'forties, Dr Kirk remarks : "for nearly fifteen years 'conservative' and 'conservatism' had been terms of amused condescension or of contempt, in a great part of the serious press and in most advanced circles, especially the large universities." He could have added that during these years conservatism sheltered under its name all the isolationism, all the doctrinaire individualism of Big Business and nearly all the chauvinism in America. This state of affairs has not, of course, changed overnight and Dr Kirk's work is a vindication of conservatism in an atmosphere where liberal ideas still hold sway in important sectors of education, the Press, politics and social planning and where conservatism is worst served by its professed friends. While *The Conservative Mind* is primarily a history of modern conservative thought in England and America, the author never allows the projection of this philosophy on to the conditions of present-day America to be lost from sight. But it is not a polemical work. Its main value lies in the series of excellent studies of the great conservative thinkers, many of them names almost as famous as Burke and Adams—Hamilton and Coleridge, Newman and Santayana ; others, Randolph and Calhoun, Orestes Brownson and Sir Henry Main, whose individual contributions are valuable but whose influence has been less far-reaching. Dr Kirk preaches no "New Conservatism" but calls urgently for a *renewed* conservatism to take over and invigorate the heritage of a spent liberalism, and to bring order, meaning and stability into a society caught by drift. His great fear is Leviathan, the planned state, the kid-gloved totalitarianism of standardization and mass-mind, De Tocqueville's "democratic

[1] Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind*. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1953.

despotism." Against this threat, Americans of conservative instincts—still the great majority of Americans, Dr Kirk believes—must rise to a plan of concerted action in defence of inherited liberties and the Constitution. However, it is only in his brilliant final chapter, " The Promise of Conservatism," that Dr Kirk deals at length with these contemporary problems.

The difference between *The Conservative Mind* and *A Program for Conservatives*[1] is obvious from the titles. The second book, while in general avoiding personalities and the taking of sides in minor political debates, attempts to supply a programme of conservative action to deal with the problems of " the Mind," " the Heart," " Social Boredom," " Community," " Social Justice," " Order," etc. This second book was called for by the unexpected success of the first and by challenges to the author to make clear his position. One of the results of the polemical nature of *A Program for Conservatives* is its pessimism in the description of the trends of American society. This pessimism is in contrast to the rather optimistic tone of the last chapter of *The Conservative Mind.* There the author's attitude seemed to be that American society enshrines many good and many fine things which are threatened by certain collectivistic trends, not seriously, but sufficiently to need conservative remedial and preventive action.

> The difficulty (of solving America's radical problems) is indeed great ; but it is not insurmountable. Americans possess the best written constitution in the world, the safest division of powers, the widest diffusion of property, the strongest sense of common interest, the most prosperous economy, an elevated intellectual and moral tradition and a spirit of self-reliance unequalled in modern times.

The greatest danger would appear to be simply the aimlessness of drift.

In *A Program for Conservatives* Dr Kirk is determined to make points and to the threats of future evils is added an impressive description of the present ills of American society. Rhetorical exaggeration is a legitimate form of political argument ; but it is exaggeration. Perhaps not equally legitimate but also part of the stock-in-trade of the polemical political philosopher is the comparison of the unadulterated bad of one system with the unadulterated good of another, the everyday reality of society with the untried blue-prints of reform. Sometimes Dr Kirk forgets that the use of these methods to excess can defeat their own ends, and conservatism has often suffered because conservatives have gained the reputation of being pessimists on principle. Of course, Dr Kirk is right

[1] Russell Kirk, *A Program for Conservatives.* Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1954.

in being aware that conservatives to-day must be unpopular with many, for they must fight against the drift and must seek to make men do obeisance again to eternal verities, which had long seemed completely irrelevant. But when unpopularity is inevitable it is a shame to let one's position be lightly impugned by charges of unfairness and rhetoric.

A Program for Conservatives is a vigorous book, written with conviction, love and indignation. Russell Kirk the man is revealed—well-versed in classical mythology, an " old-fashioned Puritan," a product of " the dissidence of dissent, the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." We find a lover of the Michigan countryside and of the Scotland his ancestors left, when they came to New England in the seventeenth century. He believes in " the unbought grace of life," the " contract of eternal society," and the wisdom of the American Constitution.

Conservatism and liberalism—both in its individualist and collectivist interpretations—served as the political poles of a disappearing society. The levels on which they have been most commonly compared are those of Faith and Reason, Tradition and Innovation. But in their deepest significance the difference stemmed from a theological one-sidedness. Conservatives believed in Original Sin and were led to make humility their great virtue. Liberals believed in the real possibility of the kingdom of God, secularized and come down on earth and their virtue was hope. Conservatism sinned by its spiritual sloth and liberalism by its overweening pride. Their political attitudes were reflections of these transcendental preferences. Conservatism sought to build the present carefully with the stuff of the past, liberalism worked on the stuff of the present to prepare the future.

By reason of its very nature, liberalism could gain favour on the short run and was doomed to lose on the long run. Liberalism dared to promise a rosy future to men and society. Conservatism promised nothing, but predicted disasters. It was shielded by the nature of things human, which condemns the most reasonable hopes to be disappointing in their realization. In the natural order, the premonition of evil is a safer wisdom than the expectation of good. This was the glory and the final weakness of liberalism.

In a way Dr Kirk is right when in *The Conservative Mind* he claims that conservatism has been continuous for nearly one hundred and sixty-five years while liberalism has been broken on the rocks of individualism and collectivism and has failed in the face of totalitarianism. But then even Dr Kirk allows that in the field of political realities the conservative parties in England and America have long abandoned a line of action

recognizably conservative. And if conservatism is regaining prestige in the sphere of political philosophy and theory, it must be remembered that it has the advantages of having being less put to the test than its opponents. Liberalism in its varying forms has been doctor and midwife at each new birth of our modern industrial society ; conservatism's role has been to grumble gloomily at the wench's fecundity or, at best, turn wet-nurse with as good a grace as dignity would allow. We must repeat that conservatism lit the future with no happy promises ; and sedentary wisdom that promises little and fears the worst is unlikely to be discredited in one hundred and sixty-five years or a thousand.

There are times, however, when men need hope and hope is awakened by promises. The Depression Years such a time were in America, when " New Dealers and self-styled liberals " climbed properly into the saddle. It is indeed my firm belief that liberalism with its buoyancy and high vision was what saved the situation, as I believe that the present wave of violent self-criticism and conservative warnings are the best possible tonics for American society at the dizziest heights of material prosperity and a proof of its fundamental health and subtle equilibrium. What is fatal is when an age of material prosperity, such as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe, is pampered by a philosophy of untempered optimism.

The writings of Burke and his intellectual followers contain many of the eternal truths of political and social man, truths above party. However, let us look at some historical facts. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the greatest and most sudden change in the history of man upon the earth was under way in Europe. An unprecedented increase in population accompanied tremendous advances in the natural and applied sciences. In the last hundred and fifty years the countryside has been deserted and there has emerged a vast urbanized culture, heterogeneous, and outstripping in its growth the development of a new sense of community. This, along with universal education, improved communications and a great increase in material wealth, has changed the face of the world. If conservatism as a body of political wisdom was intrinsically capable of absorbing the shock of these vast changes and guiding them along traditional paths, the conservatives certainly failed in the task. The simple historical fact is that they did not prove themselves the men of the moment. Reading some of their writings as presented to us by Dr Kirk, one is driven to ask " *Could* they have been the men for the occasion ? " There is so much nostalgia in these pages, so much hankering after the fields and hedgerows, a leisured, gentlemanly culture and the healthy peasant virtues, so much sensitive abhorrence of the new age with its great industrial cities, its masses of vulgar proletarians, its heaping

up of material wealth. Whatever the excellence of their political philosophy, could these men have been fit leaders of the new age when they were fundamentally lacking in sympathy with it? It was surely natural that these rough new forces and new men, pioneering on the frontiers of history beyond the reach of tradition, hungry for status and recognition, should turn to those who eagerly accepted them, with all their crudity, as the prophets of a new millenium.

In general, Dr Kirk accepts the world we live in, not always enthusiastically perhaps, but manfully. Yet he is not above reflecting sadly on our modern ideas of happiness after watching a woman with her little boy hoeing at sunset beside their shack in a remote part of Michigan. I read this in the heart of Castile, and, looking up from the book, could see not one but several women bending over the arid ground. I knew that for miles and miles across the expanse of Spain women like them were bending to the hoe as their mothers and grandmothers bent and their daughters will bend. It is easy to despise Suburbia with its shiny kitchens and neat flower gardens ; a woman bending over a hoe is much richer symbol for the cultured mind, above all in an urbanized civilization where raw nature is less in evidence than the technical skill of man. But if we are to influence our own times, we must have sympathy with our own times and one of the realities that must be known and assimilated by to-day's conservatives is the burning materialistic dreams of the common people, ancient dreams that perhaps only in our time in our part of the world have passed from the realm of the subconscious and the habitual to the realm of the conscious and the urgent. At last these people find it really within their reach to get free of the ancestral treadmill, which once seemed their divinely predestined habitat. They have vistas of an easier and surer life that will take away the pangs of uncertainty and treat more kindly their youth and old age and their human comeliness.

Undoubtedly, Dr Kirk's greatest bogies are " Education for Democracy " and Demos. So important does he consider education as a battleground between the American heritage and its despoilers that he has written a book on Academic Freedom[1], which carries his conservative principles into the very concrete field of higher education in the United States to-day. It is the most polemical of his books and takes a definite position on many practical issues in the sphere of American universities and colleges during the last few years. He is battling for the higher freedom of the Academy in face of narrow pragmatism, arbitrary administrators, educational levelling and the cult of the People. He makes it clear that Academic Freedom is not only something to be claimed by the Academy but something which Academicians must earn. This they

[1] Russell Kirk, *Academic Freedom.* Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1955.

will do by being faithful Bearers of the Word, by seeking the truth in a spirit of fearlessness and veneration. The betrayal of this trust brings disasters upon them and upon society.

The principles of liberal education and the rights and duties of the professor, which Dr Kirk enumerates, seem platitudinous. His affirmation of them can only be understood against the background of mass-education and Deweyite pragmatic dogmatism which have clamped down on many fields of American education, and in the light of the amazing incidents from American academic life which he relates.

Education is a conservative battlefield *par excellence,* because it is there in our modern society that such qualities as religious reverence, respect for tradition, moral leadership and freedom of mind can be inculcated. In important sectors of American education to-day, there is a tendency to produce mental shallowness, a moral conformism (the How-to-be-Popular approach), and an intellectual equipment purely practical and circumstantial in its orientation.

Demos must be kept within bounds. It is this conviction which has led Mr Lippman, too, to express his grave misgivings about the present state of the Western democracies. Dr Kirk, echoing Burke, pleads eloquently for the rights of " the little platoon " within society as the best protection against the capricious General Will become incarnate in a gentle democratic despot. Hold on to your local institutions, resist centralization and simplification, he warns. The levelling instinct is the enemy of freedom, the atomizer of society. Society needs status urgently, a new aristocracy of moral influence and professional skill to intervene between the mass of citizens and the central power.

Dr Kirk devotes many pages of *A Program for Conservatives* to criticizing the methods and conclusions of a book by Mr David Riesman called *The Lonely Crowd.* This work has had wide repercussions in the whole field of speculative politics and the social sciences in America. It is a study of the changing American character, especially of the change from the " inner-directed " individualist type of the nineteenth century to the " other-directed " or eagerly conforming type emerging in present-day America. Dr Kirk, however, fails to mention a feature of American society which Mr Riesman discusses at length and which is a real protection against that " massification " and subsequent democratic despotism which Dr Kirk dreads. It is one of those subtle, equilibrating, totally unpremeditated institutions which American society, like a healthy organism, seems constantly to be producing for its own protection. I refer to what Mr Riesman calls the " veto groups." These are " minority

groups, ethnic groups, interest groups "—" the Catholics, the Methodists, the organized morticians, the state department, the southerners, the Jews, the doctors "—each with its own internal politics and power struggles, all manoeuvring for advantageous positions and exercising their power of veto and their power of lobby behind the scenes of formal politics. Mr Riesman believes that the leadership of society, formerly exercised by the " business ruling class," has gone over to these groups. That this spontaneous organization of American society acts as a valuable buffer between the individuals and the central political power—whether this power resides in the Executive or in Congress—there can be no doubt. The well-known and effective lobbying of the " veto groups " in Congress can even be said to represent the *de facto* American Upper House. It supplies adequately and subtly that responsible representation of the nation's corporate interests which is the function of an Upper House and which the American Senate fails to supply. (It fails because the Senate is elected on the basis of an artificial equalizing of the individual state interests—two Senators per state regardless of the state's objective importance—and because the nomination and election of the Senators is a matter of party politics.)

" During the remaining half of the present century, the principal endeavour of intelligent conservatives is likely to be resistance to the idea of a planned society," says Dr Kirk in the final chapter of *The Conservative Mind*. He is aware that " simple expostulation and lamentation will not suffice to impede the growth of *Plannwirtschaft*." Most thinking conservatives realize to-day that conservativism while really *conserving* must henceforth be active, aggressive and reformatory in a positive sense, if it is to have any more effect on the course of history than that of the rearguard delaying action to which it has long been committed. It must step outside and beyond that dilemma between " cynical pessimism on one hand and adulation of ' the people ' on the other " of which Professor W. L. Burn, one of the most " actively " minded conservatives of to-day, writes. *Thinking* conservatives are indeed urgently required. The great exponents of the tradition have been men of powerful thought ; but too often those great conservative prerogatives, sentiment and prejudice (in its noble Burkean sense) have been left to fight conservatism's battles alone. " It is no longer possible to wave aside the modernists as the mere noisy insects of an hour or to oppose to an unsound activity of intellect mere solidity and imperviousness to thought—the great cattle chewing their cud in the shadow of the British oak," wrote Irving Babitt, New Englander by choice and adoption.

It is by no means without significance that within the same two years that Dr Kirk published his confident and assertive vindications

of conservatism, Mr Walter Lippman, a leading light of American liberalism, should publish his misgivings on the course of the Western democracies and call for a return to the measure and discipline of the Founding Fathers ; and that Mr Max Eastman, prominent ex-socialist, should publish his *Failure of Socialism.*

Conservatism's new opportunity calls for high powers of the imagination. It is nothing less than the acceptance into the bosom of the Western tradition of the tremendous changes that shook it during the past hundred and fifty years. This means primarily the spiritual assimilation of the great revolution of Matter. Creatively, it means the forging of new concepts of Tradition and Community, not dependent, as were the tradition and community of old, on permanent material forms and the immobility of persons. The new sense of Tradition and Community must be capable of giving men spiritual stability and the consciousness of belonging, in a world where constant material transformation and physical mobility are first postulates.

The Bird as Symbol: Hopkins's Windhover

by DENIS DONOGHUE, M.A.
Department of English, University College, Dublin

IN 1879 Hopkins referred to *The Windhover* as " the best thing I ever wrote "[1]: this opinion is shared by most of his critics. My own view is that *The Windhover* is not his best poem: it is not as good as, say, *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves*, *The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo*, or *Felix Randal*. This is not a point I wish to argue here and now: a more urgent concern is the possibility that *The Windhover* and, indeed, Hopkins's poetry as a whole, have been to some extent overrated by modern critics.

It is common knowledge that Hopkins's poems aroused practically no critical interest until about 1926, when brief studies by I. A. Richards and other critics began to appear in periodicals such as *The Dial*. The publication of the second edition of the *Poems* in 1930, however, greatly accelerated critical activity and the rush started. For some years now he has been a Standard Poet: Dr Leavis considers him the greatest poet of the Victorian Age. Similarly, for many years he has been given the degree and kind of critical attention which the literary quarterlies have been lavishing on Mann, Proust, Kafka, Yeats and Joyce. It is fair to say that in the most serious considerations of his poetry *The Windhover* is accorded the same kind of central significance which in Yeats is represented by the Byzantine poems and in Faulkner by *The Bear*. *The Windhover* is therefore the obvious starting-point for an examination of Hopkins's position in relation to contemporary criticism.

THE WINDHOVER

To Christ Our Lord

I caught this morning morning's minion, king-
dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon, in his riding
Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding
High there, how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing
In his ecstasy! then off, off forth on swing,
As a skate's heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend: the hurl and gliding
Rebuffed the big wind. My heart in hiding
Stirred for a bird,—the achieve of, the mastery of the thing!

[1] *The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges*: edited by Claude C. Abbott (Oxford, 1935, p. 85).

Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume, here
Buckle ! AND the fire that breaks from thée then, a billion
Times told lovelier, more dangerous, O my chevalier !
No wonder of it : shéer plód makes plugh down sillion
Shine, and blue-bleak embers, ah my dear,
Fall, gall themselves, and gash gold-vermilion.

The first point to notice is that the poem is dedicated " To Christ Our Lord " : this fact has led certain critics to assume that the poem is *addressed* to Christ,[1] that the ' chevalier ' is Christ,[2] or that the windhover is Christ. Eleanor Ruggles, for instance, writes :

> The beauty and valor of the winging falcon are Christ's own beauty and valor in an unthinking and finite form. Thus in a sense the windhover is Christ. Christ is the windhover.[3]

I cannot help protesting that this interpretation seems to me to be totally unjustified. Christ is not mentioned in the poem : furthermore, no aspect of the poem, apart from the dedication, has any explicitly religious reference. The most probable explanation seems to me that after Hopkins had written *The Windhover* he decided that it was his finest poem and for that reason he dedicated that achievement " To Christ our Lord " : the dedication, not the composition, of the poem was a religious act. Indeed, Fr Peters has pointed out that the dedication of the poem was added " about six years after it had been written."[4]

The point has some importance. It seems clear to me that the total meaning of a poem should be conveyed by the poem itself. We may be aided in our understanding by certain items of information concerning the poem, its author, its context, etc., but in the final analysis any meaning which a poem has is contained in the text itself. Christ is not mentioned in *The Windhover* : yet Dr Schoder writes :

> The structure and meaning of ' The Windhover ' can, I suggest, be stated thus : the sudden vision of a hawk pluckily and joyfully battling with the elements seizes upon the poet's mind and, becoming a symbol of the Christian knight valiantly warring against evil, stirs him from a timid and reluctant state of soul to resolutions of heroic deeds in the more active service of Christ in advancing the Kingdom among men ;

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[1]F. N. Lees : " The Windhover " : *Scrutiny*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (1950), p. 32.
[2]Oswald Couldrey in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 24 September, 1954.
[3]Eleanor Ruggles : *Gerard Manley Hopkins* (W. W. Norton Co. Inc., 1944, p. 156).
[4]*Times Literary Supplement*, 29 October, 1954.

> for he sees that this will make his life more noble, more glorious and exciting than the cautious reserve of a self-nursing and commonplace Christian existence. He then confirms his resolution to brave the wounds of more aggressive crusading for Christ by noting further natural instances, analogous to the energetic bird, where toil and pain also result in augmented splendour.[1]

This is ' interpretation ' with a vengeance and, as far as I can find, quite unwarranted by the text.

The octet of the sonnet is a description of a windhover in flight. A windhover is a kestrel, a small hawk noted for turning its head into the wind and hovering in the same position by beating its wings very quickly: hence the appropriateness of " his riding/Of the rolling level underneath him steady air." H. Marshall McLuhan finds special significance in the reference to " morning's minion, king-/dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon " :

> To a member of a militant order whose founder was a Spanish soldier or chevalier, the feudal character of the opening imagery is quite natural. ' Minion,' ' dauphin,' ' valour,' ' plume ' and ' buckle ' alike evoke the world of dedicated knighthood and shining panoply of armor. Thus the mounted chevalier flashing off exploit as he ' rung upon the rein ' enables Hopkins later to reverse the situation with great dramatic effect in ' sheer plod makes plough down sillion Shine.' The paradox consists in the fact that Hopkins as lowly plowman following a horse flashes off infinitely more exploit than Hopkins the imagined chevalier.[2]

The lines do not need this reading and will not sanction it. The minion-dauphin imagery establishes a certain relationship between the falcon and the morning, a relationship in which part of the total brightness-activity of morning (' daylight ') is shared by the bird, just as some part of the splendour and glory of medieval kingship is reflected in the King's ' dauphin ' or even in his ' minion.' The relationship is emphasized, of course, in the near-repetition ' morning morning's minion.'

On the whole, the octet presents little difficulty. ' Dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon ' means that the bird is charmed into activity by the dappled colouring of the dawn : the primary meaning of ' rung ' in line 4 (despite Geoffrey Grigson) is the act of spiral-climbing in falconry (N.E.D. v. 1. b.). The only point of difficulty in the interpretation of this part of the poem arises in ' My heart in hiding/Stirred for a bird.' Dr Schoder writes :

> ' In hiding ' from something it fears, from the bitter implications of life and from Christ's insistent challenge to a more heroic plane of activity.[3]

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[1]Raymond V. Schoder : " What does The Windhover mean ? " : *Immortal Diamond, studies in Hopkins* : edited by Norman Weyand, S.J. (Sheed and Ward, 1949, p. 284).

[2]H. Marshall McLuhan : " The Analogical Mirrors " : *Gerard Manley Hopkins*, by the Kenyon Critics. (Dennis Dobson, 1949), p. 28.

[3]Schoder, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

William Empson's view is :

> ' My heart in hiding ' would seem to imply that the *more dangerous* life is that of the Windhover, but the last three lines insist it is *no wonder* that the life of renunciation should be the more *lovely*.[1]

Here for once Professor Empson has, I think, misread a poem, and his comments on *The Windhover* in *Seven Types of Ambiguity* are the least convincing pages in a book for which I retain great admiration. ' My heart in hiding/Stirred for a bird' primarily expresses a sense of inadequacy and weakness in the poet, aroused by the sight of the bird's positive strength and activity, ' the achieve of, the mastery of the thing!' This is as much significance as the words will carry, and it is enough : it relates the bird to the observer-poet and gives the poem's analogies a specifically human reference.

All the real difficulties of the poem are concentrated in the sestet. What does ' buckle ' mean ? Is it indicative or imperative ? Who or what is addressed as ' my chevalier ' ? What is the point of the last three lines ? W. H. Gardner takes ' buckle ' as an imperative in the sense of ' enclosing within the belt of the Jesuit rule ' and identifies the ' chevalier ' with Christ.[2] John Pick interprets ' buckle ' as meaning ' to collapse, to cave in ' :

> It is in the act of ' buckling ' when the windhover swoops down, when its flight is crumpled, when ' brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume ' in an act of self-immolation send off a fire far greater than any natural beauty.[3]

In Professor Empson's analysis :

> ' Buckle ' admits of two tenses and two meanings : ' they do buckle here ' or ' come, and buckle yourself here ' ; ' buckle ' like a military belt, for the discipline of heroic action, and ' buckle ' like a bicycle wheel, ' make useless, distorted, and incapable of its natural motion.' ' Here ' may mean ' in the case of the bird,' or ' in the case of the Jesuit ' ; ' then ' ' when you have become like the bird,' or ' when you have become like the Jesuit.' ' Chevalier ' personifies either physical or spiritual activity, Christ riding to Jerusalem, or the cavalryman ready for the charge ; Pegasus, or the Windhover.
>
> Thus in the first three lines of the sestet we seem to have a clear case of the Freudian use of opposites, where two things thought of as incompatible, but desired intensely by different systems of judgments, are spoken of simultaneously by words applying to both ; both desires are thus given a transient and exhausting satisfaction and the two systems of judgment are forced into open conflict before the reader.[4]

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[1]William Empson : *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. (Chatto and Windus, second edition, 1953), p. 225.

[2]W. H. Gardner : *Gerard Manley Hopkins, 1844-1889 : A study of poetic idiosyncrasy in relation to poetic tradition*. (Secker and Warburg, two volumes, 1944). Vol. I, p. 181.

[3]John Pick : *Gerard Manley Hopkins, Priest and Poet*. (Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 71.

[4]Empson, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

It seems to me that the feeling behind the first three lines of the sestet is the poet's desire that the spontaneous, independent, thoughtless activity symbolized by the falcon should be directed to some definite goal or purpose : the feeling that this power should be *used* to some end. With this in mind, Hopkins addresses, not the bird itself, but those elements which constitute its impressive activity, ' Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air, pride, plume ' : addressing these, the poet commands them ' here/Buckle,' that is, ' to prepare self for a contest or undertaking,' to join together for purposeful action. The ' thee ' of line 10 and the ' chevalier ' of line 11 are therefore the bird itself in each case, not, as Dr Schoder would have it, ' the poet himself ' and the poet's own heart ' as crusading knight of Christ,' respectively. In line 11 the bird is invoked as ' chevalier ' (i.e., soldier) in keeping with its new purposed activity, militant and positive as I have outlined it. I suggest that this interpretation (*a*) does no violence to the grammar or syntax of the lines, (*b*) avails itself of an accepted meaning of ' buckle,' (*c*) takes account of the new movement of poetic action implied in the passage from octet to sestet, and (*d*) gives ascertainable significance to the words ' lovelier, more dangerous ' in line 11.

To come now to the last three lines of the sonnet :

> No wonder of it : shéer plód makes plough down sillion
> Shine, and blue-bleak embers, ah, my dear,
> Fall, gall themselves, and gash gold-vermilion.

' Sillion ' is an archaic spelling of ' selion ' which means a strip of land between furrows dividing plots in the open field system ; it does not mean the furrow itself, as some critics have assumed, but this is a small point : if the poem seemed to need the minor dislocation of meaning which ' furrow ' involves, I would be quite ready to allow it. In any event I do not feel that the word ' sillion ' contains any particularly relevant meanings or associations beyond the primary one suggested, and I suspect that the choice of the word was largely influenced by its alliterative kinship with ' sheer ' and ' shine,' and also by its rhyming relationship with ' billion ' in line 10 and the last two syllables of ' gold-vermilion ' in line 14.

Some critics have been bothered by an ambiguity as to the subject of the verb ' Shine.' Yvor Winters writes :

> The question is this : does Hopkins mean to say that the sheer plodding of the plowman makes the plow shine as it goes down the furrow, or does he mean to say that the plowed-down earth is made to shine ? If the first meaning is correct, then ' plough ' is a noun and should have an article ; if the second meaning is correct, then ' plough ' is a past particle incorrectly spelled for the sake of euphony. The first of these licenses, though awkward, is common, not only in Hopkins but in other poets ; the second would be violent and unlikely in any other poet, but

> is plausible enough in Hopkins. Pick believes that the earth shines and not the plow, and I agree with him because of the natural detail which is described : the plow does not gain polish in plowing, it loses polish, for a certain amount of earth adheres to it ; but the freshly turned earth has a shining surface until the dampness dries or the surface for other reasons begins to crumble.[1]

The question is not of any great importance unless we wish to accuse Hopkins of disordered syntax : my reading of the disputed word agrees with that of Pick, Winters and Empson,[2] but I do not think the interpretation of the tercet is greatly affected one way or the other. Incidentally, it has been suggested that ' sheer ' in line 12 means ' perpendicular '[3] but I can find no advantage in this notion.

According to my interpretation, the last three lines are a final statement on the idea of purpose or direction which, I have suggested, is the theme of the poem as a whole and of the sestet in particular. The one element in common to the shining, ploughed earth and the gold-vermilion embers of fallen coals is that both conditions are the result of direct, positive Use : the land is being used to a purpose, so are the coals ; hence the shine and the redness. But land and embers are mere passive material with none of the active powers of the bird : it is ' no wonder,' therefore, that when all the elements which constitute the bird's power and beauty are envisaged as coming together for a purpose, ' the fire that breaks from thée then ' may be described as ' a billion/Times told lovelier, more dangerous.'

I should draw attention to two points about the interpretation of *The Windhover* which I have offered ; first, it is a reading which does not employ any information from Hopkins's other poems or letters or from his biography : furthermore, like the poem, the interpretation does not mention Christ. These and other deliberate restrictions may appear eccentric, but I regard them as particularly necessary in the present case in view of the mileage which critics have put between themselves and the poem by their glosses, interpretations and commentaries. If *The Windhover* is a good poem it will be found meaningful even by a reader who does not know that its author was a Jesuit : as far as possible, in my interpretation of the poem, I have placed myself in the position of such a reader. Other critics may, if they wish, continue to read the poem as a gloss on St Ignatius Loyola, St John of the Cross or Fray Luis de Leon.

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[1] Yvor Winters : ' The Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins (II) ' : *The Hudson Review*, Vol. II, No. 1. Spring 1949, p. 68.

[2] *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 October, 1954.

[3] Frederick L. Gwynn : ' Hopkins's *The Windhover* : a new simplification ' : *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 66 (1951), p. 369.

Critics have spent so much energy and ingenuity on the elucidation of *The Windhover* that they have seldom proceeded to that act of evaluation which in the final analysis justifies their labours. The essential critical task remains : to assess the poem's value. Even Dr Leavis, in one of the most influential essays yet written on Hopkins,[1] contents himself with an approving reference to Empson's comments on the poem (which, of course, are not evaluative at all). To put the matter quite bluntly : few critics have given any persuasive reasons (apart from mere assertion) for regarding *The Windhover* as a great or completely successful poem.

In my opinion, *The Windhover* is seriously defective in that it depends on an inadequate symbol[2] : whether we accept the majority-view that the bird is a symbol of Christ or, as I believe, that the bird is a symbol of Energy, we are still faced with the difficulty that the more we think of the falcon the less effective its service as symbol becomes. True, it *is* a bird, it can fly, and as such it readily offers itself as an outlet for man's pathetic desire to rise above his puny, earthly self : but that does not make *The Windhover* a good poem any more than it redeems Shelley's *To a Skylark* from enormous and fundamental defects. Yvor Winters is quite right to draw attention to

> the pathetic fallacy which occurs in Hopkins's reading of his own ecstasy into an action which for the bird was merely a routine matter of business.[3]

The falcon can easily be accepted as a conventionally adequate post-Romantic symbol of Energy, but I see no reason why we should sidestep the obvious fact that it is Energy at its most destructive, most vicious. To accept the windhover without sheer blasphemy as a symbol of Christ one would have to ignore the plain fact that the bird is a bird of prey, that when it dives it does so not just for the sheer ' ecstasy ' of animal activity. This consideration may sound criminally prosaic, but I am prepared to take the risk. My main objection to the windhover as symbol is that it requires the reader, if he is to find it coherent and meaningful at all, to exclude from his awareness one of the bird's most obvious and dominant characteristics, namely, its destructive intent. The reader is required to be keenly aware of the falcon's *activity*, and yet at the same time to ignore the destructive *nature* of that activity. The symbol is therefore inefficient in that an inescapable part of its reference works *against* those aspects towards which attention is directed by the poem's violent rhythm. This defect seems to me to be of some

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[1] F. R. Leavis : *New Bearings in English Poetry.* (Chatto and Windus. 1950 edition).

[2] In this sentence and throughout the essay I use the word symbol to mean " any device whereby we are enabled to make an abstraction " (Susanne K. Langer : *Feeling and Form.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953, p. xi and Chapter 20, *passim*).

[3] Winters, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

significance : the compulsory intellectual act of excluding from consideration those aspects of the falcon's nature which oppose the rhetorical tendency of the poem seriously weakens the poem's coherence and validity. Perhaps the best way to clarify the issue is to invite attention to a poem which is coherent in precisely the respect in which *The Windhover* is *not* : a fair example, and one which is conveniently brief, is Quarles's poem *On the Needle of a Sun-Dial* :

> Behold this needle ; when the Artick stone
> Had touch'd it, how it trembles up and down ;
> Hunts for the Pole ; and cannot be possest
> Of peace, until it find that point, that rest :
>
> Such is the heart of Man : which when it hath
> Attain'd the virtue of a lively Faith,
> It finds no rest on earth, makes no abode,
> In any Object, but his heav'n, his God.

Clearly, the needle is not a symbol, it is rather an analogical instrument which enables the poet to make a certain ' statement,' and therefore the comparison is not absolutely valid : but I merely wish to point out that for a coherent reading and full appreciation of the Quarles poem the reader need not ignore or repress any aspect of the object on which the spiritual analogy is based : no part of that object works *against* the poem's intent as the essentially destructive nature of Hopkin's falcon works *against* the verbal and rhythmical intent of *The Windhover*. Quarles's analogy is therefore more efficient, more valid than Hopkins's symbol. (I need hardly emphasize that in placing these two poems together I am making no overall qualitative implication whatever).

There are, of course, incidental phrases and effects in *The Windhover* which we may legitimately enjoy and admire : for instance, in line 5, the phrase ' then óff, óff fórth on swing ' (the stress-markings are mine), seems to me to be a striking example of rhythm at the service of meaning. But this kind of success remains incidental in the poem and can be enjoyed only as one of a number of delightful fragments in a poem which is, I submit, fundamentally defective.

In conclusion, I must confess that I regard the present condition of Hopkins-criticism as very unsatisfactory. Too many of his critics are tempted to substitute a religious gloss for a critical examination of the poems. Furthermore, in the few cases in which a serious limitation or defect in Hopkins's poems has been pointed out, the consequential critical job of modifying the current assessment of the poet has been shelved.[1] Here is a significant and characteristic example : in his essay, ' Instress of Inscape,' Austin Warren writes :

[1] In this as in many other respects Yvor Winters is the exception which proves the rule.

> In Hopkins's poems, the word, the phrase, the local excitement, often pulls us away from the poem. And in the more ambitious poems . . . ' The Wreck,' ' Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves,' ' Nature is a Heraclitean Fire ' . . . there is felt a discrepancy between texture and structure : the copious, violent detail is matched by no corresponding mythic or intellectual vigour. . . . ' The Bugler Boy ' and other poems suffer from the gap between the psychological naivete and the purely literary richness. To try prose paraphrases of the middle poems is invariably to show how thin the thinking is. Hopkins's mind was first aesthetic, then technical : he thought closely on metaphysical and prosodic matters : his thinking about beauty, man and Nature is unimpressive.[1]

These are serious statements and yet, even after making them, Professor Warren does not proceed to suggest a re-assessment of the poet. In fact, he does not show the slightest sign that he is unhappy with the general estimate of Hopkins by critics such as Dr Leavis, Dr Gardner and Professor McLuhan : and it will be recalled that the last-mentioned critic regards *The Windhover* as a better sonnet than any by Shakespeare or by Donne.

As I see it, therefore, a revaluation of Hopkins is urgently necessary now that the post-1930 rush has had time to settle down. My own reading of Hopkins suggests that his achievement is that of an astonishingly gifted but unequal poet : he is the author of brilliant fragments, but his completely successful poems are very few. Everything that Dr Leavis says about Hopkins's use of language is true of a phrase here, a line there, a rhythm in such-and-such a poem : but no complete poem achieves continuous success on that level. The case for Hopkins is not well served by invoking comparisons with Shakespeare and Donne. The assertions made in this paragraph are meant only to indicate the kind of assessment which I believe ought to apply to Hopkins : at a later stage I hope to offer evidence (from poems other than *The Windhover*) in support of that view.

[1] *Gerard Manley Hopkins.* By the Kenyon Critics, supra.

The Rôle of Economic Analysis in Agricultural Policy

by JAMES J. BYRNE, M.A., M.SC., LL.B.
Lecturer in Economics, University of Dublin

THE economic instability of this century has obliged most countries to formulate policies of assistance, regulation or control for agriculture, and there is every likelihood that the need for such policies will continue. During the depression and again during the war and immediate post-war years, public intervention in agricultural affairs was readily accepted because of the exceptional problems which these periods produced. But even in the more normal conditions of to-day there is no indication that agriculture can afford to free itself from State help, lead an independent existence and deal successfully with the difficulties that beset it. Much of the stability it enjoys springs from the functioning of governmental apparatus, and problems connected with production and distribution seem to call for further State action. The future development of agriculture suggests more rather than less public administration if it is to escape dislocation, and as long as the industry requires a prescribed policy it is important to realize that effective policy must be grounded on economic analysis.

Two of the major problems affecting agriculture are income instability and inequality of income distribution. Because agricultural production is largely stable, income follows the trend in prices and reflects their erratic behaviour. In industry output takes the strain of sudden changes in economic prosperity so that when income falls the decrease is more attributable to a contraction of output than to a drop in price. Since prices exert a prime influence on the level of agricultural income, guaranteed prices have been demanded as the obvious answer to income instability, but despite its attractive simplicity the solution does not necessarily meet the problem. According to economic analysis prices have functions to perform other than the distribution of income over time and among people. They allocate resources to the most productive employments and distribute output smoothly and efficiently to the consuming markets, internal and external. A guaranteed price takes no account of these functions and thereby ignores the basic regulatory mechanism of a free economy.

Economic analysis when applied to the problems of income instability endeavours to uncover the influences which cause prices to gyrate. The drop in agricultural prices during a general depression, for example,

is mainly due to the failure of the non-agricultural sector to maintain its previous volume of purchases. If output remains stable and demand falls, prices drop. In such conditions guaranteed prices are the reverse of an appropriate solution. A shrinking market is not expanded by fixing prices, especially where the formulated prices are higher than those which the market mechanism would set. To fix prices may even cause demand to shrink further because it leaves a dwindling purchasing power faced with an artificially high price structure. If, in addition, the State tries to assist by financing wholly or partly storage costs, output will remain undiminished and may even increase so that the disparity between demand and supply becomes greater. Since the difficulty arises because supply and demand are out of tune with each other, the solution should be sought in measures which will re-introduce harmony between them. These measures may aim at reducing supply or increasing demand.

A reduction in output eases the downward pressure on prices and prevents drastic price reductions. This, it is argued, eliminates violent decreases in farm incomes and thereby reduces the magnitude of income fluctuations. But even if the contention be accepted, two issues still remain open. First, is it possible to make the output of agriculture a variable which responds to demand changes in a manner analogous to the output of industry? Secondly, is it desirable to give agricultural production this characteristic? Inter-war experience suggests that it is extremely difficult to induce in agriculture an output pattern similar to that of industry: economic analysis provides some of the reasons why. Agricultural production is organized in conditions which are as near to perfect competition as it is perhaps possible to get. The number of producers is so large and the proportion which each contributes to the total supply is so small that the decision of any one farmer to vary his output has no effect on price. In these circumstances he becomes relatively insensitive to price changes and continues to produce as long as he can cover his prime costs.

Prime costs, which in the main comprise the cost of labour and raw materials, exert an important influence on production decisions. Where they constitute a high proportion of total costs, volume of output follows the trend in prices fairly closely. The higher the ratio of prime to overhead cost, the sooner will falling prices force a producer to contract output. The less specialized is agriculture and the more it is characterized by family-farms, the less significant are prime costs. In the ultimate analysis they are reduced to little more than subsistence for the farmer and his family, so that prices must fall a very long way indeed before they cease to cover them. Theoretical considerations then suggest that attempts to make agricultural output as a whole respond directly to quick changes in demand are not likely to succeed and the experience of early depression years lends force to this by indicating the possible magnitude of the task

involved in making agricultural output vary in a manner similar to that of industry ; for example, between 1929 and 1932 while world manufacturing output declined by 37 per cent., agricultural output dropped by only 1 per cent.

Even if it were possible to make agricultural production a variable, the desirability of doing so is open to question. On social grounds it appears reprehensible to make the output of, say, food correspond with the consumer's ability to purchase, particularly when that ability is so closely related to the level of employment over which the individual has no direct control. On economic grounds it is doubtful if the interests of the economy are best served by introducing additional fluctuations into the pattern of output. Whatever may have been their cause, the ups and downs of non-agricultural production during the twentieth century did considerable damage to economies, and if these variations could have been avoided the gain in real prosperity would have been very great. To suggest that agriculture should imitate the unsatisfactory behaviour of industry is not to improve economic stability. Agriculture's record of stable output is one of the few reassuring features of the depression years, and if the influences responsible for it could be imported into the rest of the economy it might be possible to reduce the amplitude of future fluctuations and induce the economic system to function in a less erratic fashion. The cyclical behaviour of the private enterprise economy is a matter of grave concern, all the more so when it is suggested that this is an inherent characteristic of its development. To eliminate this presumed characteristic and replace it with a pattern of steady expansion has become the objective of most democratic communities. In the context of this endeavour, those economic sectors which possess stable production patterns should be encouraged to retain that stability. To suggest that they do otherwise is to make the basic objective all the more difficult to achieve.

INCOME STABILIZATION

Since the variability of agricultural income is due to a fluctuating demand and a non-fluctuating supply, and since it is not advisable, even if it were practicable, to make supply a variable, the solution to the income problem is to give demand more buoyancy than it has hitherto possessed. The income difficulty of agriculture is not of its own making but is attributable to outside influences and the remedy must lie in controlling these influences rather than in price or output adjustments within agriculture. Maintaining a high level of employment at reasonably stable prices is what is required because the greater and more constant the volume of employment, the fewer are the income problems of any segment of the economy. It may be contended that constant full employment is unlikely to be achieved and that in the

meantime specific measures to deal with the agricultural problem are necessary. Should this be so, it is nevertheless important to keep in mind that the real problem is still general instability and that special aids to agriculture may not help the solution of the problem. In so far as specific measures aid in general economic recovery they are useful and welcome, but where their subsidiary effect is to perpetuate an inefficient use of resources or to induce a malallocation of resources, they are of doubtful value, however much their introduction may serve the immediate farm difficulty. Obstacles which hinder the economic distribution of resources aggravate the general problem of economic instability.

If full employment were maintained would instability of farm income be eliminated? To a large extent it would, but whether or not it would be wholly eliminated depends on the nature of the economy. The demand for agricultural commodities is relatively inelastic. A decrease in price or an increase in consumer income does not necessarily cause a proportionate increase in the quantities bought. How great the proportionate increase in purchases will be depends, among other things, on the standard of living of the population. If that standard is low, rising incomes or falling agricultural prices will be accompanied by large increases in the quantities of farm products consumed. If on the other hand living standards are already high it is unlikely that there is a substantial unsatisfied demand for food so that a reduction in price will not appreciably increase the amount consumed, and an increase in incomes will presumably give rise either to greater saving or increased expenditure on non-agricultural goods and services. Even with full employment stability of farm income cannot therefore be taken for granted. Much depends on the underlying conditions of demand for agricultural products. These conditions are mainly the trends in population and in the distribution of income. If population tends to be stationary in terms of size and occupational distribution and if the economy has reached a fairly mature stage of development, then the prospect of increased food demand is likely to be influenced most by the State's attitude towards income distribution, by its social welfare policies and by the effort which the community makes to improve nutritional standards. In the Twenty-Six Counties although total population is stationary, the growth of town population is likely to lead to a greater demand for farm products because the rates of earnings are higher in urban than in rural areas, and again if economic development reduces the rate of emigration, population will increase and with it the market for agricultural output.

What aids are available to agriculture if its income stability is precarious even in conditions of full employment? Within agriculture itself much can be done to make the individual farm a more flexible

production unit. The demand for individual farm products is more elastic than the demand for agricultural output as a whole. As real income rises, the demand for better quality products rises also. Agriculture is slow to take advantage of this increased demand partly because production on individual farms is too closely geared to specific output patterns and partly because the marketing agencies are inefficient in bringing to the notice of the agriculturist changes in consumers' preferences. If these agencies were less extensive and less dispersed, it would be possible to induce farmers to respond to changing tastes with some of the alacrity evident in industry. The cumbrous nature of agricultural marketing stands in sharp contrast to the efficiency of its industrial counterpart where the producer not only keeps in close contact with his market but endeavours to estimate future demand by the use of such devices as market-research. If the marketing mechanism in agriculture were more efficient, more flexible production programmes could be introduced on farms because there would be a fair assurance that if the agriculturist altered his output a demand would still exist for his new products when they became available.

One of the greatest ancillary remedies to farm income instability is the development of international trade, and it is therefore important that measures to assist agriculture should not impair its competitive ability in the world market. Competitive ability depends on the level of production costs which in turn are set by economic efficiency. Direct relief to depressed sections of an industry may perpetuate the basic inefficiences which produce the depression or may retard the reallocation of resources which the elimination of the depression requires. For this reason economists are chary of public intervention in a long-standing and developed industry. The pricing mechanism which reflects the interaction of supply and demand is presumed to be the natural regulator of the economic process, allocating resources to the most efficient uses and directing products into consuming markets in the most advantageous way. Profit is the signal for economic expansion and loss the warning that output should be reduced. Despite its imperfections and the doubtful success which has attended its working since World War I, the pricing process is still believed to be a more efficient regulator than the public authority and a reliable indicator of inefficiencies in the use and distribution of productive factors. State aid by counteracting the losses which the free play of prices would otherwise impose cloaks, it is argued, basic economic dislocations and thereby impedes their eradication. Even if the apologia for the pricing mechanism is not accepted, it is nevertheless true that public policy to alleviate distress may in the long run produce economic distortion and the possibility is all the more real when policy is hastily introduced and is designed simply to offset the financial difficulties which income instability

engenders. Should agricultural policy fail to take account of economic distortion, agricultural products may be priced, wholly or partly, out of the world market.

Income Inequality

The other big problem which confronts agriculture is inequality of income distribution. Every agricultural community has its backward or depressed areas and its poor farms. Their difficulties constitute a substantial proportion of the agrarian problem and the remedial measures which they occasion are an important part of agricultural policy. Because the problem is a pressing one and because it is highly-charged politically, the remedies are often short-term palliatives rather than real contributions to its proper solution. " Depressed areas ", " poor farms " and similar phenomena are surface manifestations of the uneven working of economic forces. Poverty and relative economic disadvantage are two sides of the same coin. They arise from a malallocation or misuse of factors of production and if they are to be eliminated, the underlying causes must first be isolated. The low incomes of many sections of the agricultural community along the West of Ireland are attributed to small farms, poor land and high density of population. The population has tried to find the answer to its problem in emigration and seasonal migration ; the public authorities have assisted by relief payments, aggregation of holdings, elimination of rundale, establishment of home industries and similar measures. But all this still leaves untouched the basic economic issues. Why have industry and commerce not rooted themselves West of the Shannon to provide an employment outlet for surplus rural population and a local market for agricultural output ? If farms are too small and the density of rural population too high, to what extent could the situation be eased by bringing into cultivation the large expanses of bogland which are a striking feature of the area ? If these stretches of potentially good agricultural land were rehabilitated would the economic problem of the West be solved or would its solution still hinge on a substantial development of industry and commerce in the urban centres ? If an industrial and commercial complement is necessary, then successful agricultural policy must extend beyond the introduction of measures to improve land utilization.

Where economic forces work themselves out in an uneven fashion, some areas benefit and others do not. Those that benefit appear to act as magnetic forces attracting further development, while those that have been by-passed by prosperity stagnate. It is not easy to elucidate the causes which impel economic forces to function unevenly within an economy. Historical investigations are of limited help. They record the event and indicate specific causes for individual cases, but they do not bring to light the motivating forces which govern the general direction

of development. It may well be that the initial impulses follow no specific trend and are purely random occurrences, but once they have had effect and have stimulated development further progress seems to follow, as the experience of Leinster, for example, shows. In agricultural prosperity land fertility is an important consideration but its importance can be overestimated. The presence of expanding urban centres is more important. Farms lying within the sphere of influence of a flourishing industrial area will benefit from the prosperity which industry generates and income per head may well be higher than on more fertile farms outside the main stream of industrial progress. From this it follows that a policy of industrial development may increase or decrease the income inequality which exists between various sections and areas of agriculture. If the effect is to increase income disparity then palliative treatment by way of tax reliefs or assistance payments make little impression on the real cause of the problem.

Depressed areas of agriculture are in general characterized by an abundance of labour, a shortage of capital, a tendency to carry the substitution of labour for capital to a point well beyond the margin of profitability, traditional patterns of production and an ignorance of new techniques. As long as these characteristics remain ingrained in the areas, the possibility of inducing permanent prosperity is remote. Left to their own devices, impoverished areas can grapple with their problem only by emigration and seasonal migration. The one relieves population pressure, the other imports additional monetary resources. Where public intervention in economic problems is viewed with disfavour such demographic movement may be the only way in which the income disparity can be eliminated. But where the possibility of beneficial public action is admitted the demographic solution is not necessarily the most appropriate. The injection of capital, the introduction of more favourable production programmes, and the extension of educational and advisory services may enable the areas to develop and provide a more economic solution to their difficulties than demographic denudation.[1] Where sections of the farming community are economically depressed because they lie outside the main stream of development or because the distribution of productive factors leaves them at a disadvantage relative to other sections of the agricultural population, the basic inequalities must be corrected before incomes can be raised to a level comparable with that of the more fortunate sections. Direct subventions from the exchequer do not necessarily secure this.

The problems of any sector of the economy rarely admit of easy and direct solution, even though their surface manifestations may suggest otherwise. Effective remedy presupposes proper diagnosis and in economic

[1] *Studies*, Summer 1955. Investment and Research in Irish Agriculture. J. J. Byrne.

affairs diagnosis is complicated by the essentially dynamic nature of the economy. Conditions are constantly changing in response to national and international events and unless the examination takes account of this the prescription is of little avail. What may appear to be a straightforward economic difficulty calling for direct financial assistance may in fact be no more than the awkward attempts of an economic sector to adjust itself to changing conditions. If so, fiscal aid may not be the appropriate solution. This consideration is particularly important in agricultural matters. Agriculture can give the impression of being almost static : output does not vary greatly ; the habits of the population change slowly—but the impression is false. Even if output and customs altered little, rapid changes can take place in the consumer market, in the processing industries and in the distribution services, and these changes can affect in a fundamental way the whole profitability of agriculture. That is why economic analysis is of such significance when agricultural policy is being formulated. It can reveal the real as distinct from the apparent cause and can estimate the probable consequences of suggested remedial measures.

Farm Economics

Economic analysis is a search for principles of action which promote the material welfare of society. When applied to agriculture, it is concerned with the welfare of the farm population as part of the social entity and seeks to discover how the agricultural sector can contribute to the welfare of the economy and how the prosperity of farms can be improved. The analysis has two facets, one relating to agriculture as a whole and the other to the farm itself, and although the two are closely related they are not identical. The economics of agriculture is general and social in its content and has as its focus the welfare of society, while the economics of the farm is particular and personal and is concentrated on the welfare of the individual. Even if the individual is the best judge of his own interest, maximum social welfare is not necessarily guaranteed when each person tries to maximize his own welfare. To suggest that it is, assumes harmony between the interests of individuals, which is an unreal assumption because the interests of individuals are in many ways competitive and antagonistic. For this reason the problems of particular producers or groups of producers may not always be examined in isolation and it is very rarely indeed that remedies may justifiably be prescribed without reference to their possible effects on other individuals or groups in the economy. The welfare of the community is not promoted by indiscriminate attempts to assist every element in it because uncoordinated efforts simultaneously aimed at helping everybody may in fact so obstruct one another that few, if any, benefit at all. Subject to this over-riding consideration, the two facets of the analysis may be separated and for

analytical convenience the problems of the individual farm and the problems of agriculture may be examined independently of each other.

When economic analysis is applied to the farm its aim is to find out how the farmer can arrange his production so as to achieve the highest return from his efforts. It examines his pattern of production and the factors of production at his disposal and asks a number of questions. For example, are productive factors being combined and used in the most efficient manner? Is the quantity and the quality of the factors employed best suited to his production requirements? Could profits be increased by substituting a different production programme for the existing one?

The criterion which tests how efficiently factors are utilized on a farm is the principle of least cost. Most farms produce not one commodity but many, each requiring similar productive resources but not involving similar costs. Since greatest profit accrues only when costs are reduced to a minimum, the cost of individual farm operations must be assessed to see if the operations are being performed in the most economical way. Accurate costings are essential to profitable farming and are particularly important where the mode of farming has become traditional, because economic conditions change and the change affects the profitability of production patterns. In mixed farming, for example, crops and livestock compete for factors of production and if the factors are limited and employed to full capacity the proportion allocated to livestock-raising must be reduced if tillage is increased. The economic wisdom of extending one or other activity cannot be determined until the quantity and the combination of productive factors required by each activity is assessed. For instance, what investment in durable capital does tillage involve? How does this amount compare with that needed for livestock production? What is the working life of the equipment; for how many months of the year will it lie idle; how soon will it become obsolete; how long does it take to turn over the value of the capital in production? Costings alone provide answers to these questions and enable reliable comparisons of profitability to be made. They indicate if productive resources are being utilized efficiently and, what is more significant, show where the bottlenecks which prevent additional output are located.

While it is convenient to classify the factors of production into four broad categories, the classification hides the fact that the individual units of any factor are not homogeneous and have different productivities. This is obvious in the case of land which can vary widely in its suitability to particular crops over even a small area. Although not so obvious in the case of the other factors, it is nevertheless true that their component units vary considerably in their specificity and adaptability. Unless the particular units employed by the agriculturist are suited to his farming programme, his costs are inflated and his profit reduced.

Productivity analysis based on the suitability of factor-units is one of the fundamental contributions which economic science can make to farm prosperity. Over wide stretches of agriculture prosperity is lower than it need be simply because the productivity of the resources employed has not been examined in relation to the uses to which they are committed and to the uses to which they are best suited. Such examination eliminates economic waste by indicating where the disparities between actual and potential output lie.

According to economic analysis optimum results are achieved when full use is made of the inherent and acquired advantages which resources possess. It is but a corollary of this proposition to add that an activity should not be undertaken when the human and other materials available are ill-suited to its performance. Yet it is not uncommon to find farmers engaged in agricultural activities whose efficient performance requires land or labour or equipment substantially different from that which they have, or undertaking a programme of production which properly requires more resources than they command. Again in many instances the agriculturist would fare better financially if he purchased rather than produced his requirements of particular commodities and used the resources thereby released from production to increase his output of commodities which he can produce efficiently. When his resources are limited the farmer acts rationally by employing them in the type of production to which they are well adapted or by exchanging them for those which are suited to his production programme.

Economic analysis extends beyond discovering how existing programmes can be put into effect at minimum cost. It indicates which of several alternative programmes is the most profitable, and this extension of the analysis is necessary if farms are to yield the highest profit to their owners. When resources have been deployed so that a specific production pattern is achieved in the most economical way, this does not mean that the pattern is necessarily the best one. Its merits and defects must be compared with those of other programmes which are realizable with the resources available. For example, on a mixed-farm factors of production can be arranged so that each activity is conducted most efficiently, but even then it may be possible to achieve greater profit by limiting the number of activities or by changing to a different range of activities. In other words when the economies relevant to a given framework have been exhausted, further economies may be achieved by altering the framework itself.

As a result of economic analysis the whole concept of mixed farming or diversified production is undergoing fundamental change. Hitherto diversification was justified on the grounds that it provided an insurance against loss from crop failure or from a slump in the price of a particular

product. Now emphasis is laid on economic rather than financial considerations and diversification is approved in so far as it allows a fuller use of the resources available on farms. Following the growth of mechanization the tendency is to concentrate on fewer but more integrated activities which enable the fullest and most efficient use to be made of labour and equipment. The number of crops grown is reduced so that the acreage under each is sufficient to allow the use of specialized machines. Livestock production is then integrated with the cropping programme in such a way that tillage provides the raw materials for animal husbandry. This gives an outlet on the farm for all crops grown and ensures that labour is fully employed throughout the year. Integrated production programmes of this kind raise the level of productivity considerably because they permit a reasonable amount of specialization and guarantee that factors of production are fully utilized as constantly as possible during the year.

Farming is a business and just as liable to mismanagement as industry or commerce. Management involves choosing between alternative courses of action with the object of making a profit, and where the alternatives are many the chances of mistakes are high. In farming the possibility of error is very great because the range of output and the number of activities on even a small farm is remarkably large compared with non-agricultural enterprise. For that reason the application of economic analysis to the twin problems of management and organization is most important because the profit of any concern ultimately depends on how efficiently these problems are solved.

In the application of economics to agriculture the private or individual sector of the analysis must not be over-emphasized to the neglect of the social. Considerable success has attended the individual sector and a wealth of material has been produced on farm management. These studies have revealed a significant degree of waste in the utilization of resources on farms, and where their recommendations have been implemented great increases have been secured in output and productivity. There is however a danger inherent in and fostered by this very success. It lies in the likelihood that attention may be diverted into this fruitful field of investigation and away from the problems which attend agriculture in general, problems which cannot be solved by concentrating analysis on the efficient working of the constituent units. Efficient functioning is a commendable and desirable objective for any economic undertaking but the single-minded pursuit of the objective will never reveal changes which are taking place outside the undertaking and which may affect its ultimate profitability much more than any productivity increases of which it is capable. The Luddite's problem is not solved by greater efficiency but by coming to terms with his changing world. If the market does not want a particular crop, it is a waste of good effort to make the

growers more and more efficient. Production is designed for consumption and variations in consumers' tastes, habits and circumstances are as much a part of the producer's budget as wage bills, fertilizer costs and depreciation allowances. The market sets the limit to the producer's horizon and this fact must be kept in the foreground when suggesting remedies to the economic ills which seem to afflict agriculture so persistently. The more productive farms become, the more rapidly they are mechanized and the more they are operated as up-to-date economic enterprises, the more regard must they have for conditions in the market. This is but another way of saying that as more and more farms become progressive greater attention must be paid to the influences which affect the prosperity of agriculture as a whole. It is only when agriculture is operating around subsistence level that attention can be focussed almost exclusively on the economics of the farm.

Agricultural Economics

The prosperity of a firm reflects the prosperity of the industry to which it belongs and first attention should therefore be given to the industry itself. When the measures needed to promote its welfare have been investigated and approved, the examination may be extended to the individual firms to discover how they can contribute towards and share in the industry's welfare. Logic indicates that this order of precedence in examination is proper and reasonable, but the logic is not always accepted. In its wider or social setting economic analysis asks if the resources allocated to an industry are adequate and are being utilized in the most advantageous way. Because they are limited, resources must be rationed between competing enterprises and to commit too high a proportion to one is to starve another of its appropriate requirements. The yardstick which measures the economic efficiency with which resources are allocated is productivity. If analysis shows that the productivity of capital is higher in agriculture than in industry, there is a *prima facie* case for directing future capital investment into agriculture; and if labour productivity is higher in industry than in agriculture there is a strong presumption that labour should be moved out of agriculture. But before these tentative conclusions are translated into policy the conditions which determine existing levels of productivity should be examined. The examination may confirm the conclusions or upset them. It may show that although actual productivity is low, potential productivity is high, in which case the remedy is not a re-allocation of resources but a removal of the obstacles which prevent resources from attaining their potential productivities in their existing employments.

Comprehensive analysis of resource allocation is fundamental to economic welfare. Without it there is no guarantee that factors of production will be distributed in the optimum way between competing

enterprises. Since prosperity is the result of distributing and utilizing productive factors so that maximum output is achieved,the major sectors of the economy must be given their appropriate shares of available resources. Here a conflict may arise between economic and political objectives and while it cannot be resolved by economic criteria, these criteria should not be ignored ; otherwise the social cost of politically desirable programmes may be unduly high. For example, political considerations may favour a substantial increase in non-agricultural employment. This may involve reducing the supply of capital to agriculture and lowering total output if the productivity of capital outside agriculture is low. In this case the programme implies a choice between increased employment and increased output and the community is free to choose whichever it wishes provided it knows it is making a choice and that either option involves a cost, lower output or higher unemployment. Again when considering the cost of redistributing resources, the economist must take into account all the losses and gains. His assessment must include not only the immediate but also the future effects which may be expected to ensue and, if properly made, his estimate will show whether these short and long-term consequences are similar or dissimilar in nature. The community must then be informed so that it knows exactly what the suggested policy involves.

When the allocation of resources between agriculture and the rest of the economy has been determined, a similar analysis must be applied to agriculture itself. The agricultural sector comprises many sizes of farm, and many kinds of activity and maximum output can be achieved only if resources are efficiently distributed within it. Furthermore, output can be sold only if it corresponds to demand and is available at prices which the customer will pay, so that the analysis must be conducted against a background of market demand which may be national or international. If market conditions are ignored, over-production or under-production may result with a consequent waste of resources. The relevance of this consideration is clear when formulating price policy. Unless policy takes due account of internal and external demand conditions, home prices may exceed those prevailing elsewhere and too many resources may be allocated to a particular product simply because its price is too high.

An analysis of resource allocation within agriculture begins with an examination of the available land—its extent, its classification according to quality and the uses to which it is committed. Land is a prime factor in agriculture and without comprehensive information regarding its extent, quality and use, it is impossible to determine its potential output and to say if the land is being utilized in the most economical manner. Economic analysis, which seeks to arrange factors of production according to their comparative productivities, can make little headway

if the data on factor utilization and output potential are meagre. If the capacities of different units of land are relatively unknown, economic principles cannot remedy the deficiency. At most they can only identify the gaps in knowledge and suggest how they may be closed. To go further is hazardous because analysis based on inadequate data is more likely to be wrong than right. For example, if agriculture is producing a commodity at an internationally competitive price this is not proof that it should continue to produce that commodity. The competitive price may have been achieved by mining the stored-up fertility of the soil, or there may be other products to which the land is better suited. Economic analysis conducted purely on the basis of supply, demand and price cannot uncover such considerations and may therefore suggest a line of action which is not in the best interests of the community. Similarly many of agriculture's perennial problems, like the small farm or the unprofitability of specific crops, can only be given an economic solution when there is adequate information on the land itself, because the productive capacity of the land will largely determine what is the proper size of farm to have and what is the proper crop to grow.

Given detailed information on the factors of production as they are engaged in agriculture, the principles of economics may then be applied to see if resource allocation can be improved by re-arrangement. The principles involved are few and are concerned with choosing between the different uses in which the factors can be employed so as to secure maximum output at minimum economic cost. Having shown how the factors can be assembled to give this optimum result, economic analysis then examines the existing pattern to see if it diverges from this ideal arrangement, and by how much. It investigates the conditions which cause the prevailing arrangement to exist and it suggests measures whereby the gap between actual and potential output can be narrowed. In the course of the examination all the major problems of the agricultural sector come under review, because the existence of a problem means that resources are not being used in the best way and are contributing to the general deviation from the ultimate objective. The investigation of these problems brings their causes to light and suggests appropriate remedies, so that the analysis which is essentially general in scope becomes specific in application. Furthermore, since it does not consider these problems in isolation but as part of the greater problem of maximizing output the remedies suggested contribute to individual as well as general welfare.

Much of the damage done to the agricultural sectors of economies results from neglecting the wider context in which specific problems and difficulties are set. A depression in any portion of agriculture should never be the signal for specific measures to deal with that portion as an isolated problem. Instead it should indicate the need for a thorough

investigation of the immediate and the fundamental causes of the depression, and the investigation should reveal whether the depression is the result of some temporary and passing cause or is evidence of some deep-seated maladjustment which has entered that section of agriculture and is liable to spread throughout the agricultural economy. For example, a depression in the dairying industry may only mean the temporary inability of non-agricultural consumers to purchase their full butter requirements, or it may mean that production costs are too high because methods of butter-production are outdated, or it may mean that the world market for butter is shrinking because consumers are changing to margarine. Each of these three situations calls for a different remedy, and of the three the third is the most serious to the economy as a whole because it may involve a change in the foundation cattle stock of the country if surplus milk cannot be put to some use other than butter-making. Again, if a depression hits small-sized farms this may imply that the farms are too small by modern standards of farming, or that the traditional pattern of production of these holdings is outmoded, in which case the economics of small-holdings require investigation and a programme of husbandry appropriate to small-farm needs requires to be devised.

Agricultural Policy

To suggest that agricultural policy should be shaped by economics is to overstate the case for economic analysis. Social and political considerations are also relevant and may supersede economic desiderata. But even then the analysis has a useful function to perform. Where the social or political end can be attained by alternative routes, economic analysis indicates which one involves the least cost to the community, so that whatever the dominant consideration may be agricultural policy should not be determined without reference to economics. General economic analysis, general in the sense that it examines both agriculture as a whole and its main constituent segments, is a prerequisite to rational policy. It puts agriculture in its full economic setting, as a major component of the economy. It shows how agriculture can contribute to national economic development and indicates how it must adjust and adapt itself as the economy progresses. This gives the main outlines of policy, the guidelines to be followed if progress is to be achieved at minimum cost. Within this framework the more particular farm economics, or economics of farm management, tells what adjustments must be made in the use of resources on individual farms if agricultural policy is to be effective and give the highest possible profit to the operating farmer.

The First Discovery of Iceland.

by G. J. MARCUS, D.PHIL. (OXON.)

ACCORDING to the earliest and most reliable sources, the Norsemen appear to have arrived off the coast of Iceland at some time during the 860's ; and to have established the first settlement, under the leadership of Ingólf, early in the following decade. In the anonymous *Historia Norwegiae,* which dates from the end of the twelfth century, it is stated that Iceland was " unknown to men, until the time of Harald Hárfagri " ; and in the *Sturlubók,* written about the year 1250, it is also suggested that Iceland was uninhabited when the Norsemen arrived there.[1]

But the Norsemen were not the first discoverers of Iceland. It is amply clear from the best and earliest of the Scandinavian sources, the *Íslendingabók* of Ari Fródi, that the Irish were there before them. " Then Christian men whom the Northmen called Popes were here ; but afterwards they went away, because they did not wish to live here together with heathen men, and they left behind Irish books, bells, and crooks." The Irish anchorites were apparently settled along the south-east coast and inland at Kirkjubœr (perhaps also at Hellir and in the Vestmannaeyjar), and were " very few in number."[2] Several place-names on this part of the Iceland coast—viz., Papey, Papós, Papafell, and Papi—still commemorate these early inhabitants of Iceland.[3]

The question arises : at what date did the Irish first come to Iceland, and were they, in fact, the first discoverers of that island ?

Irish maritime enterprise may be traced as far back, at least, as the third century A.D. During the final decades of that century the Scots were periodically raiding the territories of the Picts in the North, and the Roman province in the south, of Britain. A major factor in the expansion of Irish maritime enterprise must have been the centuries-old rivalry between these two hardy seafaring peoples, the Scots and the Picts. From Labhraidh Loingsech in the late third century B.C. down to Lughaidh mac Con towards the end of the third century A.D., there was probably intermittent warfare between the Scots and " the tribes of the Orcs "—that is, the Picts.[4] The Picts, whose original strongholds were in the Orkneys and the Shetlands, had gradually gained possession of much of northern Scotland and had also established themselves in the

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[1] *Monumenta historica Norvegiae,* ed. G. Storm (1880), p. 92 ; *Landnámabók,* ed. F. Jónsson (1900), p. 130.

[2] *The Book of the Icelanders,* ed. H. Hermannsson (1930), p. 60 ; *Landnámabók,* pp. 100, 271 ; *Mon. hist. Norv.,* p. 8 ; *Diplomatarium Islandicum,* III, No. 65. See also T. C. Lethbridge, *Merlin's Island* (1948), p. 98, and also *Herdsmen and Hermits* (1950), pp. 83–85.

[3] *Stedsnavn,* ed. M. Olsen (1939), p. 63 ; Nordal, *Íslenzk Menning* (1942), p. 54.

[4] See W. J. Watson in *Trans. Gael. Soc., Inverness,* XXX, 248–56 ; A. O. Curle in *Antiquity,* I, 290 ; Brøgger, *Ancient Emigrants* (1929), pp. 51 ff., 66 ff.

Hebrides.[1] The Pictish hegemony of Scotland apparently dates from about the year 350.[2] There was a steady expansion of Irish maritime activities in the fourth and fifth centuries : but no evidence of deep-sea navigation. By the sixth century, however, the larger Irish curachs were capable of sailing far out into the open Atlantic.[3] In the latter half of that century four such voyages are recorded by Adamnan.[4]

No mention, however, is made of Iceland. The earliest direct reference to Iceland in the Irish sources is to be found in Dicuil's *De mensura orbis terrae,* which tells of a voyage made by a band of clerics to *Thile,* or Iceland, in the year 795.[5] There is no suggestion in Dicuil's narrative that this was a voyage of discovery. It is, in fact, more than likely that there were earlier voyages. Further, there are certain passages in the Irish *immrama* or legendary voyages which suggest that the Irish may have found the way to Iceland long before 795.[6] The balance of probability is that Iceland was discovered by the Irish at some time between 650 and 750 ; and in that case it is quite possible though by no means actually proven—that the first voyages thither were made in a sailing-curach. (The " curach era " may be said to have terminated with the advent of the Viking fleets to Ireland at the end of the eighth century.) It is, perhaps, not generally realized that this was no matter of chance landfalls : the Irish were in fact sailing to the Færoe Islands throughout the whole of the eighth century, and to Iceland for at least eighty years—probably for a good deal longer. The long continuance of these Irish ocean voyages gives testimony of a standard of seamanship and navigation comparable, one may perhaps believe, with that of the Norsemen of the early Viking era.[7]

There remains yet another possibility. It has recently been argued that Iceland was visited, on one occasion at least, by a vessel from some part of the Roman Empire. The evidence adduced for this is almost

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[1] As recently as the last century the Greater Minch was still traditionally known as the *Cuan nan Orc,* " the sea of the Orcs " see Alex. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica,* II, 342. Cf. The Book of Ballymote, ed. Atkinson (1887), p.398.

[2] *Ammianus,* xxvii, 8. 5.

[3] For the construction of the Irish sailing curach and its history, see James Hornell, *Water Transport* (1946), *passim,* and G. J. Marcus, " Factors in early Celtic navigation ", *Études Celtiques* (1954), *passim.*

[4] *The Life of St Columba,* ed. and trans, Reeves (1857), I, c.6, 20 ; *ibid.,* II, c. 42. Unlike the Irish, the Picts never appear to have attempted deep-sea navigation.

[5] *De mensura orbis terrae,* c. 7, ii. The name *Thile* (there is also *Tile* and *Thule*) occurs in the early Scandinavian sources : see *Landnámabók,* p. 3 ; *Mon. hist. Norv.,* pp. 19, 92. This name does not always denote Iceland : e.g., the Greek Pytheas, when he speaks of *Thyle,* is certainly not referring to Iceland, but in all likelihood to one of the numerous islands off the west coast of Norway. In which connection it should be added that the astronomical conditions referred to by Dicuil are exactly the same as those which obtain on the south-east coast of Iceland, where most of the *papar* place-names are located ; whereas those described by Pytheas point to a far higher latitude. This is a point which appears to have been overlooked by Vilhjálmur Stefánsson in his *Ultima Thule* (1942), pp. 9 ff.

[6] See Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique,* X, 53 ; G. Turville-Petre, *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia* (1951), pp. 94–95.

[7] See G. J. Marcus in *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* VII, 113–14.

entirely archaeological.[1] Within the past fifty years three small copper coins of the Imperial age—Aurelian (270–275), Probus (276–282), and Diocletian (284–305)—have been discovered on the south-east coast of Iceland. The wholly unexpected presence of such relics on the shores of an island far out in the Atlantic at once gave rise to a number of ingenious conjectures. In an able and most interesting paper by Dr Kristján Eldjárn[2] it is suggested that these coins were brought to Iceland by some Roman crew at a time when they were still current—*i.e.*, in the late Imperial age. Eldjárn bases his argument on the extreme rarity of Roman copper coins of this era outside the limits of the Empire ; for the same reason he dismisses the possibility of the coins having been brought to Iceland by the Irish *papar ;* and he dilates on the "colossal activity" at sea in the period of Carausius ; concluding that " in the days of Carausius's sea power in Britain (287–296 A.D.), a Romano-British ship was driven off its course and came to Iceland. A tradition about this voyage may have lived on in the British Isles and in the course of time given the Irish anchorites, and later the Norsemen, the idea of seeking a country in the North Atlantic."[3]

Professor Haakon Shetelig has also apparently accepted this explanation of the presence of the three copper antoninians on Icelandic soil. He concludes : " The Roman coins from Bragdhavellir now raise the question whether the Celts were really the first discoverers of Iceland, or if they might perhaps have been acquainted with ancient reports, once current among seafarers of Roman Britain, of the fantastic island, covered with ice and with flaming mountains, far away in the northern mists of the Ocean."[4]

Nevertheless the objection to Eldjárn's solution of the problem would appear to the present writer to be very strong. The rarity of Roman copper coins of this era is certainly a powerful argument : but scarcely a conclusive one. The possibility that at some later date the

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[1] Dr. Vilhjálmur Stefánsson has suggested to the present writer that a rather obscure passage in Eumenius's *Panegyricus Constantino Dictus* may possibly have a bearing on the question. See Migne, *PL*, VIII, 627 : *Cujus etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropaea, ut vulgo certum est, expetivit, sed diis jam vocantibus ad intimum terrarum limen accessit. Neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulem ultimam, nec ipsas, si quae sunt, Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur acquirere, sed, quod eloqui nemini voluit, iturus ad deos genitorem illum deorum, ignea coeli astra refoventem, prospexit Oceanum, ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, jam videret illic diem pene continuum.*

[2] The present State Antiquary of Iceland.

[3] Kristján Eldjárn *Fund af Romerske Mønter pa Island* (reprinted from *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1949, pp. 8 *et passim*. " Colossal activity " is perhaps, an exaggeration. The *classis Britannica* was a crucial factor in the chain of events which led up to Carausius's insurrection ; and it is true that Constantius eventually restored the Imperial authority in a series of highly successful—and presumably well-organized—" combined ops." against the rebel forces. But there are no grounds for supposing that the Roman war-galleys operated off any northern part of the British Isles—e.g., the Orkneys or Shetlands—whence they might have been blown to Iceland. In later centuries vessels are recorded to have been driven to Iceland from the vicinity of the Færoe Islands, and also on passage from Bergen to Scotland ; but never from *southerly* regions.

[4] Haakon Shetelig in *Antiquity*, XXIII, 163.

coins were brought to Iceland by pure chance—perhaps as children's playthings is by no means to be ruled out. A well-known example of this kind of fortuitous arrival is the case of the " Prince's Flowers " on the strand of Eriskay : such accidents can and do happen. It is to be observed, moreover, that the most careful examination of the sites along the south-east coast of Iceland where these coins were found has failed to yield any corroborative evidence. It is also doubtful whether any Romano-British vessel of the period was sufficiently seaworthy to make the long passage to Iceland. The early Norse traffic to the Færoe Islands and to Iceland was made possible by the evolution of the *knörr*[1] ; and earlier still the Irish had evolved a type of sailing vessel which was well adapted to deep-sea navigation. Further, the discovery of Iceland by the Irish, and its subsequent re-discovery by the Norsemen, formed, on both occasions, part of a gradual expansion northward and westward across the ocean. In both cases the discovery was preceded by that of other island-groups—namely, the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Færoe Islands. The Irish were also the first discoverers of the last-named group. There is no vestige of evidence that the Færoe Islands were ever know to the geographers of antiquity. Dicuil's statement, in fact, runs directly to the contrary.[2]

F. M. Heichelheim of Toronto University has argued that " the three coins were left on Iceland by members of the crew of a Scandinavian or Saxon ship who had served in the Roman army in earlier time."[3] But the first of these hypotheses is impossible, and the second highly improbable. The shipping of the high North, at this early date, was in a comparatively backward condition : so much is manifest in the construction of the contemporary Nydam craft : an Iceland voyage was quite out of the question.[4] As for the Saxon seafarers, they were engaged just then in raiding the Roman Empire, not in fighting for it.

In short, the evidence for the discovery of Iceland by the Irish, and of its re-discovery by the Norsemen, is complete and unassailable. Moreover, the shipping, seamanship, and navigation of both these peoples were fully adequate to such an enterprise. The same cannot possibly be said in the case of the Romano-British mariners of the third or fourth centuries. The theory of a Roman discovery of Iceland is unsupported by anything like adequate proof : the archaeological evidence is inconclusive : the documentary evidence is non-existent : the *vital maritime factor* has been virtually ignored by archaeologists and historians who favour this theory : accordingly, for the earliest *certain* allusion to Iceland, we have still to refer to the description of " Thile " by the Irish geographer, Dicuil.

[1] See G. J. Marcus in *The Mariner's Mirror,* XXXIX, 112–15.
[2] *De mensura orbis terrae,* c.7, iii.
[3] F. M. Heichelheim in *Antiquity,* XXVI, 43–45.
[4] See Brøgger og Shetelig, *Vikingeskipene* (1950), pp. 58 ff. ; G. J. Marcus in *The Mariner's Mirror,* XXXIX, 140–41.

Berkeley and "Philosophic Words"

by DONALD DAVIE, PH.D.
Lecturer in English, University of Dublin

WHEN I speak of "philosophic words" here I mean by it what W. K. Wimsatt means, in his book of this title on the style of Dr Johnson.[1] This is to use "philosophic" as Johnson used it, to mean whatever pertains to "natural philosophy" or, as we should say, to the natural sciences. Such words as "acrimony" or "volatile" are, in this sense, eminently philosophic words, being adopted into the language at large from the special terminology of chemistry.

Mr Wimsatt has shown, in his admirable and momentous study, that Johnson the lexicographer set out quite deliberately to assist the adoption of these words into the language, and to attract them out of the laboratory into the drawing-room. At the same time, in *The Rambler*, Johnson the essayist was doing the same thing by other means, exemplifying in practice what, in the Dictionary, he urged as theory. For, as Mr Wimsatt shows, the prevailingly abstract, Latinate, and sesquipedalian character of Johnson's style, especially in *The Rambler*, is brought about very largely by his consistent use of these words which he called "philosophic".

But the essays in *The Rambler* are moral disquisitions, and have nothing to do with the natural sciences, except occasionally for purposes of illustration. How, then, could Johnson use so many scientific words in a non-scientific context? He does so by extending their significations, and giving them a metaphorical, as well as a literal bearing. So, when "acrimony" is used, it still means literally, what it meant in the laboratory, "corrosiveness"; but it means metaphorically, in the context of moral disquisition, "severity, bitterness of thought or language". One tends to think that an abstract style is a style devoid of images, hence unmetaphorical; but, as Mr Wimsatt shows, what makes Johnson's style abstract is also what makes it highly metaphorical.

What is more, every metaphor thus used derives from, and helps to maintain, one philosophical system, that of Locke. For to bring over into morals and psychology the terminology of natural philosophy is to imply that the workings of the mind are precisely analogous to the workings of matter, so that the one set of terms is equally applicable in both fields; and this was one of the implications of Locke's philosophy. The point is taken beautifully by Blake in his notes to Reynolds's Discourses. Reynolds writes "My notion of nature comprehends not only the forms which nature produces, but also the nature and internal

[1] *W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. Philosophic Words. A Study of Style and Meaning in the* Rambler *and* Dictionary *of Samuel Johnson. (New Haven, 1948).*

fabrick and organization . . . of the human mind and imagination." This is precisely the assumption that underlies Johnson's metaphorical use of terms from natural science ; and Blake sees all the implications : " Here is a Plain Confession that he thinks Mind and Imagination not to be above the Mortal and Perishing Nature. Such is the End of Epicurean or Newtonian Philosophy ; it is Atheism."[1] Hence, it is not surprising to find, in Mr Wimsatt's words, that " Locke was evidently the British philosopher chosen to represent his kind in the Dictionary." Berkeley had challenged the Lockean system ; but Johnson, it seems, chose to ignore the challenge. This goes along with Johnson's known dislike of Berkeleyan thought as he understood it ; and again it is not surprising to find that Berkeley is quoted in the Dictionary only eight times—a marked contrast to the strongly Berkeleyan cast of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia,* a work that in other respects was one of Johnson's main sources.[2]

It follows that " philosophic " words could have no such attraction for Berkeley, who did not accept the Lockean system, as for Johnson, who did. To be consistent Berkeley ought to refuse to use such words except in their literal meaning ; for to extend them metaphorically to refer to the workings of the mind was to assume a philosophical postulate which he rejected. And this is just what we find, for instance, in the sixth dialogue of *Alciphron,* where Lysicles, the free-thinker, has been deducing the nature of the human soul from the behaviour of vegetables, and using, in the process, such " philosophic " words as " unctuous " and " volatile ". Crito, Berkeley's spokesman, objects :

> But what relation hath the soul of man to Chymic Art ? The same reason that bids me trust a skilful Artist in his Art, inclines me to suspect him out of his Art. Men are too apt to reduce unknown Things to the Standard of what they know, and bring a Prejudice or Tincture from Things they have been conversant in, to judge thereby of Things in which they have not been conversant.[3]

Crito's question brings the whole matter to a head. " What relation . . .?" Why, the relation established by Locke, which Berkeley rejected, which Johnson accepted so whole-heartedly that it informed the whole of his diction and his style. Berkeley's opposition to Locke's system, like Johnson's adherence to it, is as apparent in the turn of a phrase as in the tenor of a whole argument. And yet Crito, even as he refuses to accept the metaphoric extension of philosophic words, falls into just such a metaphor himself—" a Prejudice or *Tincture* ".[4] " Tincture " is a " philosophic "

[1] Blake's *Poetry and Prose.* Nonesuch ed. p. 807.
[2] Wimsatt, *op. cit.* p. 96.
[3] Dialogue VI.
[4] cf. *Dialogue VI* ". . . Prospects viewed but in part, and by the broken tinged Light of our Intellects, though to us they seem disproportionate and monstrous, may nevertheless appear quite otherwise to another Eye, and in a different Situation . . ."

word, and used metaphorically to refer to the working of the mind. It is, in fact, included by Mr Wimsatt in his glossary of such words from *The Rambler*. Berkeley betrays his principles even as he announces them.

Elsewhere, I believe, he can be seen taking pains to exclude these ambiguous terms even where the context almost aches for them. In the nature of things this is something that cannot be demonstrated, except perhaps by a statistical word-count. Otherwise, what is excluded is excluded ; and if a word strikes one reader as conspicuous by its absence he has no way of proving this to another. But I will give one example of a passage, from which I think the philosophical word has been deliberately excluded to striking and beautiful effect :—

> Whatever may be the Effect of pure Theory upon certain Spirits, of a peculiar Make, or in some other Parts of the World ; I do verily think that in this Country of ours, Reason, Religion, Law, are all together little enough to subdue the Outward to the Inner Man ; and that it must argue a wrong Head and weak Judgment to suppose, that without them Men will be enamoured of the golden Mean. To which my Countrymen perhaps are less inclined than others, there being in the Make of an *English* Mind a certain Gloom and Eagerness, which carries to the sad Extreme ; Religion to Fanaticism ; Free-thinking to Atheism ; Liberty to Rebellion . . .[1]

The collocation "Gloom and Eagerness" is delightful, I suggest, in a poetic way ; the marriage of such dissimilars is surprising yet just. The pleasure it gives is different only in degree from the pleasure we get from Congreve's choice of epithets : -

> Sententious Mirabell ! Prithee don't look with that violent and inflexible wise Face, like Solomon at the dividing of the Child in an old Tapestry Hanging . . .[2]

—where the coming together of "violent", "inflexible" and "wise", like Berkeley's marriage of "gloom" and "eagerness", is at once unlikely and inevitable. Now Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium* of 1730 gives the following under "Acrimony" :—

> Acrimony. Sharpness, Eagerness, Tartness.

And Johnson's Dictionary gives an example of the metaphorical sense of "acrimony", from Robert South's Sermons of 1692. There can be little doubt that in Berkeley's context "gloom and acrimony" would be a combination less surprising to the modern reader than the combination "gloom and eagerness". The evidence from Bailey and South goes to suggest that even in Berkeley's day "acrimony" rather than "eagerness"

[1] *Dialogue III.*

[2] Quoted by L. J. Potts (*Comedy*, p. 66), who comments (ibid p. 102) ". . . the image as well as the two adjectives ('violent' and 'inflexible') are beyond the range of any but the highest poetic imagination : unexcelled by Chaucer and Shakespeare."

would be the first word to spring to mind for the idea wanted in the context given. There is at least a possibility, therefore, that Berkeley hit upon the felicitous " eagerness " in his efforts to avoid metaphorical use of the philosophic " acrimony ".

But this, as I am aware, is not evidence. What evidence there is can only be circumstantial. Mr Wimsatt, for instance, supports his case that Johnson deliberately used metaphors from natural science in single " philosophic " words, by pointing out how often extended similes from natural philosophy are used by him to introduce or illustrate moral arguments. These more elaborate figures obviously derive from the same sort of interest as would find metaphors in single philosophic words ; therefore to find these similes so frequently in *The Rambler* (" it is," says Mr Wimsatt, " one of the favourite opening patterns of a *Rambler* essay ")[1] helps to explain the high frequency of philosophic words in the essays, and to establish that this high frequency is no accident. In Berkeley's writing, on the other hand, such similes are very rare. The only example that comes to mind as even remotely resembling the scientific similes to be found in *The Rambler* (Mr Wimsatt calls the device " a philosopher's version, as it were, of epic simile ") is at the end of *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* ;—

> *Hyl.* . . . You set out upon the same principles that Academics, Cartesians, and the like sects usually do ; and for a long time it looked as if you were advancing their philosophical Scepticism ; but, in the end, your conclusions are directly opposite to theirs.
>
> *Phil.* You see, Hylas, the water of yonder fountain, how it is forced upwards, in a round column, to a certain height ; at which it breaks, and falls back into the basin from whence it rose ; its ascent, as well as descent, proceeding from the same law or principle of gravitation. Just so, the same Principles which, at first view, lead to Scepticism, pursued to a certain point, bring men back to Common Sense.[2]

The difference between this and any *Rambler* example is more striking than the formal similarity. The tone indicates that it is graceful and fanciful, no more ; we are not led by it to think, even for a moment, that there is any law of correspondence between the processes of the mind and the processes of the external world. One such correspondence is noted for our amusement, but there is no implication that this is anything but fortuitous. And it is no accident that this comes at the end of an argument where analogous similes in *The Rambler* come at the start ; Johnson establishes the correspondence in order to develop it, Berkeley implies that to develop it would be to prove its absurdity.

In the *Alciphron* at any rate, when Berkeley resorts to simile or to metaphor (deliberately, that is, not trapped into one unknowing, as

[1] Wimsatt, *op. cit.* p. 58. See the whole passage pp. 54–66, for examples.
[2] Berkeley's *Works*, ed. Fraser. Vol. I., p. 485.

with "tincture"), his range is more like Dryden's. Both he and Dryden most often find their correspondences between mental operations on the one hand, and, on the other, not the behaviour of gases in a retort or toads in a stone, but the behaviour of man in society :

> O Alciphron! these Minute Philosophers (since that is their true Name) are a sort of Pirates who plunder all that come in their way. I consider my self as a Man left stript and desolate on a bleak Beach.[1]
>
> But allowing what Beauty you please to Virtue in an Irreligious System, it cannot be less in a Religious, unless you will suppose that her Charms diminish as her Dowry increaseth . . .
>
> To me it seems, those heroic Infidel Inamorato's of abstracted Beauty are much to be pitied, and much to be admired.[2]
>
> I would observe, that in this Charge of *Lysicles* there is something right and something wrong. It seems right to assert as he doth, that the real Belief of Natural Religion will lead a Man to approve of Revealed : But it is as wrong to assert, that Inquisitions, Tyranny, and Ruin must follow from thence. Your Free-thinkers, without Offence be it said, seem to mistake their Talent. They imagine strongly, but reason weakly; mighty at Exaggeration, and jejune in Argument! Can no method be found, to relieve them from the Terror of that fierce and bloody Animal, an *English* Parson? Will it not suffice to pare his Talons without chopping off his fingers?[3]
>
> Your Men of Fashion, in whom animal Life abounds, are a sort of Bullies in Morality, who disdain to have it thought they are afraid of Conscience ; these descant much upon honour, and affect to be called Men of Honour, rather than conscientious or honest Men. But, by all that I could ever observe, this specious Character, where there is nothing of Conscience or Religion underneath, to give it Life and Substance, is no better than a Meteor or painted Cloud.[2]

In the last of these examples, where Berkeley has slipped, with "Meteor", into an image from science, he hastens to mute the metaphor and restrict its application, by tying it up with an image from theatrical décor, the "painted Cloud". His happiest and most common imagery is all from human life—minute philosophers as pirates, virtue as a bride, men of fashion as moral bullies. All in all, it seems true to say that Berkeley deliberately avoided finding metaphors for the operations of the mind in the operations of external nature as embodied in the vocabulary of natural scientists. In this his practice was the direct opposite of Dr Johnson's practice ; and this is only what we should expect, since Berkeley rejected, as Johnson endorsed, the Lockean postulate on which such metaphorical usage depended.

To this, however, there is one glaring exception—the case of *Siris*. Here 'philosophic' words could not be excluded, for in a treatise on the

[1] *Dialogue I.* [2] *Dialogue III.* [3] *Dialogue V.*

medicinal virtues of tar-water it was inevitable that Berkeley should draw upon the 'philosophic' words in the special vocabularies of physicians, chemists and botanists. This in itself constitutes no exception and calls for no comment; for like Mr Wimsatt, we are not interested in "philosophic" words as such, but only when they are used by metaphoric extension to describe operations of the mind. So long as Berkeley uses "salt", "sulphur" or "corrosion" only as the chemist uses them, he is not departing from his avowed principles. But, as I have argued elsewhere,[1] Berkeley in fact uses these terms metaphorically :—

> There is a lentor or smoothness in the blood of healthy strong people; these is often an acrimony and solution in that of weakly morbid persons.

Plainly here there is a drift from acrimony in diet ("fermented liquors and high sauces"), through acrimony in the blood ("rendered putrid, sharp, and corrosive"), to acrimonious disposition or temperament; the whole argument of *Siris* (though "argument" is hardly the word for it) depends upon just such a drift. The ambiguity that we noted elsewhere in an isolated instance (the "tincture" of *Alciphron*) is the very staple of Berkeley's diction in *Siris*.

And yet this style in *Siris* brings Berkeley nearer not to Johnson but to Lewis Carroll :—

> 'When *I'm* a Duchess,' she said to herself (not in a very hopeful tone though), 'I won't have any pepper in my kitchen *at all*. Soup does very well without—Maybe it's always pepper that makes people hot-tempered', she went on, very much pleased at having found out a new kind of rule, 'and vinegar that makes them sour—and camomile that makes them bitter —and—and barley-sugar and such things that make children sweet-tempered. I only wish people knew *that* : then they wouldn't be so stingy about it, you know.' [2]

Alice's "new kind of rule" is not new at all. Berkeley had found it before her. And it was not new, even then. It is as old, no doubt, as Galen. For Berkeley is not implying an exact correspondence between the outward and the inward world. As we see from the drift of the whole work he is implying an *identity;* which is a very different matter. Metaphor after all, does not enter into it. The acrimony of salts is not, according to Berkeley, *analogous* to the acrimony of human temperaments. It *is* that acrimony. He is being quite literal about it. Hence Berkeley in *Siris* is no longer a Berkeleyan, but still less is he a Lockean, as Johnson is.

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[1] *Berkeley's Style in 'Siris'*. Cambridge Journal, Vol. IV., No. 7.

[2] *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.* Chapter IX. cf. Charles Lever, *Charles O'Malley* (Dublin, 1841) I. 163. Captain Power recommends the punch—"eh, doctor? you advise it yourself, to be taken before bed-time; nothing inflammatory in it; nothing pugnacious; a mere circulation of the better juices and more genial spirits of the marly clay, without arousing any of the baser passions; whiskey is the devil for that."

The Irish Land Question, 1830-1850

by THOMAS P. O'NEILL, M.A.

IN modern Irish history the land question has been one of the most important elements. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the upheaval in land ownership and the uprooting of the Gaelic system was completed. In some areas the Tudors and in others the first Stuarts turned into tenants those who had been recognized as lords, and the policy pursued by these monarchs was completed by Cromwell and stabilized by the Williamite campaigns. As a result, at the opening of the eighteenth century the land of Ireland was almost completely in the hands of the Protestant ascendancy. Many of the old Catholic proprietors, or their children, were still in the country and regarded themselves as the rightful owners of lands which they had lost and they were not inclined to accept the new order without protest. The Protestant ascendancy, however, took steps to deal with them and the statute books contain act after act against the so-called rapparees. An act of 1707 directed "that all vagrants pretending to be Irish gentlemen who coshered about from house to house should, after presentment before grand juries, be transported to the colonies or sent on board the fleet".[1]

The penal laws, however, went further than merely protecting the estates of the Protestants; they aimed at breaking up those holdings which had, despite the seventeenth century confiscations, remained in Catholic hands. The property of any Catholic was to be divided by gavelkind on his death among his sons and Catholics were not allowed to purchase the freehold of land in their own name or in the name of others nor to take a lease exceeding thirty-one years, and even then the rent was to be at least two-thirds of the full yearly value of the land.

The result of this policy was to make the landlord class almost exclusively Protestant and the tenant class almost exclusively Catholic and in so doing the prosperity of the country was sacrificed. There was no bond of sympathy between landlord and tenant—they differed in race, religion and tradition. The landlords had little or no inclination to live in the midst of a Catholic population which would, in all probability, have resented their presence. Religion was a barrier which prevented the assimilation of the new owners and from the cleavage of interests sprang absenteeism which gave rise to middlemen. These latter got long leases of large estates and were, therefore, originally mainly Protestants. They sublet the lands to undertenants and the process of subletting went on until there were often five or six middlemen between the final tenant

[1] 5 Anne, c. 2.

and the original lessor. The middlemen themselves, in time, began to reside abroad or developed into the type described by Arthur Young as " the little country gentlemen tenants who drink their claret by means of profit rents, jobbers in farms, bucks, young fellows with round hats edged with gold, who hunt in the day, get drunk in the evening, and fight the next morning." They made no improvements whether they resided at home or abroad, and the immediate tenant, with sometimes no lease and, at best, a short one, would scarcely put capital, if he had any, into land in which he had no security.[1]

The evils of the land system were apparent but no positive steps were taken to remedy the situation. The outrages of well organized secret agrarian societies brought the problem home to many observers but it was ignored by the legislature. The Whiteboys, Levellers and such bodies gave intermittent protection to the tenants but they had no formulated economic or political aim beyond that. They started in opposition to enclosures about 1760 and gradually set themselves up as the general redressers of grievances. In epochs of prosperity they faded out but reappeared sporadically with bad harvests and times of depression. " Rockism and Whiteboyism " said John Stuart Mill, " are the determination of a people, who have nothing that can be called theirs but a daily meal of the lowest description of food, not to submit to being deprived of that for other people's convenience ".[2]

In parts of Ulster, and on a few estates in the other Irish provinces, tenants were protected by a custom which came to be known as the Ulster tenant right. The origin of the custom is obscure though in part it appears to date back to the Stuart plantation. It had no legal sanction and varied on different estates. In general it has been defined as

> the claim of the tenant and his heirs to continue in undisturbed possession of the farm so long as the rent is paid ; and, in case of an ejectment, or in the event of a change of occupancy, whether at the wish of the landlord or tenant, it is the sum of money which the new occupier must pay to the old one, for the peaceable enjoyment of his holding.[3]

This right on the part of the tenant leaving a farm to sell the goodwill gave him some compensation for improvements and with the fixity of tenure gave some encouragement to investing capital in improvements. Throughout the greater part of the country, however, no such protection for the tenants existed and the landlord took as much rent as he could from the farmers. The tenants feared to show any signs of prosperity by improving the land lest that be taken as evidence of ability to pay

[1] T. Arkins, The penal laws and Ireland, in *Studies*, i. 514/23 ; W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the eighteenth century*, i. 279/93 ; Arthur Young, *Tour in Ireland*.

[2] J. S. Mill, *Principles of political economy* (1848), i. 375.

[3] W. N. Hancock, *The tenant right of Ulster considered economically*, pp. 76/7 (Dublin, 1845).

higher rents. The landlords did not improve the land, as much of their rents went to meet mortgages incurred by generations of squandering.

The United Irishmen, at the end of the eighteenth century, had some interest in the agrarian problem but apparently thought that parliamentary reform would ultimately lead to a solution. They did not envisage any definite legislative steps but thought that a truly representative parliament would adequately reflect the point of view of the tenants.[1] As a matter of fact this was a question which frightened Henry Grattan who feared that the success of the United Irishmen would lead to the confiscation of property.[2] After the Act of Union in 1800 the Imperial parliament did not make any particular change in the property laws except to make it easier for landlords to evict their tenants. In 1827 legislation was passed to limit subletting which was considered the major evil but the British government did not face up to the chronic lack of capital development in Irish land due to the inability of landlords to extricate themselves from the debts of their ancestors and the lack of security of the tenants. Though the Under-Secretary in Ireland, Thomas Drummond, did announce the then revolutionary doctrine, " Property has its duties as well as its rights," the general official attitude is better represented by Sir George Cornewall Lewis who said : " In the present condition of Ireland I can conceive no other means except a strongly guarded poor law, of restoring to the landowners the power of doing what they will with their own, a power which, however liable to abuse, is essential to the advancement of agriculture, and the improvement of the soil and to the consequence of these, an amelioration of the state both of the tenants and labourers. " [3]

The secret societies of Blackfeet, Whitefeet and Terryalts, the successors of the Whiteboys of the previous century, were particularly active in Carlow, Kilkenny and Queen's County (now Laoighis) around 1830. Their activities had little or nothing to do with the current agitation on the tithe question and their raids were directed towards protecting the tenants from injustice and even extinction. The extent of the underground movement may be gauged from the fact that in the six months from 1 October 1831 to 31 March 1832 there were seven murders, thirteen attempted murders, and sixty six serious assaults all connected with secret societies in Queen's County. In the same county sixteen cases of arson were reported during the period, sixty-eight illegal notices were posted, eight illegal meetings were held, and over three hundred houses were attacked. Cattle were mutilated on five occasions, and ninety-eight

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[1] R. B. McDowell, *Irish public opinion*, 1750/1800, pp. 198/202.

[2] *Irish Parliamentary Register*, xiv. 83.

[3] Lewis, *Remarks on the third report of the Irish poor enquiry commissioners*, p. 15 (p.p. 1837, li).

robberies occurred in the county, the records for which showed that the astounding number of six hundred and eighty-seven crimes took place in that half year.[1]

In view of this state of unrest it is not surprising that some individuals in the area made an inquiry into the reason for such outrages and found it in the Land system. Foremost among them was William Conner of Inch, near Athy, who, for his activities on behalf of the tenants became known as " the farmer's friend ". He was a rather erratic character and was related to that notable family to which Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader belonged. He was the illegitimate son of Arthur O'Connor, the Cork M.P. who had joined the United Irishmen in 1796. As a young man Conner had been intended for the legal profession and had studied law in London. During the 1820's he was reputed to have had some connection with a biblical society and he did, in fact, publish a religious tract in that age of incipient evangelicalism. He married the widow of a retired army officer, Mrs J. Mitchell, and, in her right, was stated to have become a landlord. Gavan Duffy's estimate of him that " he had a sincere sympathy with the people but it was not supplemented with adequate capacity and judgement " is a fair summing up of his ability, though his early perception of the faults of the laws of property in Ireland merit him an important place in Irish history.[2]

When he first raised the question in 1832 he thought that a rent based on a valuation system and arrived at by selected arbitrators would solve the problem but two Queen's County farmers, James McGrady and John Marnell, persuaded him that a fair rent alone would not be an effective protection for the tenants unless combined with perpetuity of tenure. Conner organized public meetings during that year and published a pamphlet putting forward his solution which was, in fact, two of the famed " three F's " demanded by Isaac Butt. Because of the disturbed state of the county, however, he discontinued his agitation.[3]

In 1834 McGrady and a number of others got up a petition calling for the abolition of tithes, the repeal of the Union and the reform of the laws regulating the relations of landlord and tenant. Lord Brougham, Lord Cloncurry and Feargus O'Connor each refused to present it to Parliament but the local M.P., Patt Lalor, finally presented it as one of a number of anti-tithe petitions and the section dealing with the land question was ignored. The following year Conner revived the public meetings and, in October, addressed large audiences at Baltinglass, Castledermot, Arles and Killeshin. He appears to have got some support

[1] *Leinster Express*, 14 Apr., 17 Nov. 1832.

[2] Charles Gavan Duffy, *League of north and south*, p. 50 ; *Leinster Express*, 19, 26 Mar. 1842 ; George O'Brien, ' William Conner ', in *Studies*, xii. 279-89 (June 1923).

[3] Conner, *Speech against rackrents* (1832). *Tipperary Vindicator*, 29 Sept. 1847 ; *Wexford Independent*, 11 Nov. 1848.

from the Catholic clergy, but because of a further outbreak of disturbances he again retired. Six years later, in 1841, he again took up the question and had his jaunting car reconstructed to serve as a portable platform. In December of that year he held a public meeting in the market square in Mountmellick in which he made a violent speech. He was charged with preaching sedition and was sentenced to six months imprisonment. During his enforced retirement he prepared for publication what purported to be the full text of the prosecuted speech but he carefully expunged violent sentences which even witnesses for the defence at his trial had to admit were spoken.[1]

In March 1843 Conner called another meeting, this time at Inch, and he judiciously arranged for it to coincide with the sale of his chattels which had been seized for arrears of rent by his landlord.[2] In the circumstances the sale was postponed. About this time the White Quakers were obtaining some notoriety and their leader, Joshua Jacob, refused to pay rent, rates or taxes. He also refused to recognize the right of any court to try him.[3] The White Quakers had a Meeting House in Mountmellick and Conner was apparently influenced by them when in September 1843 he proposed at the Repeal Association that repealers should pay no rent, county cess, rent charge, tithe, poor rate or any other charge arising out of land until repeal was granted. This suggestion received no support and as a result Conner was expelled from the Repeal Association.[4]

In the meantime William Sharman Crawford raised the land question in the House of Commons and on 2 July 1835 introduced a bill which proposed that the tenant should be entitled, on eviction, to compensation for improvements of a permanent nature made with the landlord's consent. In certain cases compensation might, according to this measure, have been awarded for improvements made without the consent of the landlord, provided they were such as the actual wants of the tenant required. It was to be left to the chairman of quarter sessions to decide in what cases the tenant would be entitled to compensation for improvements made without the consent of the landlord. He did not press the bill in 1835 but reintroduced it in the following year when it was refused a second reading. Crawford's cure for the evils of the land system was an extension of the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland. He did not, however, advocate fixity of tenure. This was in keeping with the free trade ideas current at the period for it was thought that only in open competition could prices and rents find their level.[5]

[1] Conner, *The prosecuted speech* (1842) pp. iii, xxviii, 1-2 ; *Carlow Sentinel*, 3, 10 Oct. 1835 ; *Leinster Independent*, 24 Oct. 1835 ; *Leinster Express*, 19 Mar. 1842 ; *The Times* (London), 15, 18 Mar. 1842.

[2] *Leinster Express*, 11 Mar. 1843.

[3] Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, 1654-1900, pp. 126-30.

[4] *Dublin Evening Post*, 19, 23 Sept. 1843.

[5] R. Barry O'Brien, *The parliamentary history of the Irish land question* (1880), pp. 63-4.

While free trade, however, was allowed to apply to the farmers competing for tenancies it did not apply to the sale and purchase of estates. Landed property was bound by laws of entail and primogeniture and powers of sale were restricted. This prevented impoverished landlords from selling their estates to solvent owners and also prevented the sale of land in small quantities to the tenants. The feudal system of land tenure was breaking down at this time on the continent. The revolution had led, in France, to the creation of a peasant proprietorship the beneficial effect of which was apparent in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In Prussia, too, the edicts of Hardenberg and Stein in 1811 abolished landlordism. It was not surprising then that continental travellers in Ireland should suggest a similar remedy for the land question there. Professor Frederick Von Raumer had been associated with Hardenberg's Prussian land reforms and after a short visit to Ireland in 1835 advocated " the complete abolition of the system of tenants at will and the conversion of all these tenants at will into proprietors ".[1] Gustave de Beaumont, a French commentator, maintained that " whenever Ireland shall have small proprietors the greater part of the miseries of the country will cease ". Von Raumer did not suggest any positive steps to achieve his object but de Beaumont proposed the abolition of restrictions on the sale of property. He would abolish entails but this alone would not lead to peasant proprietorship as the estates would be too large for purchase by individual tenants. To break up the estates he suggested the abolition of primogeniture and, in cases of intestacy, the division of the estate by gavelkind among the male children. By this means he thought that estates would gradually become smaller and would ultimately be small enough for tenants to purchase. This process, however, would be too slow to have any great effect. He also suggested the removal of all uncertainty of title so that land would be an acceptable security for loans which would enable tenants to purchase.[2]

It was apparently under de Beaumont's influence that Thomas Davis in an article in the *Citizen* in 1841 argued in favour of peasant proprietorship as distinct from fixity of tenure. He did not specify any means of attaining his object :

> The adoption of any particular plan for Irish tenures we think mischievous because premature. Some would postpone this tenure question to the hope of nationality. So would not we. So should no man for tenure is a question of life or death with the people. Yet it is equally far from us to counsel the postponement of the national question to it ; for though,

[1] Frederick Von Raumer, *England in 1835* (trs. by H. E. Lloyd, London, 1836), iii. 198, H. Von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the nineteenth century* (trs. by E. and C. Paul), i. 433, 441 ; Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xxi. 710.

[2] Gustave de Beaumont, *Ireland social political and religious* (trans. W. C. Taylor, 1839), ii. 229, 232, 242-9.

were that hope realised it would not (being political) cure the ills of tenure, which are social ; yet, inasmuch as the Irish landlords, if left alone, could not resist the popular demand for udal tenures [i.e. peasant proprietors] and, while supported by a foreign army, will never yield to that demand, it may not be unwise to regard this political change as a good means to that social end . . . At all events, let the question be spoken of, written of, preached, agitated, in fairs and markets, in church and by the fireside.'[1]

The Repeal Association was the nationalist political organization at this period and, while its main aim was repeal of the Act of Union, economic questions came within the ambit of its discussions. Within the Association was a group of young men, Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, who in 1842 founded the *Nation* whose subsequent influence in Ireland was enormous. In its early numbers Dillon wrote a number of articles on the land question. His main purpose was to secure a reduction in rents.[2] By the end of 1843 the writers in the *Nation* clearly demanded fixity of tenure for the tenants.[3]

In the meantime the activities of Sharman Crawford in parliament spurred the government to set up a commission to examine the problem. The Earl of Devon was appointed chairman and the commission sat from 1843 to 1845 and collected and published a mass of information on the system of land tenure in Ireland. Beyond making this mine of facts available the Devon commission did little. The commissioners were all landlords rendered impotent by their inherited opposition to limiting arbitrary rights of property. They condemned tenant right as an infringement of those rights but did not suggest its abolition. They rather hoped that it might be superseded by some reform of the law of landlord and tenant which would guarantee to the latter " a fair remuneration for the outlay of his capital and labour " in case of dispossession—that is, compensation for improvements—but they did not propose the granting of fixity of tenure. In 1845 Lord Stanley introduced a bill to guarantee compensation for improvements made with the landlord's consent or, without this consent, if approved by a commissioner of improvements but the bill was dropped on the defeat of the Tories in 1846.[4]

The publication of the Devon Commission report caused renewed activity in the Repeal Association. In March and April 1845 a subcommittee which included Daniel O'Connell, William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Davis [5] examined the findings of the commissioners and

[1] Thomas Davis, *Essays, literary and historical* (D. J. O'Donoghue, ed. 1914), pp. 85-9.
[2] *Nation*, 22, 29 Oct., 19 Nov. 1842.
[3] Ibid., 23 Dec. 1843.
[4] Barry O'Brien, op. cit., pp. 71-7 ; *Devon Commission Report*, pp. 12-16.
[5] *Irish Monthly*, xvi. 341-4 (1888).

issued three reports. In the first they pointed out that Ulster tenant right appeared to be in danger and proposed its extension by law to the rest of the country. In their second report they suggested the imposition of a tax on absentees. Their final statement was more thorough and made more comprehensive proposals. These were mainly the general recognition of tenant right by limiting the powers of eviction given to landlords and the acceptance of the principle that the tenant was entitled to compensation for all improvements made by him. The suggestions of Von Raumer and de Beaumont regarding the creation of a peasant proprietorship were also examined and it was proposed that courts of equity be established, upon petition from tenants for life, to sell portions of estates to liquidate mortgages. It was recommended that these portions should be sold in small lots, discharged from incumbrances, with right of pre-emption to the occupiers, so as to allow persons with moderate capital to invest their money in the purchase of land. The subcommittee also advocated that the Crown estates should be similarly disposed of and that the division and sale of estates should be facilitated.[1] This demand for land purchase received little public support. James McGrady who had left his farm in Queen's County and taken a post on the staff of the *Wexford Independent,* wrote a series of letters under the pen name " Plain Speaker " maintaining that " no man who is able and willing to purchase land altogether should be compelled to pay rent always ".[2] At the same time his friend John Marnell wrote to James Fintan Lalor suggesting that in all cases where estates were sold the Crown should be the purchaser and the option should be reserved for each tenant to pay off the principal and interest due on his holding over a number of years.[3] This was the first proposal of state aided land purchase in Ireland and was not given any publicity. The main objective at the time was tenant right and the other proposals were but alternatives which were demanded when the minimum of tenant protection was refused.

Lalor himself had been intimately associated with William Conner since about 1831 and was deeply interested in the land problem. Instead of trying to solve the question by *ad hoc* reforms, he attempted to examine the origins and legal basis of the rights of property. He traced the beginnings of society to a social contract and maintained that in English law the land was handed over by the people to the king who, in turn, granted it to the landlords. He denied that the rule of the monarch of England in Ireland was based on any such contract of the Irish people and so denied the king's title to be lord paramount of Irish land. As a republican he eliminated the king and modified English

[1] *Reports of the Parliamentary Committee of the Royal National Repeal Association*, ii. 295-9, 318-27.

[2] *Wexford Independent,* 13 Mar., 3, 10 Apr., 16 June, 14 Aug. 1847.

[3] N.L.I., MS 340, John Marnell to J. F. Lalor, 29 Mar. 1847.

feudal law accordingly. He proclaimed that the land of Ireland belonged to the people of Ireland, not in a communistic sense but in the same way as by legal fiction the land of England belongs to the Crown. The people could give grants of land in fee to landlords just as the king gave in England. A landlord who was a traitor to Ireland lost his lands to the people just as he would to the Crown in England. Lalor did not limit the landlords' power over the tenants on the basis of communal justice or of charity but on the grounds that the landlords' tenure was given by the people who would not give them power to oppress themselves.[1]

Though he was the son of Patt Lalor, an M.P., James Fintan Lalor took no public part in politics until January 1847 when a group of Young Irelanders who had left the Repeal Association, formed the Irish Confederation. He then wrote to Gavan Duffy suggesting that the new body should link the national and agrarian movements by calling on the people to withhold their rents. Unlike Conner he was selecting a single law for general disobedience much as his father had done by refusing to pay tithes. The Young Irelanders, however, believed that they could form an alliance with landlords, who were showing signs of awakening nationalism in the Reproductive Employment Committee and hoped to gain their support by appealing to them. Lalor agreed to appeal to the landlords but foreseeing the likelihood of failure suggested that the Irish Confederation set a dead line of 1 September after which, if the landlords were still uncooperative, they should call for organized resistance to rents. In the columns of the *Nation* Lalor called on the landlords to accept representatives of the tenants as the commons of a national council and suggested that landlords and tenants could then come to some agreement which should guarantee security of tenure in an effective form to the tenants. While Lalor was appealing to the landlords he believed that the Confederates would support the second part of his policy and was disappointed when they refused. He felt that he had been allowed to issue threats to which, without the assistance of Young Ireland, he could give no practical effect.[2]

In the meantime numerous tenant leagues were founded throughout the country. In January 1847 William H. Trenwith formed one in Cork and Dr Maginn, the Catholic Bishop of Derry, James McKnight, editor of the *Londonderry Standard*, and Samuel McCurdy Greer established others in Ulster. Their purpose was to protect the tenants and to have the Ulster custom legally recognized and extended throughout the country. In Ulster the tenant farmers were uneasy lest the Devon

[1] See my article ' The economic and political ideas of James Fintan Lalor ', in *Ir. Eccles. Rec.*, lxxiv. 398-409 (Nov. 1950).

[2] Charles Gavan Duffy, *Young Ireland, Pt. II—Four years of Irish history* (People's Edition), pp. 130-40 ; R.I.A., MS 12. p. 15 (4), J. F. Lalor to J. Mitchel, 21 June, 1847 (printed in L. Fogarty, *James Fintan Lalor*, pp. 42/6).

Commission report might lead to the abolition of their rights though indirect legal recognition had been accorded them by the Land Clauses Act of 1845 which enforced compensation for tenants for lands taken over by the railway companies.

Lalor, feeling that the *Nation* was irrevocably committed to the vain effort to convert the landlords, decided to appeal to the tenants through the tenant right leagues. He called a public meeting at Holycross on 19 September 1847 to organize the Tipperary tenants. Though the meeting was widely publicized, for many reasons it failed to form an effective association. Lalor had failed to get clerical support ; an opposition league was being formed in the county at the same time by P. B. Ryan of Borrisoleigh ; the meeting was badly organized and was finally disrupted by the unorthodox interference of William Conner. The main claims put forward by Lalor at the meeting were for fair rents, fixity of tenure, and compensation for improvements if a tenant had for any reason to surrender his holding.[1]

In general the tenant leagues were not prospering. John O'Connell, who had inherited the leadership of the Repeal Association, first denounced tenant meetings as useless and unnecessary but later called musters in Waterford, Wexford and Tipperary similar to the Holycross meeting.[2] O'Connell had not the ability of his father but his name was still powerful with the Irish tenants and so kept them apart from the leagues. In Ulster there were tenant right dinners to Sharman Crawford at Derry, Downpatrick and Coleraine and a representative meeting of Ulster tenants at Dungannon. A new society was formed by Dr Henry Montgomery, the Antrim and Down Tenant-Right Association, and occasioned some bitterness as it was considered a rival to that established by James McKnight.[3]

Among the members of the Irish Confederation Lalor's writings had aroused criticism. John Mitchel, seeing the awful effects of famine, chafed at the lack of policy and became so extreme by the end of 1847 as to adopt William Conner's proposal of 1843 to pay no imposts on land whatever. He did not, apparently, advert to the fact that refusal to pay poor rates would have taken away the subsistence of those dependent on the poor law. He broke from the Confederates in January 1848 but the French Revolution in the following month led to greater unity in the Irish Confederation and in the political heat of state trials and rebellion the land question dropped into the background.

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[1] Fogarty, *J. F. Lalor*, pp. 47-51 ; N.L.I., MS 340, Draft speech of J. F. Lalor (19 Sept., 1847).

[2] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Sept. 1847 ; *Tipperary Vindicator*, 27 Oct., 17 Nov., 1 Dec., 1847.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Brian A. Kennedy for permission to use his unpublished essay, 'The tenant-right agitation in Ulster, 1845/50'. A synopsis was published in *Ir. Comm. Hist. Sc. Bulletin*, no. 34.

Nevertheless the question which had been raised by William Conner was, by now, of foremost importance and was discussed by persons of the highest rank. On 25 October 1847, a deputation of the Catholic bishops presented a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Clarendon, asking for " an equitable arrangement of the relations between landlords and tenants ".[1] The professor of economics in Trinity College, Dublin, William Neilson Hancock, was strongly in favour of some form of tenant right being accorded by law,[2] and Jonathan Pim, the head of a prominent business firm in Dublin, and secretary to the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends wrote in favour of extending peasant proprietorship.[3] In England too some support had been won. John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, said " Nothing can be done for Ireland without transforming her rural population from cottier tenants into something else . . . I contend that the object should be the transformation, as far as circumstances admit, into landed proprietors ". It is doubtful if he really meant the creation of a peasant proprietorship for he says elsewhere " A tenant at a quit rent is, to all intents and purposes, a proprietor ; a copy holder is not less so than a freeholder. What is wanted is perpetuity of possession on fixed terms ".[4] John Bright, who was later to champion reform, was also won over in this period and was obviously influenced by de Beaumont's suggestions in favour of peasant proprietorship.[5]

The English government saw the necessity for some land reform and, in February 1848, Sir William Somerville, the Irish Chief Secretary, introduced a bill to grant a limited tenant-right. Its principle was that the consent of the landlord should be a necessary condition to enable the tenant to recover compensation for improvements. Sharman Crawford and the Irish members felt that the bill might undermine the Ulster custom but as it was a step in the right direction they did not strongly oppose it. It was, however, ultimately dropped. In the following year a new government bill was introduced. The Devon Commission had reported on the necessity for giving relief to the tenants, but the Encumbered Estates Act was designed to assist the impecunious landlords. Provision was made for the sale of mortgaged estates but no attempt was made to create a peasant proprietorship on these estates and even the security of the tenants was not safeguarded in the transfers. The land question was certainly not settled by this measure but the principle of government interference had been accepted.

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[1] *Catholic Directory*, 1848, pp. 238-41.

[2] W. N. Hancock, *The tenant-right of Ulster considered economically* (Dublin, 1845).

[3] (J. Pim), *Observations on the evils resulting to Ireland from insecurity of title and the existing laws of real property* (Dublin, 1847).

[4] 1848 edition, i. 328, 382.

[5] Hansard, 3rd ser., ci. 537-8.

The appeals of the tenants for subsistence had, during the preceding decades, crystallized into coherent political demands. When Gavan Duffy was released from prison in 1849 he decided to use the Tenant Protection Society recently formed at Kilkenny as the nucleus for a league uniting all the tenant associations in Ireland. He put the land question in the forefront of Irish politics and there it remained giving strength to the national aspirations until near the end of the century.

Sir William Gregory

by JOSEPH M. HONE

IT is little more than twenty years ago since Lady Gregory died at the age of 80 ; there can be few now living who can remember her husband Sir William who was born in July 1817, in the Under-Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park, and, as a child, saw dining there the old Lord Norbury the hanging judge, Saurin, the Attorney General and Chief Justices Bushe and Doherty. Augusta Persse was his second wife. They were married in 1880 and he died in 1892. His widow's first literary undertaking was the editing of the memoirs that he composed during the last years of his life at Coole. " He never spoke of their publication," she wrote in a short preface, " and probably would not have thought them worth bringing before the outer world. I think differently."

Others too thought differently ; my copy of the *Autobiography* is a second edition, dated 1894. On re-reading it lately I am not surprised that the book met with some success. Gregory had an interesting career and he was an interesting man, widely travelled, highly cultivated, and, for an Irish landlord of the period, he was singularly independent in his judgment on men and on things.

Gregory's great grandfather, son of Henry Gregory of Galway city, made a very large fortune in the East India Company, with which he not only purchased the Irish property of Coole, worth £7,000 a year, but two English estates and a seat in the House of Commons for an English constituency. He was a Liberal ; the friend of Fox and Burke ; his son, when placed comfortably in the Under-Secretary's Lodge, adopted the ultra-Tory opinions of the Protestant ascendancy after the Union, without however allowing his personal relations with Catholics to be affected. O'Connell credited him with " some Irish feelings," and his wife, Lady Anne Trench, shocked her relations by entertaining friends of Catholic Emancipation at the Lodge.

His grandson, Lady Gregory's future husband, grew up caring more for the classics, art and horses than for politics ; and it was with some reluctance that he stood for Dublin in 1842 against the pro-Catholic whig, Lord Morpeth, a former Chief Secretary, who had O'Connell's support. Backed by the Rev. Tresham Gregg, " a mighty man of valour among the lower classes of the Protestants " and by Isaac Butt of T.C.D., then an Orangeman, Gregory was pretty sure of winning. But he did not relish his allies. When charged with having mingled in their cry, " To hell with the Pope and Popery," he made a violent disclaimer. This pleased O'Connell, who on the Nomination day asked

to shake his hand, saying. " If you will only whisper the little word *repeal*—just whisper it, I will be the first tomorrow to vote for you."

Gregory carried the day, but once in Parliament he refused to take " the low Protestant line."

> One of the first petitions I was requested to present was a supplication to pass a measure to Prevent the Roman Catholics from having bells in their chapels. Another was to refuse all further measures of relief to " millions of factious idolaters." I need scarcely say that with the concurrence of Sir Robert Peel, I refused to present these documents which did not increase my popularity with the lowest class of Dublin voters.

Shortly after the election when crossing to London, O'Connell spied Gregory in the cabin of the steam packet and called him over to sit by him. " Now you're just in the proper place by Old Dan ", he said, hugely enjoying the scandalized looks of an Orange politician also in the cabin— " you're where you should be—by my side." The impression of the charm of that hour remained with Gregory until the end of his long life, and never again could he share the dislike of O'Connell which, as he reminds us, was felt by many liberal-minded Protestants, such as Lady Anne, his own mother. Nor was this the last occasion on which he was carried away by the old man's humour and passion ; for in the House of Commons O'Connell would frequently invite him to cross the floor for a talk on Ireland. In an article written fifty years afterwards he tenderly recalled these associations.

> I stood last January by the marble slab in the Church of St Agatha in Rome which contains the heart of O'Connell. And he came before me sitting beside me in the Commons . . . when he told me of Derrynane and of the great cliffs on which the Atlantic thundered, and of the great sea in all its moods, of the music of his beagles and his home happiness ; and I wondered how the image of such a man could ever have grown faint in the hearts of his countrymen ; and I thought after all, it was well that he should have been long since at peace, and that his relic should be consigned to that quiet church.

Looking back on his public life, Gregory could never think without shame of the treatment inflicted on Ireland throughout O'Connell's period ; and especially as to the manner in which O'Connell was personally dealt with. And there was one part of the O'Connellite programme, the disestablishment of the Irish Church and denominational education, which had his full assent. " I held the claims of the Roman Catholic clergy to have confided in them the full education of their flocks to be well justified and sound."

Subsequently, when member for Galway county, Gregory succeeded on various occasions in remedying injustices committed in the name

of religion. He introduced and carried a Bill which nullified a decision of the Poor Law Board that foundlings in Irish workhouses, whose religion could not be ascertained, should be brought up as members of the Established Church. He also helped in removing the insulting oaths which Catholics were obliged to take on entering Parliament and in putting an end to tampering with the religion of children in Irish industrial schools. But of all his efforts of this kind, his success in opening Glasnevin Gardens to the public on Sundays seems to have pleased him most. These gardens were at the time (1861) under the management of the Royal Dublin Society, the members of which thought it no sin to go there on Sundays with their wives and little ones, but protested most vehemently that to throw open the gardens on Sundays to the general public would be a clear violation of the Sabbath. The Society was forced to yield when Gregory procured a pledge from the Government not to furnish it with further money grants till the gardens were thrown open on Sunday afternoons. Thus encouraged he proceeded to agitate for the Sunday opening of the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens, for which 35,000 workmen had petitioned. The Scottish clergy, however, proved a tougher proposition than the R.D.S., and they countered with a petition signed by 63,000 against opening, many of the signatures being children in schools acting under direction of their parents and teachers. Palmerston, the Prime Minister, felt that it would not do to let the Scottish Sabbath be interfered with by the representative of an Irish constituency, and Gregory's motion was defeated.

Gregory when first he entered Parliament was a follower of Sir Robert Peel and he went with the Conservative leader when in 1846 he broke up his party by espousing the cause of free trade. But in the debates on the Irish Famine he gave warm support to a bill drawn up by his racing friend, Lord George Bentinck, a High Tory Protectionist, for a State loan of £16,000,000 for the construction of Irish railways. As an instance of the failure of private enterprise to cope with the tragedy, he pointed out that three days previously not a ton of meal could be purchased in Galway, though there were ten thousand tons in the Government store at that place. Lord John Russell and Peel joined with the Radical doctrinaires of Free Trade in violently assailing the Bill and it was rejected by a huge majority.

During the fever that followed the famine, Gregory's father took ill and died while attending the sick on the Kinvara portion of his estate in company with the parish priest, Fr Ford, who also perished. Gregory inherited rents of £7,800 a year ; but they were largely swallowed up by the high poor rates and by his own racing debts. Unhappily for himself, he continued to trust to a stroke of good fortune on the turf, instead of resorting to economy and a quiet life at Coole. At the same time he did a good turn to himself and to his fellow-landlords, and also to the larger

farmers, by inserting in the new Poor Law a clause whereby a tenant who occupied more than quarter of an acre was denied public relief unless he gave up his land in excess of this amount. In this way a further rise in rates was prevented, but it meant that the starving small holder was left with the alternatives of emigration or transformation into an agricultural labourer on the " consolidated " estates. The majority of Irish members, including O'Connell's son, voted for the clause ; but Gregory was never forgiven by the great champion of the Western cottier, Archbishop MacHale, with whom his family had hitherto been on friendly terms.

Although Gregory subsequently admitted that the clause had been perverted to do evil, he yet maintained that a severe test had been necessary to prevent pauperization of the country. He suffered from worse twinges of conscience after selling his Kinvara property in the Encumbered Estates Court. Kinvara had been the poorest part of the Gregory estate, but the tenants had by their labour greatly increased its wealth by clearing large areas of their rocky holdings and by growing excellent barley crops. Their rents, which the Gregorys had never raised, were immediately doubled by the newcomer, a local carpenter, and the town of Kinvara was all but ruined by the flight to America of the best tenants. This experience turned Gregory into a tenant righter and in 1863, when member for Galway, he introduced a bill to provide some stability of tenure, instancing the scandalous action of the Law Life Insurance Company, which, having become the largest landowner in the west of Ireland as creditor of the Martin Connemara estates, had forthwith raised all the rents and taken the rights of pasture over mountain land from the small tenants and handed them over to large farmers. It is very interesting to learn that he sought Gladstone's support for his bill, but Gladstone had not yet discovered Ireland, and he met with a blank refusal. " What you want," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, " is to interfere with a man's property. I will have nothing to do with it." Eventually by his revelations Gregory shamed the Company into parting with its property ; but as the same agent continued to manage it, the tenants gained but little by the change.

Among much else that is of Irish interest in Gregory's memoirs may be mentioned his account of the abortive attempt in the 1850's to make Galway a port of call for the Atlantic Steamship Company. His championship of the project assured him a safe seat as member for the county until Disraeli " stole the Whigs clothes " and further extended the franchise. In 1872 he accepted the governorship of Ceylon ; but before that he had had the satisfaction of voting for Gladstone's first Land Act and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

On his retirement from Ceylon, Gregory spent his time between Coole and London, with occasional trips to the East. The political

reign of the landlords in the west had come to an end and he took no further part in Irish public life. Lady Gregory says his hope for Ireland lay in the extension of land purchase, which he tried to put into practice on his own estate. He never uttered the little word *Repeal*, although while still in Parliament he had advocated the cause of Serbian independence, of the Roumanian provinces under Russian rule, and of the South against the North in America, frequently finding himself on such questions almost alone in the parties to which he nominally belonged. In later life he took up the cause of Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian nationalist, and in this way, came into contact with Wilfrid Blunt, Tory Squire and champion of small nations, including Ireland, but, as Blunt's biographer says, Gregory in all his politics put his idea of English interests first, the small nation next. When Blunt published his revolutionary poem *The Canon of Aughrim,* Lady Gregory wrote with a humour characteristic of her : " Sir William says it is wonderfully good and will do a great deal of harm, which is the compliment you will really care for." Sir William, however, raised no objection to his wife's effort to provide the poet, when Balfour's prisoner in Galway jail, with a decent overcoat. Blunt set Lady Gregory on the path to Irish nationality long before she met Yeats ; their friendship continued until the end and he made her his literary executor.

Congress of the International Catholic Cinema Office

by ANDREW DIVINEY, S.J.

THE annual congress of the International Catholic Cinema Office was held this year for the first time in Ireland. This organization, more universally known as the O.C.I.C., is devoted to studying the cinema in its effect on the moral well-being of the millions who daily attend the cinema. It was set up in 1928 at the request of His Holiness Pope Pius XI. Since 1946 the congress has organized annual study days which have been held in different countries and have been attended by delegates from all over the world. The Congress was held in Newman House, Dublin, from the 3rd to the 6th July, the Irish National Film Institute acting as host. Fifty-one delegates, including representatives from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States, met to discuss the many aspects of the problem of the extent and influence of the moral classification of films. This subject was the logical development of the theme discussed by the congress in Cologne last year, namely, the justification and necessity of the moral classification of films. At Newman House, in a friendly and invigorating atmosphere, the delegates attacked the problem efficiently and realistically.

The delegates were welcomed by Right Reverend Mgr T. F. O'Reilly, P.P., V.G., on behalf of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. The Abbé Bernard presided and having welcomed the delegates, outlined in brief the programme to be covered. The Pontifical Commission for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television sent a message of good wishes. In a letter from the Secretariate of State, the congress was informed of the Holy Father's benevolent interest, and the delegates were encouraged to continue in the work already begun. On the second day, His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, Most Reverend John C. McQuaid, D.D., addressed the congress and pointed out that the moral law which pervades all human activity cannot be ignored in the sphere of æsthetics.

This year a new method of work was introduced. The papers were not read during the time of the congress, as the delegates were presumed to have studied them before the meeting: the writers merely presented a resumé of their work at the plenary session. Afterwards the general assembly broke up for discussion into four language groups—Spanish, German, French and English—each section with its own president and secretary. The discussions were carefully planned to cover a three day period, each day being devoted to a single general aspect which was divided and sub-divided to avoid vagueness, the occupational disease of delegates attending international congresses. The first day was spent discussing the methods of publicizing moral classification

and the efficiency of these publications ; the second day was devoted to the effect of classification on the public ; on the third and last day, the influence of classification on the cinematographic trade was studied, and the problem of Catholic halls was thrashed out. The sectional discussions were directed by the presidents to cover as thoroughly as possible the points which had been previously decided upon. It was at these discussions that the expert knowledge and sane outlook of the delegates appeared most strikingly. By no means destructive critics of the cinema, they showed themselves possessed of a keen appreciation of its technical and artistic aspects. Their desire was to use the positive potentiality of this " incomparable instrument of knowledge and culture." Following the sectional discussions, the presidents and secretaries met together to compare notes and draw up a comprehensive report of the day's proceedings. This report was presented in each of the four representative languages to the general assembly in the afternoon session. The day's work concluded with a general discussion in which the interchange of ideas was greatly facilitated by the ability of the translators.

The three-day plan of discussion was based on the replies to the questionnaire prepared by Fr Lunders, O.P. from Belgium. During the first day's discussion when the delegates were investigating the efficiency of various methods of diffusion of moral classification, an interesting point was raised apropos of local distribution. Fr Hayes from the U.S.A. drew attention to the system by which the Legion of Decency operated. In each diocese in the States there is one priest appointed to take care of films. It is his duty to see that the moral classification issued by the reviewing board is made available to all local centres in the diocese. He also decides if some particular action should be taken in his area, and what form it should take. Fr J. A. V. Burke from England also recommended this idea and pointed out that this local distribution could be the responsibility of some lay person.

The perennial problem of the relation of art and morality was also raised when the question was asked : " Would the publication of the moral classification be made more efficacious if good films were positively recommended, and if an appreciation of the artistic value of the film were given ? " Here again the delegates showed their positive approach to the problems of the cinema. Their aim was not merely to confine their attention to the moral value of films, but also positively to promote the production of good motion pictures. Fr Hayes pointed out here how the work of the Legion of Decency become more effective when they ceased to give judgments on the technical and artistic side of films, and confined themselves solely to moral rating, i.e. to classifying films as morally objectionable or morally un-objectionable. However, he said that there were other groups in the United States who did look to the more positive side of things.

On the second day when the general question was discussed—why is the moral classification not better observed ?—there was fairly general agreement that indifference to religion was *not* one of the causes. An important point was raised here apropos of the interest of the clergy. It was shown that many

priests seemed unaware of the Encyclical *Vigilanti Cura.* They looked on the cinema merely as a means of entertainment for themselves and in so far as it concerned the faithful it was a matter of little importance.

The question of a yearly pledge to avoid bad films was also discussed. This annual pledge has proved very effective in the U.S.A. and also in Germany, but has not been used in many other countries. However, it was pointed out how strongly His Holiness Pope Pius XI recommended the pledge—" Above all," he said, " all Pastors of souls will undertake to obtain each year from their people a pledge similar to the one already alluded to, which is given by their American brothers and in which they promise to stay away from motion pictures, plays which are offensive to truth and to Christian morality."

On the last day the question of the influence of moral classification on the cinema trade with particular reference to Catholic halls was discussed. Conditions in Ireland were investigated, and Mr T. J. M. Sheehy with his first hand knowledge of the state of affairs in Ireland proved very helpful. He explained his use of the title " Peoples' Cinema " over his column devoted to 16 mm. films in *The Irish Catholic,* and said that up to the present local halls were free from what is known as the block-booking system, whereby, in order to get some good film, the manager is forced to book a number of others, even though he may not wish to show them. Here again the collaboration of the clergy was called for. It was pointed out that while lay managers of cinemas are usually cautious about booking films which have been criticized on moral grounds, in some countries priests in charge of 16 mm. halls are not always so careful and have an eye to the box-office rather than to the quality of the film shown.

Although papers were presented by representatives of various countries, space does not permit detailed discussion of them here ; we must content ourselves with a brief outline of some of the more general papers.

Fr J. A. V. Burke, an English delegate, in his paper entitled, *Practical Considerations,* stressed the fact that in spite of the numerous pronouncements of the Holy See with reference to the cinema, it is common to meet excellent and devout Catholics, clerical and lay, who seem never to have heard of this official work of the Church. Or, if they have, they discuss it as the private fad of a few devoted cranks, or as the phobia of nervous reactionaries. While considering the cinema as recreation, they blandly ignore the implications of films, unmindful that the cinema touches the consciousness of people at every level of their emotional experience and desire, and unaware that, in its role of Universal Educator, it claims teaching authority, however, falsely at times, in matters of science, politics, history, religion. Searching for the reasons for this deficiency on the part of Catholics, which can by no means be written off as ill-will, Fr Burke suggested that it is in a measure due to ignorance, especially on the part of educated Catholics, and paradoxically enough, of the " intelligentsia." (For instance, a most influential Catholic review in England refused to give regular space to the discussion of current films and cinematographic developments on the grounds that a film worth

notice so seldom turns up—a plausible though scarcely justified plea.) This attitude of aloofness is among other things responsible for the feeling that a system of classification which accentuates the merely negative side of films is not worth the attention of educated Catholics, if its only purpose is to put a veto on what is, in any case, beneath the consideration of decent people. When those above, imposing sanctions, give the impression that the Church has not any interest in good cinema or in its artistic and technical achievements, those below come to regard moral classification as a one-sided prejudice proper to professional moralists. This danger can be combated by a sympathetic and adult understanding among educated Catholics.

The French *Revue Internationale du Cinema* courageously attempted to provide a forum in which, as the first editorial expressed it " a true Christian philosophy of the motion picture may eventually be fashioned " but, as a pioneer endeavour, it still awaits more widespread and effectual recognition. If enlightened appreciation of the cinema is lacking, there is bound to be indifference towards moral classification on account of its negative flavour. There is, after all, a moral snobbishness with which even the best of us is tainted, which rebels against the implication that we need to be safeguarded from so obvious a danger as immoral films. The difficulty can be lessened by making it clear that the authorities imposing and requiring adherence to moral classification of any kind, quite well understand the fact that, as films conform more and more closely to the higher standards and principles of true cinema art, so will the moral sanctions become less urgent.

Having discussed the means to develop a right attitude towards the problem Fr Burke stressed the felt need of the faithful for a firm lead from the Hierarchy. " This leads one, logically, to a consideration of one of the most important, one might say *the* most important, aspect of Catholic film action. This is the efficacious, sympathetic and constructive support which only the Hierarchies can give. Nothing can replace in the minds of the people the note of authenticity and validity which is imparted to the apostolate by the combined voices of the Bishops, speaking with evident understanding and authority on a subject which they commend to the hearts and minds and hands of their faithful . . . It is a matter of observation that those countries in which Catholic film centres are most flourishing are those, precisely, in which the Bishops have provided this indispensable moral support."

The paper of Pierre d'André, a French delegate, *Catholics and the Cinema*, dealt with the problem of the cinema, having special reference to the exhibitors, distributors and producers of films. He pointed out that even a Catholic exhibitor is not always in a position to draw up programmes as he would like, and that the demands of the public in the moral plane could be for him an effective prop in the battle against the claims of the distributor. Thus to-day, distributors, uneasy about the financial repercussions that a low classification of a film could have for them and conscious also of being deliberately deprived of any collaboration on the part of the Catholic public, are proposing cuts more frequently to attain the approval of the Catholic classifica-

tion. On the positive side, if good films are systematically pushed forward by local teams and a network of lecturers, a more firm and more comprehensive stand could perhaps be taken against distributors. Producers, so often, unfortunately, badly informed on the real taste and demand of the Catholic clientele are also anxious to please. According as Catholics make their voice heard and define their policy, producers in turn will become conscious of Catholic strength, not so much to fear it as to utilize it. The educating of the producer will involve long-term work, a vast amount of time and energy, endless patience and professional workers. Yet any results, even the most modest, are worth the effort. But the final decision as to the type of film to be made rests not with the critic, not with the producer, but with the public ; since, when all is told, the customer is always right.

In Italy, the organized halls represent one-fifth of the whole of the Italian economic cinematographic market, so it was interesting to hear what its representative, Signor I. Avetta, had to say on the subject in his paper *The Moral Classification of Films and Catholic Halls*. Regarding the scant attention often given to the moral classification of films, he referred to Fr Lunders's report on the Belgian Catholic Cinematograph Centre where it was stated that the concessions which are being made to films that are morally objectionable, by showing them in parochial halls, are among the reasons why the general public and especially the youth feel justified in ignoring the classification. The lack of cohesion between the grading and actual films shown is by no means due to any ill-will on the part of the managers of the halls. They are mostly priests who have taken on their work with apostolic zeal, attempting to transform the cinema " into a precious instrument of edification and elevation " (*Vigilanti Cura*). It is regrettable that, due to the scarcity of films which are morally sound and to the financial burdens weighing on those who are managing the halls, their good intentions are hampered. The manager often feels he must choose between the healthy entertainment of second rate films and the emotion of a super-colossus ; and the choice, in the face of an unscrupulous rival commercial cinema, is not easy. Following the grave pronouncements of the Pontifical Commission for the Cinema, a large scale experiment has been put into practice throughout Italy to deal with the situation : in every diocese, commissions have been set up to take care of the question of films, under the presidency of a priest delegated by the bishop. Also, to help efficiency, regional commissions have been organized. The diocesan appointee arranges which films will be shown in the various halls. Next comes the regional office for the assistance of the Halls. It aids the parish priest in his transactions with the film distributors, having regard to the regulation of the local diocesan commission. Later the parish priest will have no contact with the distributors, since the office will arrange for programmes which meet the requirements of the halls and of the distributors. The office will take over the films, censor them, and send the films to the parish halls. Then they will take them back and re-adjust them to their original forms and finally return them to the distributor. To-day the organized halls, in spite of commercial opposition, are no longer subjected to the whim of the distributor. The producers, afraid of the loss incurred by negative classification,

now continually submit their own films as well as the imported films for approval.

Mr T. J. M. Sheehy, as a background to his paper on the delicate subject of *Boycotting of Films,* gave some interesting information on the cinema in Ireland, where, he said, conditions are unique. All our entertainment films are imported—90 per cent from America, and the rest from England, with the exception of a few from the Continent. The renting of these films is done through offices in Dublin, so that we have practically no direct contact with America. For a film to be a financial success in Ireland it must be released for its first run in one of the nine major Dublin cinemas. Films are censored by the government censor on the basis of their suitability for general audiences. In introducing his paper, Mr Sheehy apologized for the personal note in which it was written. His experience of boycotting was a personal one. Through his column in *The Irish Catholic* and through various personal contacts, he had succeeded in preventing at least two sensational films from being shown in Dublin. These films had achieved a certain notoriety due to their flagrantly immoral content and even though they had been severely censored in this country, Mr Sheehy felt it necessary to oppose their showing. For even if a censored version were shown here, it would not be clear to the world at large that the film as shown in Ireland was not the same as had caused so much adverse criticism in other countries by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Mr Sheehy also felt that film producers should be shown that they could not get revenue in Ireland from films which were sold as sensational, and which relied on sordid themes for their attraction, even though only the purged version was shown in this country.

His paper presented on the third day of the congress, gave rise to lively discussion. Two different notions of boycotting had to be carefully distinguished. The term as used on the Continent usually implies public demonstration against a particular film while in the mind of Mr Sheehy it means a calm, disciplined, carefully planned campaign. The effect aimed at is the complete ostracism by a particular section of the community of some unworthy film. Those delegates who took the first meaning of boycott were usually not in favour of this means being used, as such public demonstrations frequently ended in failure and their only effect was to give free publicity to the film attacked. However, there had been cases where such demonstrations produced good effects. It was agreed that the problem of boycotting films needed further consideration, but in the meanwhile, the delegates knew that they had, in Mr Sheehy's paper, a solid basis on which to carry out further investigations on the subject.

At the close, a specially selected committee drew up the conclusions of the congress under three headings. Among the points decided upon were the following :

More effective use of all available means of local diffusion, press, radio, etc.

That the public be given not merely a condemnation of bad films, but also a positive recommendation of films which merit this both morally and technically.

When considering the influence of the classification upon the public, the committee urged that Catholics become more conscientious in this matter.

That a greater respect would be obtained for the classifications if the public had a better knowledge of the reasons for each of the decisions and of the working of the classifications.

It was also urged that film appreciation be taught in seminaries. When considering the influence of moral classification on the industry the committee asked that film distributors be given every assistance to assess their responsibility with regard to the moral values of their programmes.

The attention of parents and teachers was drawn to their obligation to take account of advertised moral classifications.

And so the congress concluded for this year. But the work of the O.C.I.C. will continue in the effort to make the motion picture " moral, an influence for good morals, an educator."

Reviews

APOLOGETICS

THE CHURCH AND INFALLIBILITY. By B. C. Butler, Abbot of Downside. London : Sheed and Ward Ltd. 1954. 12s. 6d.

Dr Salmon's polemic against Catholicism, *The Infallibility of the Church*, was out of print for nearly thirty years before it was re-issued, in abridged form, in 1952. The new edition was introduced by a Canadian Episcopalian, Dr Carey, in a preface which described it as not only valuable, but incomparable. For a judgment on the book that is marked by the calm and courtesy in which alone debate is fruitful, we have now the reply of the Cambridge convert, Dom Butler. We must be grateful to him, not merely for his able and adequate refutation of Salmon's theses, but for his attempt to clear the air of the atmosphere of Luther's Table Talk and the Maria Monk type of polemic, in which unfortunately Salmon moved happily.

Dom Butler begins by pointing out that Salmon was answered fifty years ago in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* which recently reprinted the reply, lengthy but very lively. He refers, however, to appeal to " the distinguished Anglican scholar, Dr Jalland " (*The Church and the Papacy*) and " the greatest of the twentieth-century Liberal Protestants," von Harnack, to contrast their historical judgements with those of Salmon, rather than simply state his own views or those of other Catholics. This does not mean that he merely quotes out of their context non-Catholic refutations of Salmon. The method assures the reader that the facts are presented fully and that the author's personal verdict is not necessarily biassed. At least it should serve to warn readers of Salmon that the counsel for the prosecution has not said the last word in historical research.

With regard to the theology of infallibility, Dom Butler goes to some trouble to show how Salmon " gravely misrepresented " Newman. In his charity he suggests that this may be due to sheer ignorance, but he is constrained to remark that " if Salmon had not read the *Apologia* he had no right to describe Newman's states of mind at all." As a sample of the " naivete " of Salmon's logic we may take the argument, one of many analysed by Dom Butler, that the infallibility of the Church is not of the class of judgments on which men may have certitude ; the very existence of heretics should prove that the Church's credentials are not " unmistakable." On which Dom Butler comments that this logic would destroy Christ's own claims (which Salmon admits), because the Jews rejected His credentials. And since Salmon's criterion of certainty is " that on which all men agree," he can ask if the state of the world proves that Christianity itself is uncertain. He finds " the unscientific temper of Salmon's mind " showing itself clearly in the " impatient rejection of the all-important theological distinction " between *ex cathedra* and other papal utterances. Salmon will not admit as rational that Catholics, as in the Vatican definition, should distinguish *e.g.,* between the long preamble of a definition

and the solemn definition itself. Dom Butler comments : " One is tempted to despair of a serious author who invites us to neglect or reject a line of distinction because it is ' a fine one and difficult to draw '." This would stultify all philosophy and theology and the fundamentals of the Christian faith itself, where the distinction between person and nature is essential to the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. Salmon's task of discrediting the doctrine of infallibility becomes, of course, much more easy ; but on the other hand, most of his arguments and instances are thereby rendered irrelevant. He is not attacking the Catholic position but one of his own imagining. Perhaps this is why the Vatican decrees, appended to the first editions, have been omitted from the abridgement. A book can be launched all the more confidently as " incomparable " if its readers are not given the relevant documents with which to compare it.

A comparison of the authors and positions which Salmon purports to report leads to the well-founded judgment that " he is a very unsafe guide for those who have not the opportunity and inclination to check both his definite assertions " and his insinuations. No doubt it was safe, before the undergraduate audience to which the lectures were first delivered, to brand devotion to the Sacred Heart as " downright Nestorianism " and Catholic Mariology and cult of the saints as " blasphemous and idolatrous," points where the infallibility of the Church supposedly breaks down. But how these sections, like the travesty of the history of the Vatican Council, could be retained in the abridgement, after the Acts and the standard histories of the Council have been public property for many years, is hard to explain. Perhaps " since so much of Salmon's book is taken up with creating an atmosphere ", as Dom Butler says, they were kept because the editor recognized that the atmosphere in question was the life-breath of the argument. Patiently refuting charges of this nature, Dom Butler allows himself to condemn them as " regrettable " or " unfortunate."

On the biblical exegesis Dom Butler is excellent, as one expects from a New Testament scholar of his distinction. Is he perhaps too gracious, however, in conceding to the editor that " Salmon's general argument is not affected by modern advances in scholarship " ? I cannot follow this, as few modern exegetes would allow Salmon to substitute for Peter, as the principle of stability in the Church, " the confession of Peter," i.e. his faith, not his authority. Dom Butler himself calls Salmon's process " a neat piece of legerdemain," and there is surely no such sleight of hand in the commentaries of a radical like Bultmann or a neo-orthodox Protestant like Cullman. Perhaps all Dom Butler means is that Salmon " was in advance of his times in recognizing the outstanding position of Peter." So much the worse for his times, since simple arithmetic by just counting the number of times Peter's name occurs, could reach that point.

When he comes to the history of the primacy, Dom Butler does more than correct Salmon's Voltairean version, which is perhaps the weakest and most openly tendentious part of his book. The reply provides a good picture of the authority of the Roman See, as it was exercised in universal discipline and doctrine, from the first to the sixth century, with a glance at the great Eastern schism. It is indeed more rewarding to follow Dom Butler's positive exposition

than to examine Salmon's treatment, since the latter is further vitiated by two faults already mentioned—his assumption that any doctrine ever controverted is thereby proved false, and that every Papal utterance must be *ex cathedra,* a fantasy that died at the Vatican Council. Dom Butler suggests that Salmon had collected the matter of his book before 1870, and was disconcerted by the moderateness of the Council's definition. So the famous bogey-man turns out to be only a sort of Peter Pan. The relevance and serenity of Dom Butler's book are very welcome.

KEVIN SMYTH

ORIGEN. PRAYER, EXHORTATION TO MARTYDOM. Translated and annotated by John J. O'Meara M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). Newman Press. Longmans, Green and Co. London : 1954.

THIS is the nineteenth volume in the *Ancient Christian Writers* series, under the joint editorship of Frs Quasten and Plumpe, issued by the Newman Press of America. It contains, in addition to his translation of Origen's text, Professor O'Meara's introduction (pp. 3-13) and his notes on the text (pp. 199-240). There is also an index.

The English version of Origen's two *opuscula* reads smoothly and naturally and, because of the neutral and unobtrusive language, is likely to wear well and long remain the popular English translation of these two works. Scholars will regret that Professor O'Meara has used the Douay version in rendering the many scriptural quotations given by Origen. From the scholarly point of view a translation of the complete text as it stood would have been more acceptable. The notes, for the most part, call for nothing more than a scripture reference, but those points that need elucidation or discussion are dealt with clearly and concisely with reference to the best modern authorities. The discussion of the word *epiousios* (supersubstantial) is, perhaps, particularly interesting both for its own sake and because it shows Origen's eagle eye for a scriptural neologism.

Professor O'Meara has written a model introduction ; brief but packed with relevant information. In it he puts the reader on his guard against some unorthodox doctrines. In chap. 27 of the treatise on prayer, for instance, Origen identifies the daily bread, for which we pray in the Our Father, with the hearing of the word of God. This is part of the meaning of " daily bread," but it is not the whole meaning and Origen uses the 6th chapter of St John's gospel in support of his interpretation, although he teaches the normal eucharistic doctrine elsewhere. There is a tinge of Novatianism (chap. 28,8. p. 112) in the suggestion that the sacramental absolution depends for its efficacy on its deprecatory power. More serious is the error, in chap. 15 of the same treatise, that we must pray to the Father alone and not to Christ. Here the subordinationist notions Origen always held, in spite of the magnificent things he taught about the Word of God, are apparent. But it must be remembered, as Professor O'Meara recalls to our mind (p. 9), that Origen, who may be considered one of the founders of theology, was among the first to tackle these problems and that he did so before the language of theology had been

formed and crystallized. Throughout these two short works there appears also a puritanical attitude to sex and marriage which is a personal thing and a result of Origen's rarefied spirituality nourished on neoplatonism.

Yet there is no denying that Origen was a staunch and faithful Catholic. As much as Irenaeus he accepted the traditional teaching of the Church as the rule of faith and, although some of his doctrines were censured, he was never condemned in person. Professor O'Meara quotes an author as saying that, " There has been no truly great man in the Church who has not loved him a little." Until recent years theology has, perhaps, rather inclined to suspect and ignore Origen who has so often to be listed among the adversaries of a thesis. But now, I think, people are coming to love him more than a little and to find his peculiar insistent speculations sympathetic to the modern way of thought.

The two works here translated were written somewhere between the years 233 and 235 A.D., when Origen was about 47 years of age. He was then living in Caesarea having been expelled from his native church of Alexandria by his bishop Demetrius who condemned him for having taken Holy Orders from the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea. That Origen was quite prepared to lie in the bed he had made is evident from the peaceful and unhurried treatise on prayer. But his many sufferings increased his natural detachment from, and even contempt for, the things of this world which is so clear in the *Exhortation to Martyrdom* and is also to be seen in the work on prayer.

The treatise on prayer is excellent spiritual reading. As the translator suggests, it will yield most to the slow and meditative reader. The section dealing with the Lord's Prayer, in particular, suggests large and broad ideas that illumine the whole world of prayer.

Prayer as Origen understands it here is, for the most part and formally, prayer of petition. However, he insists from the very beginning that we must ask for the better gifts ; for the spiritual gifts. The spiritual gifts are the substance of the blessing of God for which we petition. The material gifts, that we in our weakness and ignorance think so important, are merely the shadow of that substance ; so insubstantial are they. If we seek the more spiritual gifts of God all the other things will be added unto us as the shadow must accompany the substance. To know what to ask for and how to ask for it, so that we may not babble in many words like the pagans, would be beyond our power were it not for the Holy Spirit who dwells in us and prays on our behalf with ineffable groanings. The basis, therefore, of Christian prayer is our divine sonship brought about by the indwelling Spirit of Christ in us. The prayer of the Spirit in us is continuous as long as we retain our union with God through Christ. So that when Christians pray they are in union with one another in the One Body, which is the Church, and all pray in the same Spirit. In addition, Origen teaches that prayer is its own reward. To pray is to receive. The man who disposes himself for prayer properly need not worry about his prayer's being answered ; it has been answered already. By disposing himself for prayer he receives gifts more precious than any he would ever think of praying for.

Under cover, as it were, of a treatise dealing with simple prayer of petition Origen has shown the value of a life of prayer for its own sake ; he has pointed

the way to contemplation. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. Origen left no separate treatise on mystical prayer, but, because of incidental things in his work, his name has been coupled with that of Clement of Alexandria (who left a veritable treatise on the ascetical and mystical life in the *Stromata*) as one of the fathers of western mystical teaching. Clement and Origen taught that the Christian gnosis, by renouncement and negations, is capable of being raised to the knowledge of God, through that part of the soul that is closely related to Him, and that it can then penetrate like Moses into the dark cloud of unknowing where supernatural contemplation, analogous to the platonic intuition of the Good, becomes possible. This doctrine, popularized by Evagrius, passed almost unchanged to St John of the Cross.

The treatise on prayer was written for Origen's friends, Ambrose the deacon and the lady Tatiana. When this same Ambrose and the presbyter Protoctetus were thrown into prison, in Maximin's persecution, Origen wrote for their consolation the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*. It is an uncompromising statement of the duties of a Christian in time of persecution : just what one would expect from a man whose own father had suffered martyrdom and who had always longed himself for a martyr's death. It is possible, indeed, that Origen died as a result of his sufferings in the persecution of Decius.

The exhortation makes poignant reading for modern Christians who know that many of their brethren are suffering as Ambrose and Protoctetus suffered. Maximin had called some of the imprisoned Christians to his court at Mainz and, with this in mind, Origen writes, —" Let Paul say, If—according to man—I fought with beasts at Ephesus ; and let us, If—according to man—we were slain in Germany." (41 : p. 185). With that word " Germany " the exhortation seems suddenly very apt for our own times. The problems Origen faces are similar to the doubts of many Christians to-day : can we bear terrible tortures, what will happen to wife and children ? Origen is vigorously forthright in solving these difficulties : one must be ready to sacrifice all in witnessing to the truth. But before the end he shows his sympathy with human weakness and human affection ; God's grace will assist and God's providence will surely provide for those who are left. One cannot help wondering what would be the psychological effect on the doomed men of Origen's reminding them, in detail and inexorably, of the awful sufferings of the Macchabee brothers. The *Exhortation to Martyrdom* is a fierce attack on compromise in time of persecution that we will all be the better for reading. Indeed, any one of us may be very glad to have read it at some time in the uncertain future.

John C. Kelly

ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHÆOLOGY

IRISH CHURCHES AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS. Volume 1. By Harold Leask, M.Arch., D.Litt. Dundalk : The Dundalgan Press Ltd. 1955. Pp. 173. 27s. 6d.

TARA, THE MONUMENTS ON THE HILL. By Seán P. Ó Ríordáin. Dundalk : The Dundalgan Press Ltd. 1954. Pp. 22. 2s. 6d.

As Dr Leask points out in the Preface to his book, no work on Irish ecclesiastical architecture in early and medieval times has appeared for forty years. Indeed,

the important names in this field of study are no more than three, Champney, Lord Dunraven and Dr George Petrie. To these Dr Leask pays generous tribute ; as also to Mlle Françoise Henry, who gives photographs and descriptions of many churches in the two splendid volumes of *La Sculpture Irlandaise,* to Dr Baldwin Brown and to the writers of some useful articles in the antiquarian journals. Dr Leask's own book is most comprehensive, for in it he sets out to trace the development of stone building in Ireland from the clochán or beehive-cell to the Romanesque churches which, without any noticeable growth in size, reached a very high point in elaboration in the years 1050 to 1200.

In all Celtic countries architecture was the Cinderella of the arts. How could it be otherwise among people whose tradition was so warlike ? To erect an imposing house was not to give, but to sacrifice a hostage to Fortune ; in the very next campaign its destruction by the enemy army would be inevitable. Hence the rational attitude towards wood and stone as building materials. Were the house to be big, then it should be made of timber. Should the worst happen and it be razed to the ground, it could be quickly and cheaply replaced. Should stone be used as the material for construction, then it would be elementary wisdom to keep the building small and unpretentious lest it attract hostile attention. After 795 when Norse pirates made churches the object of daily attack, ecclesiastical architecture shared the hazards to which secular architecture was always exposed. But in any case churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland, because of the favour in which the monastic institute was held, never were and never were likely to be large. The monks would regard fine edifices as out of harmony with their profession of poverty ; to many among them the crude, cramped, chilly beehive-cell, constructed of loose stones, would appear to be the ideal habitat, since the sufferings inseparable from it would be themselves no mean contribution to the desired end, a life of " white " martyrdom.

It is not surprising, then, that the great development of Irish ecclesiastical architecture was postponed to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Norse, turned Christian, had ceased to destroy and when the monastic organization of the Irish Church was giving way to the more normal diocesan one. By this time, too, connections with the Continent had multiplied, chiefly with the new Holy Roman Empire of the German nation and with Rome where were the Apostolic See and the ever-popular attraction for pilgrims, the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

Though the twenty full-page photographs in this book are admirable, they are surpassed in number and beauty by the drawings. All of these, with a few insignificant exceptions, seem to be from the author's own pen. The question is often asked : what did an early Irish monastery look like ? Here is the answer. The restoration (p. 12), based on the surprisingly complete remains at Inishmurray, off the Sligo coast, gives an idea more accurate and more satisfactory to the eye than anything to be found in other books. Within a cashel of loose stones, seven to fifteen feet thick at the base and some fourteen feet high, stood two beehive cells, a principal church, and two smaller oratories. Include a number of wooden buildings—the refectory, the school, the group of huts in which the community lived and slept—and the settlement

is perfect. It must be remembered, however, that this would be a monastery in miniature, for the area enclosed is a bare half-acre. In the much more distinguished sites, like Clonmacnois, Clonard, Derry, Clonfert, Bangor, Emly, Lismore, where churches in stone might be as many as ten, the area covered would be considerable. Visitors to Glenndaloch will recall that the monuments there lie scattered along the lakes and river for a distance of two miles.

Special praise must be given to the drawings of the stone-roofed churches, St Colmcille's house at Kells, St Flannan's oratory at Killaloe and the restoration of the church of the Holy Trinity at Glenndaloch. Impressive also are the plans and the many sets of marginal illustrations. The chapter on Irish Romanesque in its three phases—and the position within it of Cormac's famous Chapel at Cashel—is quietly authoritative. In a word this book places our country under a debt of gratitude to the author, Dr Leask, and to the publisher, Mr Tempest, a debt which will increase when the second volume on the churches and Gothic abbeys of medieval Ireland makes its appearance.

Into a pamphlet of twenty-two pages Professor Ó Ríordáin compresses an interesting account of the monuments on the hill of Tara. The antiquity of these is intimated by the fact that they are all of earth ; obviously buildings in stone were rare when this capital of Ireland was in its heyday. Strange to relate, the prominence of Tara in story is almost in inverse proportion to its prominence in history. References in the romantic tales are so many that Thurneysen in his *Helden- und Königsage* was unable to keep track of them, so that in the Index to that great work the usual indication of pages is replaced by the revealing word *passim*. On the other hand, the Annals of Ulster have but one reference to Tara (and that to a synod held there in 781) between the years 561 and 818.

The conclusion suggested is that Tara ceased to be occupied by the High-King about the end of the sixth century. The critical date may well be 604, when the joint High-Kings, Aed Sláine of the southern Uí Néill and Colmán Rimid of the northern Uí Néill, were slain. The two had ruled over Tara *aequali potestate simul*. For the next five reigns the monarchs came exclusively from the north. As Tara lay in the territory of the descendants of Aed Sláine, these northern kings may have regarded it as an unsuitable capital. Once abandoned, it was never again restored to its ancient status. But the tradition of its greatness as a centre of sovereignty remained. Through the centuries the titles " King of Tara " and " King of Ireland " were interchangeable. When Féidlimid, son of Crimthann, King of Munster, became possessed of an inordinate desire to secure the kingship of Ireland in the ninth century, he proclaimed his intention to the world by leading an army to the famous hill. From Tara in 1002 Brian Boruma, at the head of powerful forces, dictated terms of abdication to the High-King, Maelsechlainn II. The latter appealed to his kin, the Uí Néill of the north, to come to his aid in defence of " the freedom of Tara," in other words, the throne of Ireland. With the death of Brian and Maelsechlainn, the High-Kingship, as an effective part of the constitution, may be said to have ended. Thereafter there were only kings of Ireland " with opposition," and the title " king of Tara " was applied regularly to Maelsechlainn's descendants, the local kings of Mide.

Owing to the collapse of Tara as a place of residence, or at least as a permanent military fortress, of the High-Kings, the earthen remains on the hill became the equivalent of ruins. As time went on their old associations dropped into oblivion. Something was done by the compilers of the Dinnshenchas to preserve the names of the different monuments, but between them and the last royal occupants of Tara a great gulf intervened. Indeed, if any one of these authors had himself visited the hill, he would probably have found the task of identification no less difficult than O'Donovan and Petrie found it in the nineteenth century.

The late Professor Macalister was in no better position to solve the problems raised, and the same applies to Professor Ó Ríordáin, as he sorrowfully confesses, today. Thus, for the moment at any rate, the identification of the sites remains conjectural. What is warmly to be welcomed as a mighty step forward is the work of excavation now being carried out by Professor Ó Ríordáin and his able and devoted staff. Last year it was the " Rath of the Synods " ; this year it is the " Mound of the Hostages " ; with the other sites to follow in due course. The " rath " disclosed evidence of domestic and even industrial activities in early Christian times and of connections with the Roman Empire, Britain and Gaul ; the " mound," not yet fully explored, shows that the hill was a place of importance before the Siege of Troy. When Professor Ó Ríordáin's fine work is at last happily finished, it will be fascinating to take the results, unite them with the comparatively scant historical data and from the two sources construct a reliable story of happenings through the ages on the royal hill.

JOHN RYAN

THE NEOLITHIC CULTURES OF THE BRITISH ISLES : A Study of the Stone-using Agricultural Communities of Britain in the Second Millenium, B.C. By Stuart Piggott. Pp. xix + 420. Cambridge : at the University Press. 1954. 70s.

IN the twentieth century we have seen to the full the social and economic results of the Industrial Revolution, initiated not many generations back, and we are now seeing the beginnings of a new technological development of immense potential importance due to the discovery of atomic fission. These things are readily appreciated even by the non-historian. But it is much more difficult to appreciate that the most important economic advance occurred thousands of years ago—what Professor Childe has termed the " Neolithic Revolution." This, the change from " hunter-fisher " to farming economy, is so taken for granted that its significance is, in general, hardly realized. It is not susceptible of written documentary proof ; the evidence is that of material remains and is therefore in the sphere of the prehistorian. The consequences of the change were immense—the development of food production meant growth of population and more settled communities and, as a result of contact between these communities, trade and the interchange of ideas followed. Where the circumstances were favourable, the discovery of metal-working soon succeeded and, in the East at any rate, the numerically expanding population groups created truly urban centres.

The earliest stages of " the Neolithic Revolution "—in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine and further east—are very early indeed, beginning perhaps as much as 7,000 years ago. The story of the beginnings—sporadically known because excavation is necessarily sporadic over vast areas—is of great interest and of great moment for the history of human development.

The spread of the Neolithic economy to the west was gradual and, when we reach Western Europe the relevant date has lessened by several millenia. The story is one of culture contacts, colonization and absorption ; the pattern varies in every region—the variety being produced by the source from which the new culture comes, by the degree of fusion of the new way of life with the old, and, of course, by the natural environment which includes climate, geographical background, soil and mineral resources. For every region the story is a fascinating one—more human in its content than that of the hunter-fishers and presenting achievements of food production, building and development of communications that were to form the basis on which was easily grafted the metal-using economy that followed.

Because of their geographical position these islands were subject to cultural impulses from different directions—from the nearest coasts of the Continent, from the Baltic area and, along the Atlantic Route from the Mediterranean. Because of this and because of the time lag natural to a peripheral area, the Neolithic cultures here are complicated in their relationships to one another and are compounded of elements some of which have no place in the original farming cultures of the Near and Middle East. For instance, the most spectacular aspect of the Neolithic of these islands is represented by megalithic building—tombs, circles and other ritual structures. The custom of building megalithic tombs, derived from the Mediterranean but given local expression, was in part contemporary with the early farming cultures but survived into the Bronze Age.

In this book Professor Pigott deals with the coming of the Neolithic cultures to Great Britain and Ireland and, beginning with the natural and human background, describes the monuments, houses, tombs and everyday chattels, in so far as they have survived, of these our earliest farmers. The recognition of the Neolithic here is a comparatively recent phenomenon in archaeological research ; the present degree of understanding of it is still more recent and is something to which Professor Pigott's own work has contributed to a considerable extent. In 1931 Piggott published the first comprehensive account of the Neolethic pottery of these islands ; since then he has amplified this by further museum researches and by excavation of relevant monuments. He has also worked on the contacts between southern England and the Mediterranean, especially Crete, and has thereby provided valuable chronological data.

These connexions with the more developed cultures are used here to provide a dating for the end of the Neolithic, but also to indicate a considerable overlap with the developing Bronze Age. The estimate here of the date of the beginning of the Neolithic Age is conservative, the whole period being fitted into the first half of the second millenium B.C. The material is treated by Piggott under the heading of various " cultures," usually designated under site-names. The cultures are characterized by remains—pottery, implements, structures—which presumably were the material expression of local groups of people. The

cultures are obviously inter-related and, though the manner and degree of their relationships is not always unambiguously expressed by the evidence, the author makes a splendid attempt to indicate a complete scheme and summarizes this in a chronological table which is at once useful and courageous. The presentation is useful because it gives a general conspectus of the whole period ; it is courageous because any such clear statement proves an easier target for discussion and criticism than does a cautious and less definite approach.

The Neolithic in Ireland and, in consequence, the treatment of it here has two features which give it a special interest. In the first place the megalithic tombs of this country are, even after the destruction of the ages, impressively numerous and, in some cases, surpass anything of their class in Western or Northern Europe. Secondly, by a fortunate chance the selection for excavation of Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, gives us a series of dwellings of the period such as is not known from any other site investigated in these islands.

For its general interest and also for these particular interests for the Irish reader, the book is to be heartily recommended. There will not be universal agreement with all it contains but the author has bravely presented his conclusions and has brought together in a convenient and well-arranged manner much material which was difficult of access because it was scattered through so many publications. He has vastly enhanced the value of the text by the numerous illustrations which he has had drawn especially for this book.

Professor Piggott is to be congratulated on the book and he and his co-workers in this field are to be congratulated on the research which made it possible. As one must state that the Cambridge University Press has done an excellent job on the production, it would hardly be fitting to cavil at the price.

S. P. Ó Ríordáin.

BIOGRAPHY

HILAIRE BELLOC : A MEMOIR. By J. B. Morton. London: Hollis and Carter. 1955. 12s. 6d.

Dr Johnson said that if you met Edmund Burke only when taking shelter with him from a passing shower, you would have felt that he was an extraordinary man. And it can be said that a stranger, who knew nothing of Hilaire Belloc as an author, on meeting him in company, would at once feel the force and richness of his personality. There are authors who put all they have into their books and have nothing left over for friends and life. There are others whose books are the overflow of themselves—the stream that flows from the well. Belloc was greater and richer than his works. With such men there is the danger that outside the circle of their friends they will become mere authors and cease to be men. It would be a tragedy if such a fate were to overtake Belloc ; Mr Morton has seen to it that it will not by writing this memoir, which is meant to give to those who did not know Belloc personally, a portrait of the man as he appeared to his friends.

Mr Morton is well qualified for his pious task. A friend of over thirty years, a frequent visitor at King's Land, who sailed with Belloc in the *Nona* and tramped with him in France and Spain, who had experience of the many moods of his rich personality, he knew Belloc well ; and while he loved and admired him, he can see and describe him as he was. He has written a brilliant book which will give much pleasure to the large public, who for a generation read and revered Belloc.

This full complex portrait will correct in many points the impression of those who never knew Belloc in the flesh. For many of them he is chiefly and always the dogmatist, the man who held decided and novel views of a great variety of subjects, and who held them so strongly that Chesterton could complain of their sundering effect on his private friendships. But it would be the greatest of mistakes to consider Belloc as a dreary one-track mind, as an intolerant, loud-voiced arguer. Only a man of the greatest versatility of mind could have made the impression he made on all who met him. We have many testimonies to the brilliance and charm of his conversation. In whatever company he was, he was the central figure. " When Belloc came into a room he changed the room," says Mr Morton. " Even those who did not know him were made aware of the mysterious force which we call personality. He imposed himself by his presence, and without effort." At a crowded dinner table people would stop talking to listen to him. His talk was the outpouring of a mind that was rich, subtle, experienced, expressed with wit, irony, fantasy, and in language that was perfect in vividness and precision. According to Mr Morton, he was seen at his best when at King's Land after dinner he sat at a table between two candles, playing patience, while he spoke to his guests in conversation which " was the best, the fullest, the most creative talk I ever heard in my life."

Then there is a jovial Belloc who is true to life, but who does not convey the whole truth. Everyone knows Belloc the singer of songs, who kept his companions going in loud choruses, who celebrated the glory of wine, the man whose hearty love of life communicated itself to his company, whose low spirits, as Chesterton said, would seem riotous in another man. But it is surprising to hear that beneath his high spirits ran a deep current of sadness. Mgr Knox said that when his face was in repose the expression was sad. He was a man of strong affections, and the bereavements which came inevitably in life were felt deeply and long. His wife died after about a dozen years of marriage, and the wound the separation made was never healed ; in his house at King's Land her room was never occupied and as he passed the door at night he made a sign of the cross on it. He lost his son Louis in the first war and Peter in the second. The death of friends like Chesterton, Baring, Phillimore and others made him lonely. He had disappointments in his professional career which rankled. He regretted always that he had not got a fellowship at Oxford. As a writer he felt the sense of being driven by the necessity of supporting his family and he often chafed at it. His religion, strong and sincere though it was, did not lighten this undercurrent of sadness ; it probably increased it, as it showed him the fleeting character of earthly things and taught him not to cling too strongly to them.

Mr Morton emphasizes another rather unexpected trait—the restlessness which kept Belloc constantly on the move, not merely in youth and middle age, but on into old age. It is true that much of his written work called for the study of places ; he considered that for a historian the study of the *terrain* was as important as the study of records. Hence he tramped, staff in hand, over France and Spain and came to have an extraordinary knowledge of out-of-the-way inns. But apart from this he felt the need of frequent travel ; he found that it stimulated him and gave him energy for his writing. Friends who accompanied him on these expeditions tell of the brilliance of his talk as he reconstructed some battle on the actual ground where it was fought.

But this restlessness raises a difficulty which Mr Morton does not answer : how did Belloc amass the scholarship, the detailed knowledge which are evident in so many of his books ? His historical works are based on a close study of all kinds of records, memoirs, maps, even meteorological reports. A book like his *Marie Antoinette* could be the result only of an immense amount of detailed and wide research. Where and when did he collect this information ? His historical work would have been an achievement for a patient scholar who spent his life in the British Museum ; but it is a mystery as the achievement of a man who was always on the move, who carried his notes in his pocket, who wrote his books in out-of-the-way places without any of the customary scholars' *subsidia.*

There are other characteristics in Mr Morton's portrait which Belloc's friends will be glad to note—his addiction to the telephone which was the first thing he asked for when he came into a house, the irregularity and the unwonted nature of his meals, his use of candles instead of electric light, the careful methodical planning of his trips and journeys, the traditional religious way in which he celebrated Christmas in his home ; these and many other mannerisms and even fads will make him more human and prevent him from becoming a legend.

Mr Morton has not written a biography, nor has he tried to estimate the effect on English thought of the work of the man who, as Chesterton said, fought for more good things than any other man of his time. He has done with outstanding success the task he attempted and has given an unforgettable portrait of a great and remarkable man.

Hugh Kelly

THE SPANISH CONQUISTADORES

ORELLANA. By George Millar. London : William Heinemann. Pp. xiv, 303. Price: 18 s.n. 1954.

CORTÉS AND MONTEZUMA. By Maurice Collis. London : Faber and Faber. Pp. 251. Price : 15 s.n. 1955.

The story of Francisco de Orellana which Mr Millar has used as a loom on which to weave a historical novel is one of the many that stand out in the history of the Spanish *Conquistadores.* In 1539 Pizarro had appointed his brother, Gonzalo, governor of the kingdom of Quito with orders to lead an expedition Eastwards to the Land of Cinnamon and the country of *El Dorado.* East of Quito the Spaniards had discovered a tree with fragrant aromatic leaves and they hoped for a new spice trade from South America. Two

years later, an advance party started Eastwards. The party, led by Gonzalo, wandered for months in the forests till they reached a valley named Zumaque. Here Gonzalo was joined by Orellana, who had been left behind as second in command. Reports came to them of a river ahead. This was the Coca, which flows into the Napo, a tributary of the Amazon. The expedition reached the Coca and crossed the river to the other side, where they found nothing but swamps, creeks and impenetrable woods. Orellana took the one vessel they had built and two canoes. He proposed to make his way down river and return in twelve days. Fifty seven men went with them. But they never returned and were the first men to sail the length of the river Amazon and reach the Southern Atlantic.

It has been customary for historians to blame Orellana for deserting Gonzalo Pizarro and leaving him stranded in a highly dangerous position. But a priest, Gaspar de Carbajal, who was a member of Orellana's party, has left an account of the journey, incorporated in the history of Oviedo, in which he declares that Orellana's men refused to return. After eight days' journey they had reached a spot where food was plentiful and where they received a welcome from natives. Orellana ordered the boats to be loaded with food for Gonzalo. There is extant a statement, drawn up by a notary and signed by the Caballeros, Hidalgos and priests in the company, and Carbajal's name is at the head of the list. They demand that Orellana shall give up the attempt to move again up stream for the seamen say it is impossible. In a written reply Orellana grants the request but insists that they remain two or three months where they are and build an extra vessel which would be of use to Gonzalo should he join them. In his preface, in which he lays down the historical foundation for his tale, Mr Millar refers to the work of a Chilean scholar, Don José Toribio Medina, *Descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas* which included the narrative of Father de Carbajal. This was published in 1894. In 1934, the American Geographical Society issued a translation of Medina's work : and ten years afterwards a part of the Spanish original was republished by the Hispanic Council.

The story as we have it in Mr Millar's work is vividly narrated. He puts it into the first person singular, choosing a character, Iságaga, scrivener or secretary of Orellana. Through his eyes we see the strange lights and colours of that still mysterious river ; the fights with overwhelming numbers of Indians ; and the plagues of snakes and alligators. A narrative in the first person imposes considerable limitations upon the author but Mr Millar tells his tale with gusto and rich imagination in spite of them.

In his introduction he warns his readers that, though himself not a Catholic, he will have much to say about the strength which the *Conquistadores* drew from their Catholic Faith.

> " They, the soldiers of the Spanish conquest, may well have been superior as fighting men to any who were before them and to any who have followed after ; and whatever we may say or pretend, until there be a resurgence of faith in one religion or another among whole masses of practical, intelligent, and hardy people, we are unlikely to have again among the white races of the world men of such steely spirit, such invincible confidence in destiny ".

And that, more or less though in different phrasing, is what Sir Walter Raleigh, who knew them, wrote of the *Conquistadores* in his *History of the New World.*

Maurice Collis's volume with the title of *Cortés and Montezuma* is an attempt to interpret the history of the conquest of Mexico up to the fall of the city in terms of two protagonists, the Spanish *Conquistador* and the Emperor of the Aztec dominions. He claims that there are many obscurities in Prescott's account which are passed over by Madariaga and he considers that they can better be explained through the religious attitude of Montezuma. His interpretation seems to rest on slender foundations, for he refers in the introduction only to a German version of Sahagún's Nauatl text, to an article on the cosmic aspects of Mexican mythology and to a work by Jacques Soustrelle on *La Pensée Cosmologique des Anciens Mexicains.*

There was certainly a coincidence between Cortés's arrival in Mexico and the expected return of one of the important Mexican deities, Quetzalcoatl, who had been driven from the country by rival divinities, chief among them the god whom Mr Collis calls Smoking Mirror. Mr Collis's argument is that throughout Montezuma identified Cortés with Quetzalcoatl, and that this was the reason why he would never sanction direct attack upon the Spaniards. The priests in the Mexican temples were the adherents of the divinities in possession and they employed their magical means and methods to rid Mexico of the returning deity. Thus, in this interpretation, the struggle between Cortés and Montezuma is put on to a quasi-religious plane : it became, like a South American Iliad, a war among the gods themselves.

In the main the story is that of Cortés's entry into Mexico, his first sojourn in the city, when there began that certainly mysterious association with Montezuma and the subsequent flight and reconquest. For Mr Collis the explanation is simple. Montezuma was trying to humour this returning god and to persuade him to leave Mexico. The account is based upon that splendid work of the old soldier, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, most of which I read with great enjoyment last year. To one who has followed the Spanish campaigns in Bernal's company no modern account can have the same life and integrity. It is one of the great stories of adventure, and I had the feeling that much of its freshness and vigour were lost in Mr Collis's presentation. But, let it be said, he is very fair and objective to both Cortés and Montezuma, for whom Bernal and the Spaniards conceived a quite personal affection. " The Lord Montezuma " is how Bernal always spoke of him. I found some confusion between the use now of the original Mexican names and now of translations like " Smoking Mirror " and " Lord Maize Cobs ". Such names are far better left in their natural mystery.

John Murray

CLASSICS

JUVENAL THE SATIRIST. By Gilbert Highet. Oxford University Press. 1954. pp. xviii & 373. 30s.

POETRY AND LETTERS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN GAUL. By N. K. Chadwick. London : Bowes and Bowes. 1954. pp. 342. 35s.

These two books have one thing in common : they make great use of bibliography and and at the same time can be read with pleasure. One of them

glances through the jaundiced eyes of Juvenal at Roman Society just before Christianity had begun to affect it, and the other sees through the eyes of many authors, mostly Christian, the wider life of the rapidly disintegrating Roman Empire at a time when Christianity had been solidly established in it. In a sense, then, the books are complementary to each other. They differ greatly, however, in approach and style.

Highet is one of the brighter of our modern classical scholars who combines technical competence and wide literary interests with extraordinary gifts of forceful exposition. His background is Glasgow and Oxford, but he is now a professor at Columbia University in New York. He has already published a number of important articles and books, of which the best known in these parts is *The Classical Tradition*. On the other hand he is better known in the United States as a high-class literary reviewer and especially now as something approaching a star on television. His personal remark (270) " Orbilius who, like many of us, *docuit maiore fama quam emolumento*, would seem to show a happy use of the appropriate tense—if rumours of his present emoluments are even remotely true.

The author describes his work as " the only modern book of any considerable range in any language which discusses Juvenal as a poet—the result of some twenty years of work . . . sustained by a vital interest in an unforgettable writer." The blurb states that " it is the first book in any language to give a full account of the man and his work." Juvenal, if he were alive, would coin a memorable phrase to castigate such brash immodesty. Nevertheless he would take some satisfaction in what is actually achieved, and would be thankful for the great effort at sympathy shown him here.

Juvenal the Satirist falls into three parts dealing with the poet's career and character, his poems as literary and social documents, and what might be called the fructifying survival of the poems. More than a third of the book is taken up with Notes (basically bibliographical) added at the end, formal bibliography, and very elaborate indices. *Indice completo saltat scriptor pede laeto.*

This is neither a fully scholarly nor a fully popular book, but rather (to borrow the author's style) a badly mixed bitter sweet cocktail using a sound base to which has been added generous doses of many of the more titillating and fashionable ingredients. Juvenal, it seems, had joined the active homosexuals (269).

Forty padded pages are devoted to an inadequate, repetitious, overconfident, but lively reconstruction, in part from the poems themselves, of Juvenal's life and disposition. Highet is thus no believer (at least on this occasion) in the " approach " of the " New Criticism " so interestingly reported to us in the last number of *Studies*. Juvenal was married to a lady superior in rank and pretensions, and found her intolerable : knowing very little about philosophy (which is hard to believe) he was converted to Epicureanism : Hadrian had given him a place on the endowment of the Athenæum. Gilbert Highet suggests all the answers, while kindly (and rightly) agreeing that he cannot prove them.

The discussion of the sixteen satires is conducted in the relatively short space of one hundred and thirty-four pages of text and fifty-one

pages of notes. Here the author neither paraphrases nor analyses, but picks out the points that interest himself—which makes the reading easy, but hardly satisfying. He seems to suffer from an excessive preoccupation with the importance of the architecture of a poem ; and many a reader may be disappointed with his brief judgment of Juvenal as a poet (169-178), which is one of the enticing features announced in the Preface. The tests of poetry, Highet holds, are structure, originality and style. What he has to say about structure and originality is banal, and what about style is dubious. The whole second section is remarkable rather for the deep and sincere sympathy with Juvenal which the author shows, and the sheer virtuosity of the treatment, enlivened constantly by an embarrassing personal confession. Irish readers may rejoice to see the names of Swift and Yeats often referred to in connection with Juvenal's performance as a satirist ; but they will have difficulty in believing their ears when they are told by a Scot that Yeats in rhyming " plain " with " screen " and " start " with " sort " adds something indefinably touching to his poem (122.)

The final section of this otherwise entertaining and useful book deals with the survival of Juvenal's poems and while being both sketchy and dull, has the merit of drawing attention to superior work such as that of Manitius and Courcelle.

Mrs Nora K. Chadwick, a Lecturer in Early History and Culture of the British Isles and editor of an earlier volume : *Studies in Early British History*, is to be distinguished from her colleague at Cambridge, Rev. Professor Owen Chadwick, who has not only written on Origen, but also is the author of a book on John Cassian and articles on other people, such as Euladius of Arles, and in this way is an important modern source for the work under review.

The book deals with the records, literary and epistolary, of private individuals and important public men, often ecclesiastics and monks, during the period of the great invasions of Franks, Burgundians and Visigoths. The author feels that these records are not only of absorbing interest to men having similar unhappy experiences in the twentieth century, but are in fact the best " starting point for a study of the history, as distinct from the pre-history, of the British Isles " (8). This should commend the book to Irish readers of the present day ; for whatever about our interest in the lives of our fellow-men, it is certainly true to say that our understanding of our own early history would be much the better of more acquaintance with the persons and topics treated in this book. Here we find necessarily limited but compact reference to, for example, Amator of Auxerre, Ausonius, Cæsarius of Arles, Cassian, Eucherius of Lyons, Germanus of Auxerre, Hilary of Arles, Lupus of Troyes, Magnus Felix of Narbonne, Claudianus Mamertus, Martin of Tours, Paulinus of Nola, Paulinus of Pella, Prosper of Aquitaine, Rutilius Namatianus, Salvian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Sulpicius Severus and the various topics associated with these and their contemporaries in Gaul : demons, druids, asceticism, education, poetry, monasticism, Manicheism, Pelagianism, Priscillianism and so on. There is sufficient unobtrusive bibliography added at all points so that the reader is enabled, once his interest is aroused, to pursue his studies further.

It would be impossible to comment adequately here on the author's treatment of all or any of these themes or persons. It is in general sober and

solid with just an occasional disarming emphasis on the woman's point of view. The chapter dealing with Germanus of Auxerre shows most evidence of the author's independent judgment, which is exercised also elsewhere with fine daring on the works, to her very useful, of Pierre Courcelle and Owen Chadwick.

This book goes a long way to revealing the continuity and vitality of provincial life in Gaul from heathenism and oral poetry, through polished Roman rhetorical eloquence, to the quiet biblical learning of the monasteries. It traces the mingling of oriental ascetic mysticism with Græco-Roman speculation, issuing in the austere but balanced spirituality of Gaul made possible through such foundations as those of St Victor at Marseilles and that of Lerins. It treats too with understanding and clarity the great problems connected with Priscillian and Pelagius.

From time to time we are given vivid little sketches, some of which may make us smile. Cassian's famous description of *accidie* is in part reproduced here (222). The restless monk, frustrated and malcontent, " looks about uneasily this way and that, and sighs that none of the brethren come to see him, and keeps going in and out of his cell, and gazes up at the sun very often as if it did not set quickly enough, and so a kind of irrational confusion comes over his mind . . . and he supposes that no remedy can be found for such an attack except in visiting one or other of the brethren . . . Then the same malady suggests that visits are honourable and necessary duties, and should be paid etc." Cassian also tells us of John of Lycon who for a whole year carried water twice a day for nearly two miles to nourish a dry stick, which at the end (*pace* Severus) still proved dry and rotten. We see the letter carriers upon their missions—Jews, monks, and ex-soldiers of whose conversions an optimistic saint had not fully despaired, such as Cardamas or Marracinus who was a red-faced, hard-drinking fellow in jack boots and a red coat whose employment by the well-meaning Sulpicius somewhat distressed his more sensitive correspondent Paulinus. In this way the author shows us, like Sidonius, a " range and variety of types and classes, a jostle of bishops and presbyters, poets and orators " (311). She occasionally repeats herself (we are informed a number of times that Elusa is the modern Eause), or writes obscurely (" we are able to take part with Gaul in the comedy of the closing years of the Empire " (134)—when an actual play is meant).

Irishmen will freely forgive the author for reporting Sidonius Apollinaris's unflattering reference to the barbarism of the Celtic dialect (303), and feel grateful to her for quoting Osbern Bergin on the Irish religious associations with springs and rivers such as the Boyne and Shannon (this *àpropos* of Ausonius's *Mosella*) (54–55). But they should bear in mind the lesson for them implied in the last five lines of this book : " It is doubtless to the upheavals of Gaul that we owe much of the great intellectual stimulus to which Irish learning in the Dark Ages bears witness, and which Ireland, as the last outpost of classical culture, cherished and handed back to its Continental home in a later age." Mrs Chadwick's book will help us greatly to discover more about our *acquisition* of that learning.

John J. O'Meara

SAPPHO AND ALCÆUS. An introduction to the study of ancient Lesbian poetry. By Denys Page. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1955. 42s.

PROFESSOR PAGE'S book provides an interpretation of the more important fragments of Sappho and Alcæus and is a most valuable companion to the complete text of the poems and fragments (*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* by Lobel and Page) just published by the Clarendon Press. The first part contains a text, translation, commentary and interpretation of the twelve chief surviving poems of Sappho, followed by nine short essays on the contents and character of Sappho's poetry. These commentaries are excellent pieces of work and full of illustrative archæological material, together with an exact knowledge of the history of particular words and considerable information on the Lesbian dialect. In his interpretations Page impresses by his independence of viewpoint and his insistence on not deducing more from the texts than is actually expressed in them.

This caution results in a somewhat different picture from that presented to us by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Bowra. In the ode to Aphrodite the words of Aphrodite are quoted from a past epiphany of the goddess. This explains her tolerant and amused smile ; and this again throws light on Sappho's attitude towards her own pangs of unrequited love. The beginning of the ode imitated by Catullus (*Ille mi par esse*) is acutely analysed and Wilamowitz's theory that a bridegroom is concerned is put out of court. The poem is simply one of love, and probably also of jealousy. Of the beautiful little fragment about the cold water plashing through apple branches we have now a somewhat longer version on a potsherd in a hand of the third century B.C. Here we are thankful that the potsherd reading permits us to believe again that the idyllic scene and soothing sounds cause slumber to " descend " rather than to " depart." In the ode which hoped for the safe return of her brother Charaxus " it was not the fact but the extravagance of the liaison which aroused her fury," and " there is nothing to indicate the presence of superior virtues in (Sappho) herself." The authenticity of the ode on Hector and Andromache it adequately defended. It may have been part of an hymeneal song sung at a real wedding. We may say in short that there is none of these poems on which Page does not throw new light, and his arguments more often than not change considerably the accepted interpretations.

In the final set of essays Page states that whereas recent discoveries have enhanced the reputation of Alcæus, it is questionable whether the new fragments of Sappho reach or even approach the level of the old. Moreover the accepted picture of Sappho is a distorted one. There is no evidence that she was the leader of a cult-association or ran a girls' academy, or that any of her poems, except the Epithalamians, was designed for presentation on formal or ceremonial occasions. The Epithalamians were recited at real weddings and possess a heavy and flat humour but no ribaldry. The principal themes of Sappho's poetry are her loves and hatreds, the ephemeral pleasures of an idle but graceful society ; and there is no evidence of anything more sinister.

The second half of Page's book, devoted to Alcæus, is divided into two sections on the political and non-political poems respectively. It opens with a discussion of the accepted chronology of Mitylene in the late seventh and

early sixth centuries and then proceeds to fit the fragments of the political poems into this framework, using the same plan of text, translation, commentary and interpretation as in the case of Sappho. The excellent treatment of language and dialect which marks the first half of the book must here again be noted.

The following are particular points of interest. The common opinion that Pittacus was a plebian is disposed of. The ode on the riotous living of Pittacus's father (p 173) is shown to be primarily an attack on Pittacus's mother. The *damos* in Alcæus is not the commons but the entire populace of Mitylene including the noble families, as contrasted with the ruling power. An interesting study of the poem on Lesbian armour (fr. 54 Diehl) shows that Alcæus, while describing contemporary Lesbian armour, is yet very close to the Epic models, and that the island armour was therefore very old-fashioned compared with the improved hoplite armour of mainland Greece. In the section on the non-political poems, the hymns to Apollo and Hermes are shown to be remarkably different from the Homeric hymns to these deities. In other hymn fragments further unconventional features are noticed. One finds it a little difficult to agree with the interpretation of the cicada-poem (fr. 94 Diehl).

This valuable books ends with a metrical appendix and with full Greek and English indexes.

J. J. Tierney

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SOPHOCLES. By F. J. H. Letters. Sheed and Ward. London and New York. 1953. 18s.

Mr Letters begins his book with four chapters on the time, the man, the poet and the dramatist, giving a detailed and very elaborate treatment of the whole background of Sophocles. In the remainder of his work he discusses, each in a separate chapter, the seven extant plays. For the general reader and even for the student of ancient Greece the initial chapters are full of an endless variety of factual information about Athenian life in the mid-fifth century B.C. This is treated from a refreshingly modern and comparative viewpoint. We may mention in particular that the first chapter provides, among other things, information on Athenian town-planning, sanitation, houses, furniture, eating-habits, population statistics, athletics, law and politics, the fleet, crops and economic conditions. Again, the third chapter discusses with great originality and insight the poet's use of metaphor, lyric diction and symbolism. Examples are closely analysed.

The chapters on the individual plays are of uniformly high quality, giving in each case a particularly clear summary of the action of the play, followed by an adequate discussion of the problems and general ideas involved. It is interesting here to see how Mr Letters deals with some of the standard problems of Sophoclean interpretation. He is surely right in believing that the moral of the *Ajax* is that proper burial is an inalienable right of the dead, and equally so in defending the character of Ajax (on the lines of Jebb) in the so-called " lying-speech." He also adequately defends the goddess Athena but perhaps does not sufficiently bring out the fact that the hero Ajax is a fine embodiment of the " Homeric " idealization of character which was always the mainspring of Greek tragedy so long as it retained its proper life and vigour.

He treats clearly of the opposition of two principles in the *Antigone* while making the emphatic point that in all these cases the play is the thing, and not the moral. If in fact it were otherwise, the moral would have no effect. Again, his explanation of the famous borrowing from Herodotus (*Antigone* 904-915) is simple and convincing. In his discussion of both these plays Mr Letters is suggestive on the subject of Sophocles's treatment of established government (the Atridæ, Creon). There can be no doubt that this is a most important and neglected aspect of the meaning of Sophocles. He is here presenting an acutely portrayed " Mirror for Princes," or shall we rather say " Mirror for Pericles " ? A great deal still remains to be written on the independence and the critical and advisory position of the Greek dramatists in relation to the governments of their day.

The *Trachiniæ* is a " Euripidean experiment," primarily " a play of situation and atmosphere, saturated with primitive magic." Its moral is " that we should be resigned to the will of Zeus when we best understand it."

In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* we have again the competent account of the plot followed by an exceptionally able review of its more or less concealed improbabilities. Mr Letters rightly rejects the view that Oedipus is guilty of either moral or intellectual faults and distinguishes clearly between " guilt " and the Greek idea of innocent " pollution." Sophocles in this play " does not satisfy us by vindicating the righteousness of Heaven."

On the whole Mr Letters's book is one of the most complete and satisfying general books on Sophocles which has yet appeared. It is full of both learning and commonsense and is quite free from the usual arbitrariness of interpretation. His exceptional sensitivity to style and language is excellently shown in his discussions of particular passages. One final point : on his first page the author admits that Sophocles's Athens was a slum. This is in itself debatable. What is more important is that the mind of the average Athenian was anything but a slum, as Mr Letters's book goes a long way towards proving. Nowadays we are shocked by actual slums but pay little attention to the mental and moral slums which are the hall-mark of our age.

J. J. Tierney

CELTIC STUDIES

PÁRLIAMENT NA mBAN. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Brian Ó Cuív. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1952. Pp. xliv+270. 12s. 6d.

This didactic text is cast in a form of which there are very few examples in Irish literature. It is presented as the proceedings of a parliament of women which met at Glanmire near Cork on 10 June, 1697, and concluded on an unspecified date. The text is the work of Domhnall Ó Colmáin who is called a " doctor of law," and was probably parish priest of a number of parishes in the vicinity of Cork towards the end of the seventeenth century. In fact, it is a treâtise on the moral virtues and vices in the shape of short sermons delivered to the assembled women by members of the convening board. The greater number of the sermons resemble in content those to be found in steadily increasing number in Irish manuscripts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. This body of devotional literature still awaits investigation not only from the linguistic aspect (representing, as it seems to do, much more faithfully the spoken language than does the more formal literature of the period—poetry, tales etc.) but also to discover its sources, either native or foreign, and to answer the question : for whom was it intended ? Such an investigation can be properly undertaken only when a sufficient number of these texts have been edited with the scholarly care and exactitude shown here by Dr Ó Cuív.

The editor mentions that the only other published example of this " parliament " form in Irish is the well-known *Párliament Chloinne Tomáis,* composed about fifty years before the most probable date of this text, and like it, too, a Munster work. He also refers to two other unpublished " parliaments." The earlier work is clearly a wholly native one, but it is not at all clear to me that the same can be said of the present text. Dr Ó Cuív differs from me here and stresses the importance of the text as illustrating contemporary (i.e., late seventeenth century) manners and customs in Ireland. It is true that in the Irish text there are a number of cases where the adjective " Irish " is used, but nowhere (at any rate in the earlier, " unrevised " form of the text, for Dr Ó Cuív presents a later, worked-over form as well as the probably original form) have I noted any clear native references or illustrations which form an organic part of the text, and might not be explained as the interpolations or modifications of an Irish translator working on, let us say, an English text.

On the contrary, my impression is that the text as we have it presents a social picture wildly at variance with life in the Ireland of the post-Treaty of Limerick period, that life which Ó Bruadair and Aodhagán Ó Rathaille have so vividly depicted. I should say here that the ladies of this parliament belong very much to the upper classes and are very conscious of their superiority and very secure in their social state. They speak (in a curiously modern fashion) of taking a more prominent part in the ruling of the kingdom, and in public affairs in general. They inveigh against the excesses to which their sex is prone in the matter of fine clothes. They intend to have their daughters receive not only the ordinary schooling up to the age of twelve years, but also a higher education in the seven liberal arts in convent schools for such of them as are capable of it. They will *leave* the government of the country in the hands of their husbands for another ten years until their daughters have grown up, and then it will be decided " who are best fitted to wear the breeches, the men or the women." (l. 666) To put it very mildly, this is hardly how one would have expected the wives of the Irish chiefs to talk in 1697.

Dr Ó Cuív refers to some English texts of the seventeenth century in the " parliament " form, in particular to two " Parliaments of Women " composed in 1640 and 1646 respectively, and also to a Dutch text in Trinity College, Dublin, library. Unfortunately, he does not tell us whether these texts resemble or not in content the present work.

However one may differ on the facts of this matter from Dr Ó Cuív, when one comes to a consideration of his linguistic study of the text, there can be no hesitation in congratulating him on a fine piece of work. I have mentioned already the contemporary nature of the language. Texts like the present one

were intended mainly, I should think, as ready-made sermons for the parish clergy (hence, probably, the large number of Mss copies of them which still exist). As such they would necessarily be written in a style that would be easily understood, that is to say that the syntax and grammar and vocabulary would be at least an approximation to, if not an exact mirror of the daily speech of the people.

Dr Ó Cuív in an excellent study has collected the grammatical and syntactical forms of the text and has clearly shown how in many cases they resemble or foreshadow the language he has already studied in his *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork*. Such studies are indispensable if we are to have an Irish grammar based, not on the assertions of our self-constituted grammarians for whom the Irish language stopped still with Keating, but on the organic and natural developments of the language where it still lived. In this connection it is amusing to note that the revisor who produced the slightly later version (around about 1703) of this work took a poor view of the " popular " character of the language. He substituted earlier " grammatical " forms for " loose " forms, and replaced low and vulgar words by more respectable and " literary " ones. He would have made a good examiner of Certificate papers.

Seán Ó Catháin

IMTHEACHT AN DÁ NÓNMHAR AGUS TÓRAIGHEACHT TAISE TAOIBHGHILE. Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa do chuir i neagar. Oifig an tSoláthair, Baile Átha Cliath. 1954. Pp. xvi, 274. 5s.

This is Volume 16 in the series *Leabhair ó Láimhsgríbhnibh* edited under the general direction of Professor Gerard Murphy. The first volume appeared in 1941 and within a few years some ten or twelve more were published. The subsequent volumes seem to have met with many delays for they have been appearing irregularly and after long periods in the hands of the printers. Each volume contains the following note : " Is é ba mhian le hAire an Oideachais nuair a chuir sé buidhean eagarthóirí ag obair ar na leabhraibh seo téaxanna fada nár cuireadh cló ortha riamh a chur ar fagháil do lucht léighte na Nua-Ghaedhilge, díreach mar atáid siad insna láimhsgríbhnibh, chomh luath is ab fhéidir, gan puinn ceartuighthe ná breithnighthe leaganacha."

The policy expressed in that note has been criticized in Studies by reviewers of earlier volumes in this series, but it might have been argued that the publication of a dozen such volumes in two or three years was a justification of the decision of the Department of Education with regard to the question of editorial apparatus. However, when such a work as this comes straggling from the press after fifteen years it can hardly be claimed that it has been made available " as quickly as possible."

The present volume contains the text of a long and not particularly interesting story which deals with the adventures of Fionn mac Cumhail in pursuit of a lady named Taise Thaoibhgheal who had come to him at Beann Éadair and revealed to him that she had fallen in love with him on hearing of his fame, and who had then put " geasa " on him to make him follow her to her home and win her by force of arms. Fionn's travels bring him to many lands and the Fianna encounter many dangers before arriving at Inis Tile where

Taise's husband is king, but the reader who has accompanied him so far will not be rewarded by finding the outcome of the adventure for the end of the story is missing.

This is a specimen of a type of romance which seems to have acquired a certain amount of popularity in Ireland in the sixteenth century. There is little chance of its being a best-seller today. It will be of interest mainly to scholars, some of whom will read it for lexicographical or other linguistic purposes while others will study it for its literary connections and its links with folklore.

In her introduction the editor has given details of the three manuscripts in which the tale has been found, the oldest being one written about 1671 by the well-known Connacht scribe Dáiví Ó Duibhgeannáin. She has also discussed the probable date of composition of the Irish story and has touched briefly on a few points of similarity to other such tales already published. It is unfortunate that her rules of work did not permit her to provide us with an adequate study of the text, together with some linguistic notes and a glossary.

Brian Ó Cuív

SCÁTHÁN SHACRAMUINTE NA HAITHRIDHE. Aodh Mac Aingil, O.F.M. a chum. Cainneach Ó Maonaigh, O.F.M. a chuir in eagar. Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, 1952. Pp. xlvii, 257. 15s.

RIALACHAS SAN FROINSIAS. Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, O.F.M. a chuir in eagar. Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath. 1953. Pp. xxx, 134. 10s. 6d.

PARRTHAS AN ANMA. Antoin Gearnon, O.F.M. a chum. Anselm Ó Fachtna, O.F.M. a chuir in eagar. Institiúid Árd-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath. 1953. Pp. xxxviii, 251. 15s.

It is one of the apparent incongruities of Irish history that after two hundred years of measures designed to eradicate the Irish language, especially within the Pale, the second half of the sixteenth century should see the Queen of England deliberately encouraging the use of Irish, and even providing a means for printing works in that language. Of course Queen Elizabeth had good reason for her change of policy, for she saw that the greatest chance of promoting the " Reformation " was by using the language of the people, and in the case of the majority of the Irish nation in the sixteenth century that language was Irish. Hence the publication of Kearney's Catechism in 1571, the New Testament in 1603, and the Book of Common Prayer in 1609, works which under other circumstances might have left a permanent mark on Irish writing.

It was doubtless the provision of this reading material by the Protestants that impelled the Franciscans to undertake in Louvain the publication of devotional works for the Catholic people of Ireland, a project which caused the English authorities some uneasiness if we may judge from the fact that in 1614 a British agent in Brussels petitioned Archduke Albert " to refuse to the Irish cordeliers at Louvain the license they request to print books in their monastery."

The first of these Franciscan books to appear was Giolla Brighde Ó hEoghusa's *Teagasg Criosdaidhe* which was printed in Antwerp in 1611 and reprinted in Louvain in 1614. Next came Florence Conry's *Scáthán an Chrábhaidh* (1616), Aodh Mac Aingil's *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (1618), Bernard Conny's *Riaghuil Threas Uird S. Froinsias* (1641), and Anthony Gearnon's *Parrthas an Anma* (1645) which was the first Catholic prayer-book in the Irish language. This latter was especially popular among the people, and Father Francis O'Molloy drew on it for his *Lóchrann na gCreidmheach* published in 1676.

All these books have long since lost their primary significance as devotional works, but they remain as examples of Early Modern Irish prose, and for this reason their re-issue after over three centuries is to be welcomed by Irish scholars. It is over twenty-five years since the Irish Franciscans announced their intention of making available in convenient form much of the work of the famous Louvain school, including works never published before. In the meantime Conry's *Scáthán an Chrábhaidh,* edited by the late T. F. O'Rahilly, was published in the Medieval and Modern Irish Series. The intention to publish the remainder might still be unfulfilled were it not for the fact that funds were made available for the purpose by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. In this way it has been found possible to proceed with the proposed series. So far three volumes have been published, and five more are in the press.

The first of the volumes published, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe,* a long work dealing with the Sacrament of Penance, and is without doubt the most readable of the three. Mac Aingil has an easy prose style and his subject is of more general interest than that of the second volume which consists of an edition of three documents dealing with the Franciscan rule and order. Those interested in the development of prayers in Irish will find much to claim their attention in *Parrthas an Anma* which contains a detailed catechism of Catholic doctrine and much devotional matter.

The editors have provided lengthy introductions in which they have dealt with various matters connected with the texts—biographical details of the authors, the background to the works themselves, the sources used, linguistic features, and in the case of the first volume a long account of the Louvain type. Those interested mainly in lexicography may be disappointed with the vocabularies, especially with that in the first volume which is far from adequate.

Finally it is only right to point out that the editors have chosen to do their work through the medium of Irish. This choice is one which many people will applaud as being in conformity with the spirit of the Louvain school. But it is an unfortunate fact that many discriminating readers will see a marked contrast between the quality of the Irish in the original texts and that of the twentieth-century editors. Apart from this the editors and the publishers have done much to deserve our commendation in providing these seventeenth-century texts for what is necessarily a small number of modern readers.

Brian Ó Cuív

HISTORY

THE IRISH CARTULARIES OF LLANTHONY PRIMA & SECUNDA. Edited by Eric St John Brooks. Dublin : Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1953. 50s.

For students of Irish medieval history this volume is one of the most valuable hitherto published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Though the date 1953 appears on the title-page, it should be noted that the volume did not actually appear until the end of 1954. Dr Brooks, who has already edited two other volumes for the Commission, here takes over work that was begun before the war by Mr H. G. Richardson, who found in the London Public Record Office two volumes of Llanthony cartularies, dating from the fifteenth century : C/115 A 8, and C/115 A 2. Llanthony Prima (Old Llanthony) lies in a remote part of Monmouthshire, and was founded by Hugh de Lacy, ancestor of the first Lord of Meath, *c.* 1103-8. The canons of this Augustinian priory found life difficult on the Welsh border, and most of them moved to Llanthony Secunda, beside the city of Gloucester, in 1136. The connection with the family of Hugh de Lacy accounts for the valuable Irish possessions which were held, at first jointly, by these two priories in Meath and Louth.

Disputes as to the value and extent of these possessions were inevitable under such an arrangement, and a settlement was finally negotiated *c.* 1203-4, by which Llanthony Prima received the cell of Colp in Meath, whilst the more prosperous Llanthony Secunda retained the more valuable cell of Duleek. The term " cell " is here used advisedly, though several of the Irish charters speak of both Colp and Duleek as priories—a loose and inaccurate use of this term. In his valuable Introduction to this edition, and in a paper on *Fourteenth Century Monastic Estates in Meath,* which he contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* vol. 83 (1953), Part II, Dr Brooks has thrown much light on the working of these two communities, whose primary purpose was to keep the two mother-houses in Wales and Gloucester supplied with the produce of two highly organized and profitable Irish farms. There is also a most interesting series of charters from successive archbishops of Armagh, which makes it possible to rewrite the history of the church of St. Peter at Drogheda : a church which for more than two centuries served as a kind of pro-Cathedral for the English archbishops of Armagh, who resided at their manor of Termonfechin. This church had also been granted to the canons of Llanthony by Hugh de Lacy, who served it for a time in person. Later, they presented the vicar to the archbishops in virtue of an agreement made in the middle of the thirteenth century, and here recorded in full.

Students of the history of Anglo-Norman Meath will find here a rich storehouse of documentary evidence. Visitors to the very interesting and attractive group of ruins at Duleek should note that the original small stone church (*damliag*) which gave its name to Duleek long before the Norman conquest, was granted—again by Hugh de Lacy—to the canons of Llanthony ; whilst the larger church, whose ruins now adjoin the Protestant church of St Mary, was the church of an Augustinian community of canons, founded by the bishop of Louth shortly before the Norman conquest. The remains

(and they are fairly extensive) of the former cell of the canons of Llanthony at Duleek are now part of a private property near the older ruins. Those who have read what Dr Brooks has to say about this monastic estate should not fail to visit these impressive ruins of what was once a very flourishing monastic cell and farm.

Aubrey Gwynn

THE LIFE OF ST LOUIS. By John of Joinville. Translated by René Hague, from the text edited by Natalis de Wailly. London : Sheed and Ward. 1955. 18s.

THE MONGOL MISSION. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries. Translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey. Edited with an Introduction by Christopher Dawson. London : Sheed and Ward. 1955. 18s.

Mr Dawson's scheme for a series of biographical texts, illustrating the life's work of various " Makers of Christendom," makes good progress, and we wish him all success in his venture. Jean de Joinville's *Life of St Louis* is an old friend and an old favourite ; made familiar to most of us by Belloc's use of so many passages to illustrate his favourite theme of Christian kingship. The present translation is excellent in itself, and unabridged. It is based on the critical examination of the manuscript tradition by de Wailly, first published in 1874. Mr Hague has aimed at a fluent, easily readable translation—in contrast to the more deliberately archaistic translation by Dr Joan Evans (1939).

Mr Dawson's own edition of the letters and narratives of those Franciscan missionaries who ventured far afield in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is most welcome. We have all of us heard of these friars, and of their astonishingly arduous journeys. But how many of us have had either time or opportunity to read the narratives in which these adventures were first recorded by the friars themselves ? I can still remember very vividly the impression that I once made on a small class by reading to them a letter from Guyuk Khan, cousin to Kubla Khan, sent to Innocent IV, the reigning Pope of his day. Mr Dawson's Introduction tells all that needs to be known of the very curious history of Nestorian Christianity in China, and of the first contacts between the Friars Minor of the thirteenth century and the Mongol Emperors. He prints in full a translation of the *History of the Mongols*, by John of Plano Carpini ; a short Narrative by Brother Benedict the Pole ; and the more important *Journey of William of Rubruck* (1253) ; together with several authentic letters from Brother John of Monte Corvino and other friars. And it is a pleasure to see again, this time in English dress, the two bulls which Innocent IV addressed to the Emperor of the Tartars in 1245, and the letter which Guyuk Khan wrote to the Pope when he sent the Franciscan missionaries home to Europe in 1246.

Aubrey Gwynn

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917 : a personal record. By N. N. Sukhanov. Edited, abridged and translated by Joel Carmichael from *Zapiski O Revolutsii*. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1955.

STALIN'S RUSSIA AND AFTER. By Harrison Salisbury. London : Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1955.

THESE two books differ from each other in aim, content and quality. The first has as its author a once-prominent Russian intellectual who participated in the exciting days of the Russian Revolution of 1917 ; the second is written by a prominent American journalist who travelled extensively in wartime Russia between 1944 and 1945, and spent five years from 1949 as the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*. Both authors were journalists, but the attitude of the one is very different from that of the other. Sukhanov was concerned to write a personal record of his experiences in 1917 between February and October 27, when the Bolshevik Revolution became an accomplished fact. His book is in the form of a day to day account of the rapid process by which Russia passed through the bourgeois revolution effected by the overthrow of the Czars to the final seizure of power by the Bolshevik wing of the Soviet Council of Workers and Soldiers in Petersburg on the night of 24-25 October. Salisbury's account, on the other hand, is an easy, if not unintelligent, analysis extending over a wider period and stretching forward audaciously into an unknown future.

It has been said that the historical account of an event is an account of something that never happened. In one sense the truth of this statement is suggested by the contrast between Sukhanov's story of events and the analysis of the Russian Revolution given by various historians of that period. On the one hand, the historian goes by the written record. That record rarely even approaches the whole truth, as a great deal of that truth escapes the inquisitorial instruments of the historian. This is particularly true of revolutionary events where passion and speed prevail, and where time is rarely left for dispassionate contemporary documentation. The Russian exemplar is particularly noteworthy, because in addition to the inevitable inadequacies of contemporary documentation, the subsequent rulers of Soviet Russia have had a vested interest in eliminating all traces of anything that does not fit in with their version of that controversial period. In another sense also—and this is a more general issue—the way the historian looks at events is a way never shared entirely by any of the participants in them. He stands outside—or at least it is his claim to do so—and therefore his account of events differs markedly from that of the person involved at the time. The Russian revolution never happened in quite the manner in which any single one of the participants described it ; for if they were involved, and understood some of the passion, and experienced personally some of those events, their views were necessarily one-sided. On the other hand, the general descriptions of historians, except in so far as they enter into the minutiæ of detail, give an impression which does not fully accord with that shared by the participant.

A day to day account of the Russian revolution is particularly valuable because it communicates to the reader, distant from the scene, the turmoil,

the inconsistency, the tortuous fears and suspicions which divided the parties from hour to hour throughout those eight months ; and Sukhanov's account is unique in this respect. It stands comparison with the powerful, poetic and very subjective interpretation offered by Trotsky. But Trotsky's account was written much longer after the event ; and he was naturally reading into his activities and those of his opponents a consistent theme and logic which was absent in 1917, but present in 1927.

Sukhanov was a typical Russian intellectual ; his political attitudes are naturally puzzling for readers whose experiences are confined to western Europe. Ideas play a greater role in specifically Russian and Communist activities than they do in the politics of western, and more particularly Anglo-Saxon, countries. For Sukhanov as for most of his contemporary Russian friends and foes, an inner logic governed the march of events. History, in the Hegelian sense, is always on the side of the winner, and therefore the outcome of the struggles between the abortive Bolshevik coup of July 1917 and its successful successor in October, are explained ultimately in terms of tragic necessity. Sukhanov belonged to the Russian Social Democratic party. It was divided into very clear and distinct right, centre and left wings ; and as a member of the left wing, he stood closer to the Bolsheviks than did the majority of the Social Democrats. He believed that the Bolsheviks were unscrupulous but intelligent. They rejected while he asserted the primacy of political freedom. They knew, nevertheless, how to identify themselves with the feeling of the masses, and their victory was thus assured. That victory ultimately, he admits, conflicted with the real interests of the masses. However, the diarist is inclined to place the blame on the constitutionalists, the bourgeoisie, the social revolutionaries, and the Menshevik Social Democrats, rather than on the Bolsheviks, whose contacts with the masses he so much envied.

There is, of course, a fundamental fallacy in this type of interpretation, and it is one shared not only by all Marxists, but also by many non-Marxists. The division of humanity into fixed, undeviating, and clearly distinct groups, fronts, classes, enemies and friends, is an artificial one. It exists mainly in the realm of subjective ideas, and rarely accords with real, concrete and changing situations. Sukhanov refers in page after page to the " masses," the " reactionaries " and the " middle classes." But who, for example, were these masses ? First of all, as far as the revolution was concerned, they were workers and soldiers in the Petersburg area. Secondly, they were not the entirety of the working class ; they were not even a majority. What they were in fact, was a determined minority group, which by force and persuasion gradually came to the top. This success arose out of an infinite variety of unpredictable circumstances, involving personal eccentricity, accidents of time and events, as well as external factors foreign to the Petersburg scene.

The author based his work on notes taken at the time ; but it was written between 1919 and 1921. It is closer to the events described than is the history written by Trotsky. The author also was more detached than was Stalin's great rival, precisely because, as an abstract " intellectual " and an impractical politician, his reactions never coincided with those of a particular group.

The historian often likes to divide his story into periods, which for convenience sake are described somewhat cliché-wise as " milestones." These

" milestones " depend on the end of the story, and if it had concluded differently other periods and " milestones " which were present no less than those finally selected would have received at least equal attention.

For Sukhanov, the " milestones " of the Russian revolution are the collapse of Czarist authority in the last weeks of February and the early weeks of March, the establishment of a " bourgeois " government on the one side and of the Soviet Council of Workers and Soldiers on the other, the pressure of the Social Democrats on the " bourgeois " cabinet of Prince Lwow and Miliukov, the controversy between the nationalist members of the bourgeoise and the peasants in conflict with the internationalist and pacifist socialists, the rising of the Petersburg Soviet towards the end of April, the formation of a coalition government composed of the bourgeoisie, the right-wing social democrats and social revolutionaries under Karensky, the Bolshevik " putsch " in July, the temporary supremacy of Kerensky—and finally the counter-revolution inaugurated in August by the Czarist general, Kornilov, and the recovery of the Bolsheviks who, under the guidance of Lenin were the most effective organizers in the overthrow of that counter-revolution.

If Sukhanov is unduly captured by ideological phraseology, his accounts of personalities are dispassionate. Apart from the light which this diary throws on the mentality of a well-informed actor on the revolutionary stage, its greatest value for the historian resides in its interpretation of character. Sukhanov seems to have been objective in regard to men, where in relation to parties he was deeply subjective. What he has to say about all the great figures of the revolution will stand the passage of time ; and it certainly agrees with evidence coming from other quarters. Lenin, Trotsky, Martov, Schliapnikov, Miliukov, Kerensky, Lunarcharsky, Dan, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, as well as Molotov and Stalin, are brought to life with skill and artistry. Most of these were soon to fly the Russian scene, or to be evicted from it. These were, however, the men who made the revolution ; and its success and ultimate development cannot be understood without taking into account their personal temperaments. Sukhanov here has provided evidence which is as indispensable as it is convincing and in parts exciting.

The book is a sufficient refutation of subsequent Stalinist versions ; it is not however, despite the fact, vitiated by professedly anti-Stalinist tendencies which are no less objectionable and untrue than those of the contemporary Bolshevik historians. Stalin is only referred to on four occasions, but even in the background, his influence was undoubted. The dominating figure for the greater part of the period is undoubtedly Trotsky, who was gradually won over to the party of Lenin, the latter being obliged to spend a good deal of those months in the " underground." It was Lenin who provided the machine for the revolutionary seizure of power ; and it was Trotsky who popularized the somewhat arid and disconnected phraseology of Leninism. Lenin's service to the revolution was both an administrative and an ideological one. Consistency is nearly always—where politics are concerned—a danger ; in a revolutionary period however, where it is coupled with firmness of will, it can, other things being equal, be the key to victory. Lenin pursued his way undaunted by defeat and slander ; Trotsky found his time and opportunity at a moment when oratory and mass hysteria were at a premium.

Salisbury's book is more lucid and more easy to read. He analyses the surface of recent Russian history. His sources of information are based on such " news " as a foreign correspondent in an efficient dictatorial system, could acquire. The first period of the Bolshevik revolution was much more free than that described by the American journalists. Freedom of speech in 1917, and even for some years afterwards, was by no means suppressed. And to men who had served in the struggle against Czarism, liberties were permitted of which Salisbury could not take advantage. His account is, therefore, a conventional one, and there is nothing original either in his interpretation or in his narrative. His speculations on the death of Stalin (whom he suspects of having been murdered) and on the fall of Beria, are interesting, but hardly come within the framework of history. They are as good as one can get, but that is hardly enough ; and Salisbury tends to push the evidence further than it really goes. Journalists, however, as well as practical politicians, have to speculate upon the future ; whereas Sukhanov was dealing with the past. On present and future Russian policy, Salisbury is not unduly optimistic. His account has in some respects been rendered out of date by recent developments in international diplomacy. He is not to be criticized for this, and if this volume will not be consulted after some few years, it will probably sell well within that period ; and it is not more misleading than most good works of its kind.

T. Desmond Williams

LITERATURE

FEELING AND FORM. By Susanne K. Langer. London : Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 28s.

AESTHETICS AND CRITICISM. By Harold Osborne. London : Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 28s.

These two similarly-priced books are not of equal value. Mr. Osborne's is useful : Mrs Langer's is profound, original, an important event in the development of aesthetics.

The best way to indicate the significance of Mrs Langer's book is to say that its place is beside such works as Maritain's *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry,* Croce's *Estetica,* Roger Fry's *Vision and Design,* Jordan's *The Aesthetic Object* and Malraux's *Les Voix du Silence* : it is *that* kind of book. In *Feeling and Form* Mrs Langer applies to art the thesis (which she set out some years ago as a general theory in *Philosophy in a New Key*) that the characteristically human response is that of symbolic transformation. The result is a splendid exposition of the view that " Art is the creation of forms symbolic of human feeling." (p. 40).

Mrs Langer's debt to Cassirer, to whom she dedicates *Feeling and Form,* is obvious: *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* showed her the direction-beyond-Kant which a theory of art should take. From this point of view *Feeling and Form* is a detailed examination of Cassirer's symbolic forms, a vindication of the autonomy of art as an unique mode of knowing. From another angle, the book presents a philosophical justification of Clive Bell's idea of " significant form " :

> A work of art is a single, indivisible symbol, although a highly articulated one ; it is not, like a discourse (which may also be regarded as a single symbolic form), composite, analyzable into more elementary symbols—sentences, clauses, phrases, words, and even separately meaningful parts of words : roots, prefixes, suffixes, etc. ; selected, arranged and permutable according to publicly known " laws of language." For language, spoken or written, is a *symbolism*, a system of symbols ; a work of art is always a prime symbol. It may, indeed, be analyzed, in that its articulation may be traced and various elements in it distinguished ; but it can never be constructed by a process of synthesis of elements, because no such elements exist outside it. (p. 369).

Anyone who is interested in art and literature will find *Feeling and Form* an exciting book. One of Mrs Langer's most remarkable qualities is the ability to move easily and critically between philosophical propositions and specific literary instances : the chapter entitled " Poesis," for example, contains a highly perceptive examination of Herrick's *Delight in Disorder,* and many other chapters reveal similar critical acumen.

Feeling and Form is not perfect : one can pick a fault here and there. The chapter on Tragedy, for instance, is hardly more than adequate, and would have been improved by recourse to Kenneth Burke's *A Grammar of Motives.* Furthermore, the bibliography is an arbitrary selection which, I notice, omits reference to the work of Jordan, Ushenko, Berenson and others. I need hardly say, however, that *Feeling and Form* is strong enough to carry such minor blemishes.

Aesthetics and Criticism is not at all as well-off. Mr Osborne's main idea (see his *Theory of Beauty*) is to insist on a Pater-derived distinction between literary *greatness* and literary *excellence* :

> It means assessing on the one hand the structural or aesthetic properties of any work of literature and estimating on the other hand separately and distinctly the quality of the human experience which as raw material the author has structured and organized into his work of art together with the wisdom and truth of the attitudes which he fosters towards that human experience. (p. 101).

I am afraid this notion is unlikely to be of any real assistance : in particular, it does not clear up or even evade the old question of Poetry and Truth. What, for instance, does Mr Osborne mean by " truth " in the passage quoted : does his view of " truth " coincide with mine, or yours, or Mr Pound's, or Mr Howard Fast's ?

Mr Osborne claims " a fairly wide reading in the literature of criticism " : justly, I am sure. But this field is so vast that in any particular section of it his reading is inevitably inadequate. The chapter entitled " Anatomy of Criticism," for instance, is weak because it does not take account of the theoretical assumptions represented in the work of such critics as Yvor Winters, Allen Tate, Kenneth Burke, William K. Wimsatt, R. S. Crane and others. *Aesthetics and Criticism* is a long book : it would have been shorter and better if Mr Osborne had allowed dead issues to remain dead and had come to grips with those questions on aesthetics and criticism which are really active.

Students will find the book useful as a general handbook, readable and intelligent : for students of literature one must continue to prefer the *Theory of Literature* (1949) by René Wellek and Austin Warren.

Mr Osborne's bibliography is a mess, redeemed to some extent by the inclusion of a reference to Worringer's *Abstraction and Empathy*.

Denis Donoghue

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE : A STUDY OF ITS LITERARY FORM. By Abbie Findlay Potts. Cornell University Press and Geoffrey Cumberlege. 48s.

To borrow R. P. McKeon's word, Wordsworth's temperament was *holoscopic*, that is, bent on whole-observing : he saw every event, every action, every thing " as parts/but with a feeling of the whole." His characteristic poetic action was an enquiry into the means by which the individual, mutable experiences of his life became part of the nature of his Being. *The Prelude* is to some extent autobiography, to some extent idealization, but fundamentally it is a poem in search of meaning and permanent significance in the events of Wordsworth's life : in this sense it is moral as well as philosophical.

The Prelude is a difficult poem and we should not lightly push aside any help we can find towards its appreciation. Fortunately, a considerable amount of valuable criticism and elucidation is available : I might mention R. D. Havens's *The Mind of a Poet* (1941), William Empson's *The Structure of Complex Words*, the relevant pages in F. R. Leavis's *Revaluations*, Newton P. Stallknecht's *Strange Seas of Thought* (1945), and occasional essays by Bennett Weaver, Francis Christensen and others : I notice that a working list I made a few years ago contains seventeen books or essays on *The Prelude*. I think it will be agreed, therefore, that the poem is not now in urgent need of critical or scholarly attention.

Miss Potts now offers us *Wordsworth's Prelude : a Study of its Literary Form*, but I am afraid the subtitle is inaccurate. Briefly, Miss Potts uses what I call the resemblance-method :—

> . . . *The Prelude* is very like many markedly different English poems. In its lyric and idyllic quality it is like Beattie's *Minstrel*, Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and Gray's *Bard*. More and more, while Wordsworth reshapes it into a nature ritual, it grows to be like Thomson's *Seasons*. When it reaches its apocalyptic episodes, it is akin to Young's *Night Thoughts*. And when its author works out its action, he has help from the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan. (p. 25).

Miss Potts continues in this strain for a full page, during which she likens various parts of *The Prelude* to Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*, Pope's *Dunciad*, Goldsmith's *Traveller*, Habington's *Castara*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Milton, Plato, etc.

Everybody knows that books and essays have been written to prove that Wordsworth was influenced by Hartley, Coleridge, Godwin, the School of Sensibility, Fleetwood, the ethics of Stoicism, Boehme, Christianity, popular ballads, Theocritus, Schiller, Milton, Spinoza, Spenser, William Law, etc., etc. Mark Van Doren's *The Nobel Voice* (1946) compares *The Prelude* with nine other poems in world literature. I cannot help feeling that Miss Potts's book

carries this kind of activity to a point which I must describe as absurd. The whole question of " parallels " and " sources " has been considered recently and very intelligently by Kenneth Muir and F. W. Bateson (*Essays in Criticism*, Vol. 4, No. 4), so there is no need to raise it briefly and inadequately here in the space of a review : but I would offer the following representative passage as an example of Miss Potts's method :—

" The details of the holier exhilaration, the imaginative, as set forth by Habington in *Cupio dissolvi* :

> The soule which doth with God unite, . . .
> Like sacred Virgin wax, which *shines*
> On Altars or on Martyrs' *shines*
> *How* doth she *burne* away;
> *How* violent are her throwes till she
> *From envious earth* delivered be ! . . .
> *How* soone she leaves the pride of wealth !

resemble the " glimmering views " of Wordsworth in his first college vacation :

> *How* Life pervades the undecaying mind,
> *How* the immortal Soul with God-like power
> Informs, creates, and *thaws* the deepest sleep
> That time can lay upon her. *How on earth . . .*"

I submit that apart from the use of the most conventional device of rhetoric the two passages do not " resemble " each other to the slightest significant degree. I am convinced that I could open a book of, say, Traherne's poems (which Miss Potts does not mention) and pick out three or four passages which in terms of vocabulary, syntax and form bear a far more striking " resemblance " to a selected *Prelude* passage than the Habington lines quoted : I very much doubt, however, whether I could defend the activity as anything better than scholarly amusement.

I cannot avoid the conclusion that Miss Potts's book is culpably frivolous.

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE EARLY IRISH STAGE. By William Clark Smith. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1955. 30s.

This is a historical study of the Irish stage from the earliest records up to 1720, the year of Joseph Ashbury's death. It is worthy of an enthusiastic welcome : up to now our knowledge of the pre-eighteenth century Irish theatre has been fragmentary and vague. Miss Stockwell's book was useful for the period 1637-1820, Dr Kavanagh's cast a few rather untrustworthy lights on seventeenth century Irish theatrical activity : in both cases scholarship was represented on a relatively low level. For the rest, we have had scholarly articles of great merit from R. C. Bald, William Van Lennep and J. G. MacManaway on various aspects of the early Irish stage, but nothing comprehensive : hence the need for a book such as Mr Clark's.

It is not Mr Clark's fault that his account of the beginnings of the Irish stage (i.e. up to 1637) occupies him for a mere twenty-five pages : the materials simply do not exist. We had known of the two miracle plays *Abraham's Sacrifice* and

The Play of the Sacrament, for instance, from the collections of pre-Shakespearean drama by J. M. Manly and J. Q. Adams, and now Mr Clark tells us more about the fifteenth century morality play which James Mills edited in 1891; but the total remains small. For the period from 1637 to 1720, the position is better and Mr Clark presents it in six chapters of continuous interest : at this point he is helped enormously by the notebooks in which the late W. J. Lawrence transcribed documents bearing upon Irish stage matters which existed in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

I cannot help feeling that this book is as good a study of the early Irish stage as is humanly possible at this point in our knowledge : unless further materials bearing on Irish theatre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries turn up (and I think it unlikely) Mr Clark's study will surely remain the standard work.

Denis Donoghue

THE WORKS OF SIR THOMAS MALORY. Edited by Eugene Vinaver. Oxford University Press. 1954. 21s.

Until 1947 the only available texts of Malory were based on that issued by Caxton in July 1485 under the title *Le Morte Darthur*. In 1934 a fifteenth century manuscript of the works was found in the Fellows' Library, Winchester College : on examination, this manuscript was found to contain a text more complete and, in some respects, more authentic than Caxton's. The Winchester manuscript became the basis of the critical edition by Professor Vinaver which was published in three volumes by the Clarendon Press in 1947 (corrected reprint 1948). This edition, which cost £6 6s. od., included a long introduction, full critical apparatus, Commentary, Index, Bibliography, and Glossary. The present volume in the Oxford Standard Authors series includes the 1947 texts (somewhat revised), the Glossary, and a brief Introduction.

The importance of the Winchester manuscript is obvious : both texts are collateral versions of a common original, and it is now possible to check the degree of editorial interference in the Caxton edition. In addition, the Winchester manuscript alone gives a complete version of Malory's earliest work *The Tale of the Noble King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius* : Caxton gave only a drastically abridged version.

I hope that this new edition will put an end to the misguided attempts to find in the Malory text " one story and one book ".[1] The Winchester manuscript strongly suggests that in Malory we have, not one book, but a series of eight separate, independent romances. For reasons of editorial economy, patriotism and moral zeal, Caxton took it upon himself to combine these stories into one " book of King Arthur." As Professor Vinaver wrote in the 1947 Introduction,

> Instead of a single work subordinate to an imaginary principle of ' structure,' we now have a series of works reflecting in an ever-changing panorama of incident and character a genuine variety of narrative forms and fancies.

[1] George Saintsbury : *The English Novel*. London. 1913. p. 25.

It is hardly necessary to say that this is the best edition of Malory to date : it is also the most attractive. Professor Vinaver gives the texts in the old spelling, but with modern punctuation and word-division : he uses modern capitals, expands the old contractions, and gives the modern equivalents of medieval signs. Even more important for the Common Reader, this edition departs from the pedantic practice of printing the Malory texts in solid blocks of prose : by separating dialogue from narrative in the modern manner, Professor Vinaver goes as far as possible to present Malory as a novelist, rather than as the author of a learned treatise. It seems to me that all these innovations are justified and long-overdue : if Malory is to be read at all he should and will be read in this edition. As Caxton wrote in his fascinating Preface :

> " and for to passe the tyme this book shal be plesaunte to rede in, but for to gyve fayth and byleve that al is trewe that is conteyned herin, ye be at your lyberte."

DENIS DONOGHUE

SHAKESPEARE : THE LAST PHASE. By Derek Traversi. London : Hollis and Carter. 21s.

I IMAGINE that many of those readers who were delighted by Derek Traversi's *Approach to Shakespeare* (1938) will have kept an eye open for anything he has written in the meantime : his *Scrutiny* essays, especially his long study of *King Lear* and a brilliant study of *Othello* which I read a few years ago in *The Wind and the Rain*. As these magazines have now gone the way of most literary periodicals of any value, I hope Mr Traversi's publishers will not delay in making this work available in book form.

Here at any rate we have Mr Traversi's study of *Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale,* and *The Tempest.* Briefly, Mr Traversi's view is that in the four last plays Shakespeare, repudiating naturalism, moves into a conception of drama which we must describe in terms of symbolism. There is, of course, nothing revolutionary in this general interpretation, and some readers may protest that they have had all this before from Professor Wilson Knight : but that is not quite true. Many of us will agree with the idea of symbolism as the primary factor in interpreting the four last plays and yet violently disagree with Mr Traversi's reading of a particular scene : the matter is more complex than it appears at first glance.

The best chapter in this book deals with *The Tempest* : to be fair to Mr Traversi, therefore, we should judge him on this ground. As a whole, his interpretation of this play seems to me to be acceptable : his reading throughout is sensitive and trustworthy. He goes through the play scene by scene, tracing the symbolic pattern of Breakdown and Reconciliation as he sees it. I have no hesitation in saying that if a student were to read only one essay on *The Tempest,* he would be well advised to choose this one : but yet it has faults, and some of them serious.

First, it should be made perfectly clear that Mr Traversi's study of *The Tempest* is literary interpretation or appreciation, but not literary *criticism* in any pure sense : it is not criticism in the sense in which Dr Leavis's essays in *New Bearings* are criticism, for instance. To put the matter another way, Mr Traversi's essay proves that the play presents a significant symbolic pattern, but it does not seriously examine the verbal organization of the text, nor does it assess the value of such organization. It answers the question : " what does the play mean ? ", but it does not tell us how the enacted poem which we call *The Tempest* actually *works*. I am not complaining, since I am happy to take what Mr Traversi gives : I am merely trying to indicate precisely what he gives and what he does not give.

A much more serious matter arises : I believe that the general interpretation represented by Mr Traversi offers the richest reading of *The Tempest*, but I feel strongly that the symbolic pattern of the play as he traces it is more definite, more shapely than the text warrants. To take just one example : in regard to Act 5, I agree with Mr Traversi that Sebastian and Antonio, unlike Alonso, " remain finally beyond the limits of Prospero's reconciling action " (p. 213), and that the happy ending is not a simple matter of Prospero's universal forgiveness : but Act 5 contains at least three passages which point against us. Prospero's lines beginning " Their understanding/Begins to swell . . .", for instance, clearly include Sebastian and Antonio : similarly, they are included in the " brave new world " and the " goodly creatures " invoked by the morally mature Miranda. I do not think that these and other passages are strong enough to overthrow the interpretation of the Antonio-Sebastian point on which Mr Traversi and I are agreed, but I feel that Mr Traversi's concern for a bold, significant symbolic pattern has tempted him to sidetrack those parts of the text which point in a different direction.

The only other point at which I feel Mr Traversi has gone seriously astray is the question of Caliban's ' poetry '. Mr Traversi writes :—

> In the first place, the poetry which we admire in Caliban was given to him, at least in part, by Prospero ; the instinctive appreciation was, if we like, his own, a natural endowment, but the gift of expression, essentially a social, a civilizing gift, came to him from Prospero. The natural and the civilized orders are, in other words, inextricably mixed, and the problem with which Prospero is wrestling is simply that the natural, animal man tends obstinately to anarchy (p. 230).

I am afraid this is absurd : indeed, Mr Traversi's whole account of Caliban would have been greatly improved (and in several minor respects corrected) if he had read the article by John E. Hankins in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, September 1947.

Nevertheless, Mr Traversi's book remains a study of high intelligence : I hope it will be read by every student of Shakespeare.

DENIS DONOGHUE

Secondary Education in Ireland

by SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN, S.J., M.A., PH.D.
Lecturer in Education, University College, Dublin

Part One

THE Council of Education is at present examining the state of secondary education in this country with a view to presenting to the Minister of Education a report parallel to that which they have already produced on primary education. That such an examination is being conducted is a step in the right direction. It is also a step which is long overdue.

It is now all but forty years since Pearse, three months before the Rising of 1916, published *The Murder Machine,* his indictment of the contemporary secondary system. In 1924 a new system was introduced which, with certain modifications, has been in use in our schools for thirty years. After a reasonable interval for testing, the system might well have been subjected to a critical analysis to determine to what extent it was an improvement on the previous British-controlled one, to what extent it reflected the new aspirations and the new freedom of our people. In fact no such criticism has appeared.

True, the INTO in its *Plan for Education* in 1947 devoted a short and rather superficial chapter to " Secondary and Vocational Education." In August 1953, *The Irish Times* published a stimulating series of articles on *Education in Ireland,* including three on the secondary school in which a number of good (and not so good) things were said, but said with that briefness dictated by the limits of a newspaper article. Apart from these I do not know of any published criticism of the system. There have been, of course, the regular complaints from the teachers' and the headmasters' associations about the niggardliness of Government financial help. It is as right that these complaints should be made as it is unfortunate that they should have to be made at all. Men must live decently as well as teach competently (though I am not to be understood as necessarily supporting each and every demand), and it has been frequently pointed out that the peculiar organization of secondary education in this country has so lightened the Government's expenditure—not as much as one penny is given for building purposes—that one might reasonably expect them to be generous with the comparatively small grants they do make.

What we have had is an annual series of modestly complacent Reports of the Department based on its Inspectors' findings. In these Reports there is occasional mild criticism of how the various subjects are being

taught, but one looks in vain for even the slightest suggestion querying the inclusion of any particular subject, or the number of subjects on the curriculum. Self-examination is never an exhilarating process, even for the individual, so that it is probably too much to ask a government department to examine, not its own functioning which may or may not have achieved the smooth and silent efficiency of a well-oiled machine, but the much more searching question : is the product of that functioning a good thing ?

At this point it is only right to say that the Department—in view of the large degree of independence enjoyed by secondary schools in Ireland—professes not to impose any change in the Rules which would be contrary to the wishes of the schools. It regards its function primarily as administering the Rules in the interest of the schools, and secondarily as making any alterations proposed (unanimously ?) by them. Anyone who has had to do with them will agree that there can be no question of the general courtesy and kindness of the Department's officials, of their helpfulness in difficulties and of their attempts to understand and sympathize with the other side of the question. It is not, then, in any aggressive or hostile sense that it is said here that their point of view is necessarily a narrow one. They are concerned solely with the efficient functioning of the Department within the framework of the present situation. They do not question the present aim of education nor do they pass judgement on the validity of the means at present adopted to bring about that end : that is to say that they accept the present curriculum, though their Inspectors may in fact make suggestions to the teachers as to the more efficient teaching of any particular subject. It has seemed to me necessary to make that statement of the Department's position. There is a tendency to regard its functioning as necessarily the best thing for education, to regard the system, in other words, as necessarily satisfactory. This too-ready acquiescence in present conditions is one factor at least, if not the main factor, that has contributed to that lack of interest, that stagnation in fact that characterizes educational thought in this country.

It may be objected here that, if what has been said so far in this article is meant to be an introduction to a criticism of the present system, public opinion favours its retention. Headmasters, it will be said, in their annual speeches invariably praise the system as " one of the best in the world," as " one to be proud of," and so on. We should understand what it is that is being praised. The context of these phrases makes it clear that it is not the curriculum of the Department but the organization of the schools that is regarded as good : that we have in this country a system of denominational secondary education that allows perfect freedom for the religious and moral training of the pupils. That such is the case is the result of a purely historical development for which

neither the present Department nor its British predecessor deserves any thanks. The financial sacrifices initiated by the founders of the schools and carried on by their present owners have made that position of independence possible, have made available to our children an education which can give its due place to religion, and the Headmasters are right to stress the excellence of that training. But the Department has nothing whatever to do with that aspect of the system ; in fact, the only mention of religion or moral training is the statement that a maximum of three hours per week of religious instruction may be reckoned as part of a master's teaching period, for the purpose of the incremental salary. Consequently, what will be said in the course of this article will be almost exclusively concerned with those aspects of education for which the Department assumes some responsibility, in particular intellectual and aesthetic training and physical training, with, however, some reference to moral training in so far as those three affect it.

It might be further objected to any criticism of the Department's programme that, as a writer in the series of articles in *The Irish Times* says, " it prescribes on broad lines a curriculum for the schools to follow, and arranges examinations which they may take if they wish. Through the machinery for the payment of grants and salaries, it can see that the general plan is followed. With the great mass of the details it does not interfere." It is strange to find a Headmaster writing so ; one can only conclude that he has not at any time tried to diverge appreciably from the beaten path. Not only does the Department, for example, dictate four of the six subjects which must be studied during the Intermediate stage, but it also dictates the details of those studies. Further (though it is difficult to find justification for this in the Rules), in practice it prescribes the minimum amount of class-time to be spent on a subject each week. For instance, it will not be satisfied with less than four and a half hours per week at Mathematics. As for the examinations which the schools " may take if they wish," in practice (though on what grounds it is not clear) the Department may go so far as to refuse the capitation grant if at least some pupils are not presented for the Leaving Certificate. Finally, whatever the theory may be, every teacher knows that the type of examination now being set exercises a severely limiting effect on his teaching. (This point will be discussed more fully later in this article.) Hence it is just to say that the Department must carry a large share of the responsibility for the system as it is at present, and that if any substantial alterations were to be made in the shape of secondary education, it would be extremely difficult to do so under the present circumstances.

Finally, it might be said that the present system is a good one because the proportion of successes in the examinations is a consistently high one. But this is to beg the whole question. That consistency (some critics would say " suspicious consistency ") simply means that the schools

have accommodated their methods to the peculiar requirements of the examinations, their bats have mastered the Department's bowling. The argument takes for granted that such success is a sufficient proof of a good education, which is just what is denied by many of those who call for changes in the system.

But is there any need to make substantial alterations in the system? Would not whatever complaints there are be met by improvements within the present framework? If the "framework" is the present shape of the curriculum plus the present examination system, then, to judge by what good teachers are saying, no modal or accidental improvements would be enough. By good teachers here I mean those who try to direct their teaching towards an aim higher than that of passing the examinations. There are, probably, some teachers whose whole horizon is bounded by success in the examinations, but these are unworthy of the name of teacher. In my experience, Irish teachers are deeply dissatisfied with the system as it is, not so much because of any details in it as because they feel more or less clearly that it is hindering the true end of education. If this be true the matter is very serious indeed. If our secondary education system is, by its very nature and not just by any misuse or abuse of it, stunting or distorting the proper growth of our children, then we should demand that it be changed. We can no longer blame, as Pearse could, the British government for our ills; we have it in our own power to abolish them. But such a demand must come from the schools themselves, and it must come with such a weight of insistence that it will be taken seriously and not regarded indulgently as just another outbreak of that occupational disease of teachers, "grousing." Here, one may lament the total absence in Ireland of a journal devoted to the interests of secondary education. Such a paper would provide an opportunity to discuss, with a fullness denied to fugitive articles in the daily press, problems which, as things are at present, may be discussed in the teachers' common room at great length but with a final sense of futility and frustration.

I have said that good teachers are keenly concerned with the effect of the present system on what they regard as true education. When they are asked to put their objections in concrete form what one hears with remarkable regularity is "The courses are too long. It is just not possible to cover them." Now when one looks into that statement it is an odd one. First, if the courses themselves are examined singly, the majority of them do not appear to be too long. Even examined singly, some indeed, such as the history courses, do appear to demand too much, but most of them seem reasonable. Secondly, it might be said that the examination results show that they can in fact be covered, and in many cases covered very efficiently. The objection then must

mean more than it conveys at first sight. In fact, teachers will amplify it in one or other of three senses. The first we must dismiss briefly, though it raises a question that has never been satisfactorily faced. The second and third form the fundamental problem of secondary education.

A teacher may say something like this : " The course is not too long *if* the period of time which seems to be expected by the Department were given to it." What he is referring to is the confusion that exists as to the number of years which should be spent in secondary schools before the Intermediate Examination may be taken. There is confusion and a lack of consistency in the Department's practice and theory here. Briefly, there seems to be a general opinion that a four years' course is the normal one. Yet the Department allows pupils to take the examination after a three years' course, and indeed after two years. And this in spite of the fact that its own inspectors in the yearly reports attribute the low standard in certain subjects to the fact that pupils take the examination after only two years' work. In this connection it may be of interest to note that, according to the 1951-52 Report, of the 7,600 pupils who entered secondary school, 4,500 were over fourteen years of age. Under the Department's regulations those pupils could take the examination after two years. One can appreciate how, under such circumstances, a teacher might regard the course as too long. In fact, looking at the present courses, it is difficult to see how such preparation for the examination could be anything but cramming.

There is another aspect of this first objection which must be mentioned. Even if all pupils did take the four years' course, the fact that they are allowed to take the examination after three years has led to the discreditable practice of entering pupils for it in their third, and again in their fourth year. The " progress " and the " welfare " of the pupils are alleged as reasons in support of this abuse. Other reasons, not unconnected with the " good " name of the school, may also play their part. I have rarely come across a good teacher dealing with these " repeats " who has anything but the most wholehearted condemnation for the rushing and forced feeding which the practice seems to demand.

This first form of the objection, grave though it be, may be passed over thus briefly in order to come to the second and third which, as has been said, express the basic criticism of our system. (As will be clear later, also, the faults mentioned in the first form are but modes of those of the second and third.) The second may be put as follows : " The course in the subject I am teaching is not really too heavy in itself *if* we had enough time for it. But the pupils have so many other subjects to do that class time is short and study time, if they are not to be unmercifully overworked, is entirely inadequate. The result is rushed work, very little time for repetition, and a constant nagging worry that I won't get the course finished in time for the examination." This brings us

to the third form which runs : " Even if the rush due to trying to do too many subjects were not so acute, the form of the present examinations makes it very difficult for me to teach as I would like, as I should. The fact that so many of the papers ask for so much repetition of learned matter means that, to do well, pupils must have learned off by heart a great deal of matter: theorems and formulae in mathematics, widespread quotation from the authors in the English papers, translation of texts in the language tests, masses of facts in History and Geography. So, I don't teach ; I pound the stuff into them ; I have made a close study of past papers and I spend the time drilling in the answers to likely questions and I ignore those parts of the course which are not examinable under the present system. In fact I may as well tell you that when I am ' teaching ' Irish to Leaving Certificate Honours we don't read the prose texts at all. I give a fairly full synopsis of the books to the pupils, and as for the phrases they may be asked to explain, they get those in convenient form every month in a handy magazine."

At this stage it may be well to try to work out some fundamental notions on the aim of secondary education. This will entail an unavoidable discussion of theory, some elementary ideas of philosophy, but an attempt will be made to try to relate the theory to life, in particular to the lives of Irish boys and girls so as to counter the possible charge of writing from Cloud-Cuckoo-land. We can then the more easily assess the teaching methods described in the three objections if we see them in the light of the true aim.

It is true that a man must have a job, a profession, if for no other reason than to support himself and those dependent on him. Obviously therefore, his education must bear some relation to his future vocation. It is just as true that a man has to live in a society which has a definite culture, accepted beliefs and is at a certain stage of technical development. Just as obviously then these facts must in some way enter into his education. No matter how widely divergent their views are on what education should be, all men are agreed that it is in some way a preparation, an equipment for the future. But it is the goal that they set for that preparation that makes all the difference in their views ; it is a matter of where the emphasis is put.

The " severely practical " view is expressed in the term " education for the job." Secondary education means a process strictly geared towards efficiency in the work one will have to do. Immediately, it is regarded as an acquiring of the knowledge, the qualifications, necessary for a particular job. The sole valid criterion of its value is success in the examinations which test its progress, and in that final examination in particular which marks its conclusion and which is the entry to the job itself. There seems to be no doubt that this is a view which is held

strongly by many Irish parents and, deriving from them, by their children at school. (It is necessary to stress here again the limitation set above to the term " secondary education," namely its purely scholastic aspect. We are not concerned directly here with its religious or moral side. I think it is true to say that Irish parents would undoubtedly put the latter in the first place if they were asked to give their order of preference of ends.) It shows itself most clearly in the extreme importance they attach to the examinations, and in their judgment of the worth of a school by its examination results. It shows itself also in their contempt of any subject which does not seem to contribute directly towards what they want. The Irish language is the most obvious example of that. Another consequence is the increasing demand for more and more subjects on the curriculum to meet the immediate needs of the pupil qualifying for entrance into this or that vocation. But this result may be more conveniently dealt with in the next point.

It is not difficult to sympathize with this " practical " view. Many Irish parents are making great sacrifices to keep their children at school, and both their love for their children and their solicitude for their future security, as well as their understandable and perfectly good desire to have the financial burden lightened as soon as possible, combine to produce the belief that the chief aim of secondary education is to get a good job as soon as possible. One may sympathize with the parents. It is not so easy to justify the actions and attitudes of teachers and school authorities who should know better, yet who, either because of a mistaken desire to comply with the parents' wishes or because of even more unworthy motives, degrade their schools to the level of cramming institutions for the examinations.

The error of this opinion will be seen more clearly when we come to discuss what the true aim of education should be. In the meantime we may say first that it is an end of education that could not be achieved. Even if it were possible, which of course it is not, to be certain what future work a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age were best suited for, it would mean that each boy in school should receive a specialized technical training proper to himself. We should have to have almost as many schools as pupils. The theory, therefore, carried to its logical conclusion, leads to an absurdity. But the more fundamental objection is that, as Castiello said in *A Humane Psychology of Education,* " the weakness of the so-called utilitarian attitude is that it is not utilitarian enough." For the same expenditure of energy (for much more, very often) it is satisfied with far smaller returns than were there for the taking. " Take the Cash in hand and waive the Rest " might well represent the short-sighted attitude of these people.

Then there are those who hold that education is a preparation for social life, life in a community. Man's happiness is to be found in a

full integration into the society surrounding him. Hence education must mirror in its values, its interests, its courses and its skills those of its environment. This sociological view of education revived and loudly proclaimed in modern times by John Dewey in America has had a profound influence in the schools of that country and in less degree in England. The highly anti-social results of the theory have however led recently to drastic modifications of it and to a return to sounder ideas. It normally takes about fifty years for the great waves of new educational ideas to penetrate into the quiet backwaters of Irish school life, and so in fact we find simple souls beginning now to proclaim with immense if somewhat belated enthusiasm the new gospel that education must be brought " up to date," that we are no longer living in the eighteenth century, that this is a scientific, or mathematical, or social-minded world (according to the particular text of the gospel they have been reading). So, our schools must have far more science or far more mathematics or history or geography or civics.

There is an old tag which still remains true in this modern day : *Qui nimis probat, nihil probat.* If the criterion of the " up-to-date " theorist for the inclusion of a subject on the curriculum is to be accepted for even one subject, it must be accepted for all. And as you will find patrons on this ground for every subject under the sun, where are you ? Nor is it any use appealing to the greater " community " value of some subjects than others. Nowhere will you find among the confident advocates of these varied " subjects " one who is willing to yield to another. And so they must go in, and the number of " subjects " grows, and the unfortunate and highly inconvenient fact is that there are only five hours in the school day nor can all the enthusiasm in the world add one minute to them. There is the question, of course, of the result of this overcrowding on the education of the pupil, but that will be dealt with later on in this article.

Now these two aims are not, as has been said, without an element of the truth. Man must work and he must also fit in with (or, to use the more imposing term, must be integrated with) his surroundings. But a man must be a man before he is a working man ; he must be a person before he is an individual in a group. Only in so far as he has approached the perfection of manhood of which he is capable will he be a good scientist, shopkeeper or clerk ; only in so far as his own personality has reached a maturity, a balance, will he be a good member of society. The reason is surely an obvious one and simple enough to grasp : it is a man who does research in physics ; it is a man who keeps the firm's accounts ; it is a man who is a member of the golf club, or the local council or of parliament. It is a question then of first things first or, for let us by all means be up-to-date, a question of priorities. The long line

of tradition in education has held firmly to this idea, and history has shown again and again that when the emphasis was shifted from the person to ideals outside him—technical mastery or the supreme state or the good of society—the systems that resulted unfailingly produced monstrosities. Our own times have given us sufficiently clear examples in Italy and Germany. The lamentable moral situation in so many American schools shows us the results (admitted by an increasing number of American writers as the direct results) of an education for social integration.

Secondary education, then, means a preparation by the pupil to lead the full life, to make the most complete use possible in the way meant by God of the gifts he has received from God. It does not mean a development of some of those powers to the depressing or atrophy of the others ; that way, as we have seen, lies distortion and lop-sidedness, lies the intellectual blindness of the scientist who can see no standards of truth beyond those of his pots and pans, lies the moral blindness of the statesman who saw nothing wrong in wiping out ninety thousand non-combatants with the atomic bomb. It means that the distinctively human powers of a man must be allowed, must be given scope to grow and develop and expand naturally, and by 'naturally' I mean spontaneously, harmoniously and slowly.

But first, in order to keep our feet on the ground, we must state what these distinctively human powers are, and what this proper use of them. By these powers we mean a man's intellect, his will and his feelings and emotions. Now of these, the philosophers place the intellect as man's highest and greatest power. It is obvious that in the ultimate analysis the use a man makes of his will is what decides his lot for eternity ; but the will acts only in so far as the intellect proposes motives to it, so fundamentally it is a matter of the right use of the intellect. That is why it is commonly and correctly stated that the formal work of the school is the right training of the intellect : not as exclusive of moral training but as an essential pre-requisite for it.

The intellect may be regarded crudely enough as an instrument by which man grasps truth. But it is an undeveloped instrument, so to speak, or rather its use by its possessor needs guidance and training, or best of all, to avoid making it seem as if the intellect were a separate part of a man like his arm or leg, a man needs guidance and training to arrive, through his intellect, at the truth. And that is the essence of education. There is undoubtedly much more in education than just that, but everything else depends ultimately on it. Everything that we do consciously and deliberately depends, speaking now in the order of nature, on our state of knowledge. When Roosevelt decided to have the

atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima he did so because he " knew " it was a good thing ; when the scientist says there is no soul it is because his knowledge is confined to ponderables and mensurables ; when a man believes any nonsense he reads in the paper it is because he has accepted the printing of a statement as a proof of its truth. All three are wrong in their actions or beliefs, and all three are wrong because they have misused their intellects. All this may sound self-evident and very elementary, as no doubt it is, but it seems to me that every defect in education springs from a refusal to accept this truth or from ignorance of it.

In what then does this training of the intellect, this core of education, consist ? In essence it is a training in minor logic. I put it that way, fully conscious of the immediately unfavourable reaction such a statement may provoke. I am not proposing (need it be said ?) a course in that rather forbidding discipline, no more than I would propose a course in formal philosophy at any stage of the secondary school curriculum. What I mean is that the teacher should teach and the pupil learn in such a way that the pupil is not only acquiring knowledge but is, in that act of acquiring knowledge, learning and understanding how to use his mind as it was meant to be used. What does that latter statement mean ? Fundamentally it means what St Thomas said when he warned his students : " Always make sure that you understand what you read or listen to." It rejects as unworthy of the name of knowledge that passive, merely receptive attitude of mind that accepts uncritically whatever is proposed to it, in particular that form of " learning " that accepts information as brute lumps, undigested gobbets of fact to be retained unaltered by sheer force of memory until such time as their regurgitation is called for in an examination. It is rather an attitude of mind towards new knowledge, an attitude of suspended judgment that will not be resolved until by a critical study the learner is satisfied that what has been proposed to him is true : true, either because the authority for it convinces him or because he has been shown and appreciates how the new knowledge is related to what he already knows, complements it or follows clearly from it, fits in with it as a piece in a jigsaw puzzle fits in, and by its very fittingness, so to speak, convinces. It is, therefore, an essentially active, positive attitude that checks and examines and scrutinizes a fact or a statement until the mind rests on certainty. The learner has made the matter his own now ; it has become a part of himself, it has been digested and assimilated.

But that attitude of mind, that critical, doubting if you wish, reception given to the new objects of knowledge is not the result of a general disbelieving scepticism nor a manifestation of that peculiar tendency to contradict first and examine afterwards. It is not a generation of doubting Thomases that is our aim. Rather is it the result of a conviction that the

truth is the most important thing in life, that falsehood is the worst evil and that the degrees of falsehood—misunderstanding, prejudiced ideas, false reasoning—are degrees of evil to be avoided at all costs. But convictions are not innate, and it should therefore be the aim of every good teacher to present this ideal of truth to his pupils so that they come to accept it for what it is, and seek it in all things even in such details as drawing a straight line straight. Unless the conviction is a real and personal thing there is the danger that the critical attitude may easily degenerate into a sterile doubting for doubting's sake that is, of course, destructive of all learning.

So far we have been considering what right learning is, but from a good deal of what has been said it will be clear that the induction of the right method depends very largely on how the teaching is done. If the teacher's aim is " to get the stuff in at all costs " obviously we shall have that cramming discussed in a previous paragraph. If, however, he realizes what true learning is, then his teaching methods must be such as to foster the growth of the correct habits in his pupils. It will be a method that will stimulate questioning rather than demand a supine acceptance : the good teacher will be glad even if his pupils take him at his word and press very hard in their questioning ; it will be an analytic method which will so to speak, dissect the new truth to examine its inner coherence and order ; finally it will be synthetic in the sense of relating the new truth to the knowledge already possessed by the pupil so that the latter may appreciate its coherence, its unity with that knowledge.

It may be as well at this stage to emphasize that what has been described so far as good teaching and learning will have to be accommodated to the pupil's age. Clearly we are speaking of a development here, a gradual growth which it would be wrong to force in any way. For example, the grounds for a pupil's acceptance of a statement will vary with his age. A small child of seven or eight will accept with complete satisfaction the word of his teacher in the same way as he will give unthinking consent to what his father and mother tell him. It would be as wrong to disturb his security at this age as it would be to continue such a method beyond that stage. But as his reasoning powers appear more clearly then the teaching will be modified to take account of them, and more and more demands will be made on them, that is to say on the pupil's active co-operation in learning, until the stage is reached towards the end of the secondary school period when the teacher is less and less necessary to the pupil. The good teacher will know that his work has been a success when his pupils need him no longer. " He must increase, but I must decrease " might surely be taken as his motto by the good teacher.

There are two qualities of this good learning that may be mentioned briefly here to emphasize more clearly its nature. First, such learning demands a great deal of activity on the pupil's part. Dewey was right in insisting on the truth that " learning is doing " ; he erred in restricting the " doing " to external activities, in regarding the attitude of listening as necessarily passive. We have seen already how supremely active good listening is, but there is a further point. Knowledge that has been acquired is a good thing, but the possession of it is made more firm, the comprehension of it is deepened, by using it. A pupil may have attained a certain mastery over the intricacies of permutations and combinations, but when he uses these ideas in the Binomial Theorem he has a much more real appreciation of them. And in general it is the application, the use of a rule or a fact, which adds as it were the keystone to the arch of understanding. Hence the very real importance of home-work in education, not just to keep Johnny quiet, nor even *merely* as repetition, but as an indispensable stage in the deepening of knowledge and as a means to that sense of mastery over things which brings with it a glow of satisfaction.

Secondly, such a learning is of its very essence a slow affair. It is a natural development and nature seems in general to take her time about producing her results. You can toast a slice of bread in two minutes, but you cannot produce a grain of wheat with the same degree of expedition. We have seen already that it is a gradual growth, but it also needs a good deal of time to grow aright. There are, of course, precocious children, mental prodigies of seven or eight years who are as advanced apparently in their reasoning powers as pupils of sixteen years. Great harm can be, and sometimes has been, done them by treating them as if this initial spurt should continue. In fact, where they have been taught intelligently it has been observed that at a certain stage they seem to mark time, to reach a plateau where further progress is halted. We may, I think, regard this as nature catching up, as a period of very necessary consolidation before mental growth continues. In general then, learning needs a good deal of leisure, of elbow-room. This does not imply laziness or want of activity : there will, in fact, be intense activity. But it will be an activity the purpose of which will be understood and appreciated by the pupil, an activity concerned with matter over which he will have the delight of mastery, whether that activity be the solving of mathematical problems, or the personal appreciation of literature or the attempt to reproduce in his own composition or translation work the beauty he has come to see in literature, or the successful conclusion of a scientific experiment.

Such a mode of learning and teaching lays far greater emphasis on *how* the learning is done than on *what* is learned ; it may be called a formative rather than an informative method, a teaching that leads

to the question " why " ? rather than to " what " ? It is an order that puts the personal and increasingly independent activity of the pupil in its rightful position, and relegates the teacher to his essentially ministering function. The finest example of this method was to be found in those secondary schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* was followed, with its relatively small amount of actual matter to be covered, its training to correct, logical and graceful expression of one's thoughts and its paramount insistence, day in day out, on the pupil's own work as a means to lasting habits.

Let us now go back and examine again in the light of what we have been saying the two theories of education mentioned earlier on in this article : the " education for a job " theory, and the " up-to-date education " theory. The first emphasizes the acquiring of information, a great deal of information, primarily for reproduction in the examinations, and secondarily for direct use in the job. The form that the examinations take determines largely the type of teaching and learning that will be done. If the questions in them are predominantly of the type that demands an exercise of memory, then the matter of the curriculum will be learned off by heart—or at least those portions of it that the " good " teacher has tipped as likely. And as such sheer memory work demands a lot of time, there will be very little left over for anything in the nature of appreciation of literature or such-like frills which, in any case, are unexaminable and so irrelevant. In the same way those portions or aspects of the course which do not bear on the future job will be largely neglected.

Now this sort of business is the sheerest hack-work ; it is only by a courtesy use of the term that it may be called learning at all. It will be seen that there is virtually nothing in it of that enquiring, reflective, critical regard that leads to the formation of lasting habits of right thinking. It may be granted that some degree of formation takes place ; after all, a pupil cannot be exposed for four or six years to the agents of potential culture without catching something from them. But the tragedy is that so little of lasting value is achieved at the cost of so much labour ; so much has been invested for so little return. Father Castiello's " utilitarian " has not been utilitarian enough. All he has on leaving school after a " successful " final is a mass of uncoordinated information learnt under conditions of chronic stress, and disappearing gradually from his memory to leave him defenceless at the mercy of other people's ideas, and to leave him for the greater part with but the most rudimentary idea of how to study on his own when the master who did everything so efficiently for him is no longer there.

In the second place there is the " education for social integration " theory with its demand for the inclusion of those subjects that have

the greatest relevance to modern life. We may pass over here the absurdities which that theory, followed to its logical conclusions, has already produced in, for example, American schools and Universities, but I cannot resist a quotation of Robert M. Hutchins printed in Maritain's *Education at the Crossroads* : " I attacked vocationalism, and the University of California announced a course in cosmetology, saying ' The profession of beautician is the fastest growing in this state' ". The aspect of this theory to be stressed here is the overcrowding of the curriculum to which, as we have seen, it must and does in fact lead. In a sense it is the same fault that we have been discussing in the previous paragraphs ; it leads to the same lack of real training because of the sheer lack of time. But to this bad result it adds another rather in the moral than in the intellectual order. Here it seems to me that I can best illustrate this point by something that was written over a hundred years ago.

When the Society of Jesus was restored in 1814, there was a feeling that the *Ratio*, published in its definitive form in 1599, and continuing unchanged for the greater part up to 1773, ought to be brought up to date. A Commission was set up (how familiar that sounds !) and the result of their deliberations was the revised *Ratio* of 1832. We are not concerned here with the changes that were made, though the nature and limited extent of them may be guessed from the prefatory letter of the General of the Society, Father John Roothaan, from which I print here some paragraphs :

> Of the novelties which had been introduced into the method of educating youth during the last fifty years or more, was it possible that all could be approved and adopted in our schools ? New methods and new forms invented day after day, a new arrangement of matter and of time, often self-contradictory or mutually repugnant—how could all this be taken as a norm for our studies ?
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> . . . The object kept in view is to have boys learn as many things as possible, and learn them in the shortest time, and with the least possible exertion. But that variety of so many things and so many courses lightly sipped leads them to a high opinion of how much they know, and swells the crowd of the half-instructed, the most pernicious of all classes, to the Sciences and the State alike. As to knowing anything truly and solidly, there is none of it. Something of everything : nothing in the end . . .
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> As to the methods, ever easier and easier, which are being thought up, whatever may be their seeming advantage there is this grave disadvantage: first, that what is acquired without diligence adheres but lightly in the mind, and what quickly gathered in is quickly forgotten ; second, and this, though not adverted to by many, is a much more serious injury, almost the principal fruit of a boy's training is sacrificed which is accustoming himself from an early age to serious application of mind and to that deliberate attention which is required for serious work.

The charge is occasionally made against that method of teaching which stresses a critical, independent attitude of mind that it leads to undue reliance on one's own powers, to a lessening of respect for authority, in a word to intellectual pride. No doubt that danger is inherent in the system and may result if the guidance of the experienced teacher is not there. As has been said, however, the heart of the system is the ideal of truth as the pearl beyond price and the quest of that truth surely implies as a correlate a realization of one's own frequent mistakes, of the difficulty of getting at the truth, in short, a humility of mind which is simply a true understanding of one's own limitations. But this " modern man " theory leads, as Father Roothaan has shown, to the exact opposite. The necessarily superficial smattering of ideas that is picked up in this system is the very antithesis of knowledge. The pupils pick up the vocabulary, the terminology of various subjects. The so-called modern methods of teaching with their undue emphasis on " interest," their avoidance of anything in the nature of drill or drudgery, their insistence (again in the name of " interest ") on the importance and relevance to modern life and progress of these subjects, all this gives the pupil an altogether false notion of what knowledge is, what study really means. What comes of it is a ready glibness, an over-confidence in his own powers, a dilettante attitude towards study that covers an abysmal ignorance, in brief, the modern sophist. And the modern sophist like his degenerate Greek ancestor is ready to try his hand at every subject : he is the writer of popular articles on science or medicine ; he is the cocksure politician who believes that his election brings with it infused knowledge on every possible subject ; he is the type of lawyer who will not allow the trammels of fact to shackle his advocacy ; he is the jack of all trades and the master of none.

It may be readily admitted here too that even this form of education does not produce its bad results universally among its victims. There will always be the intelligent pupil who will derive some good from any type of teaching no matter how bad it is. But the pupil of average brains with the normal human being's aversion from attentive and sustained study, and the normal inclination to over-reliance on his own opinions and powers cannot but be influenced in the way described by a system which directly fosters that superficiality and pride.

So far, this article has been devoted to a search among the current ideas about secondary education for the true aim of that education. The aim was described as being the preparation by the pupil for a full and proper use of his talents or gifts : his intellect and will, his feelings and emotions. For the reason already given the core of this education, the training of the intellect, has received almost exclusive treatment in this first part. Lest it be thought that the omission of any reference to the other powers means that they are to be neglected in this discussion, it

may be well to indicate here that something will be said later about a training in aesthetics. Because of the limitation set at the beginning on the meaning of the term " secondary education ", nothing will be said of the training of the will.

One other omission must be mentioned. Nothing has so far been said about the training of the physical powers, nor will there be any treatment of the point in the second part of this article. This is not to dismiss the subject as one of little or no importance ; it is simply a matter of choosing for discussion among the different components of the aim of education those which are of greater worth and the neglect of which can do the more serious hurt. It would be well then to emphasize here that in a balanced education due importance ought to be attached to this physical training. And not the least important of the deliberations of the Council of Education would be a review of the present state of that training in our secondary schools. The Council need not worry unduly about the absence of eurhythmics or interpretative dancing, but they might examine such an elementary question as the provision of training in how to sit and stand and walk gracefully, that is, correctly. And they might enquire into what seems to be the almost total absence of trained physical instructors for the schools.

Finally, as very little has been said, explicitly at any rate, about the present position of secondary education in Ireland, the final part of this article will examine that position in the light of the discussion that has preceded it, and some suggestions for improvement will be made.

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

A Living From the Land

by ROBERT O'CONNOR, M.AGR.SC., PH.D.

IN practically all countries from which figures are available, average income per worker in agriculture is lower than comparable income in manufacturing industries. In developing economies workers tend to leave agriculture for employment in industrial occupations because of this income disparity and possibly for other reasons as well. Economists see in this movement a desirable adjustment to income equilibrium, but sociologists view it with some concern. To the latter the drift towards urbanization and the break up of rural customs and institutions is decadence rather than advancement. The extreme views held by some economists and sociologists cannot be reconciled, but the more moderate elements of both groups can find a good deal of agreement. " Agriculture as a way of life " and the " family farm " as a desirable social institution are now the accepted norms of most objective thinkers, but side by side with these norms goes the qualification that the " way of life " must also be a business and the " family farm " must be large enough to provide a decent standard of living for its workers. There is more or less general agreement in both schools that an impoverished rural population has neither social nor economic advantages.

Judged from any point of view, farming should provide its workers with a satisfactory income. If it does not, the workers, whether they be family or hired, can hardly be expected to stay on the land. How much this income should be varies with the individual since each worker will judge rewards from his own standards, but if agricultural income is not as high as non-farm income, workers will tend to leave farming for other employment. A normally ambitious person can hardly be expected to stay on the land if he can earn higher real income in other work, taking account, of course, of the non-monetary advantages and disadvantages of life on the land. It must not be assumed from this that income equilibrium will entice all farmers to stay on their holdings : far from it. There is a continual tendency in all economically advanced countries for population to leave agriculture, and while movement towards income equilibrium helps to slow up this tendency it cannot halt it entirely. Man as a social animal is drawn towards areas densely populated with fellow men and it takes considerable monetary enticements to neutralize this natural gravitation. A certain amount of neutralization, however, is desirable.

At the present time many of our small farmers are prepared to leave their holdings to take up unskilled off-farm work. From this it would

appear that the wages these people can earn even in unskilled work are higher than their farm income, and without doubt this is so. A builder's labourer at the present time can earn £7 per week and sometimes more. Few of our small holdings are paying their family workers this income.

At the present time we have no reliable figures for income per worker in agriculture on farms of different sizes and organization. The National Farm Survey now being undertaken by the Central Statistics Office is, among other things, designed to make good this deficiency, but until the results of this Survey are published we shall have to depend on crude estimates.

In surveys carried out in Roscommon on reasonably good land from 1945 to 1950,[1] I found that income per family worker was comparatively very low on the smaller farms. The output per acre on these small holdings was not high enough to provide its workers with a reasonable income. On a sample of 54 farms in that county in 1949–50[2] the average total output per statute acre on farms under 30 acres was only £12. This means that these farms were on an average earning an annual total output of less than £360. Expenses other than family labour were about 40 per cent of this amount, leaving for the family an income of less than £216 per annum or about £4 per week.

Though the output per acre found on these Roscommon farms may be lower than the national average, ordinary observation would lead us to believe that it is not much lower ; if this be so, it seems that on small holdings farmers are making such low incomes that any high proportion of them cannot be expected to stay in farming. If then it is considered desirable to keep as many as possible of these people on the land, no effort must be spared to show them how they can increase output per acre and hence income per worker employed. It is one of the purposes of this essay to discuss ways and means of organizing the individual farm so that it will earn higher outputs than it is doing at the moment, but before doing so some of the broader problems facing farmers will first be discussed.

Capital and Credit

Though lack of adequate skill and scientific knowledge are the main impediments to the earning of reasonable incomes from the land, another important factor, particularly on small farms, is the lack of sufficient capital to work the farm properly Without an adequate capital investment both land and labour give low returns and the small farmer, especially if he is a married man, can never save anything worthwhile to plough back into the land.

[1]O'Connor, R. Financial results on 20 farms in mid-Roscommon in 1945–46. *Journal Stat. and Soc. Inquiry Soc. of Ireland*, 1948–49

——— Financial results on 25 farms in mid-Roscommon in 1948–49. *Journal Stat. & Soc. Inquiry Soc. of Ireland*, 1949–50

[2]O'Connor, R. " Can you make your farm pay ? " *Agric. Ireland*, June, 1952

Family living cannot be divorced from farming. The first lien on a farmer's income is a living for himself and his family, and all his activities are directed towards this end. If it so happens, as it usually does on small farms, that returns are only sufficient to provide the bare necessities of life for the family, then there can be no investment in the farm. In such circumstances one can appreciate a farmer's reluctance to use borrowed funds, even if such were available. How can he hope to repay the loan even if there is increased output from its use ? All such modest increases in income which he can foresee from the investment of the loan are necessary to improve the family's living standards and the loan may prove a dead weight of debt which he sees no way of shaking off.

Large farmers can and do invest savings in their farms. In bad times returns may only be sufficient to meet family living but in good times, after living expenses are met, there is something left to go back into the farm. Most of the improvements which have come about in Irish farming in the past ten years have come on fairly large farms. If an enquirer wants to see good crops, and good practices of all sorts, he is usually taken to see them on one of the larger farms. Rarely is he brought to a small farm to see anything outstanding. The reason for this is, as explained above, that the larger farmers, if they are that way disposed, can afford to be good. The small farmer, no matter how well disposed, can rarely afford the capital requirements of good farming. One should hasten to add that not all our large farms are well run. Far too many of them are as bad as the worst of the small ones.

From the foregoing remarks the reader may be led to believe that I look with disfavour on the borrowing of money by small farmers. Nothing could be further from the truth. On the contrary I hold that credit for productive purposes is absolutely essential for such people, but the difficulty is to get small farmers to borrow and to get lenders to give them credit. There are two types of capital rationing in agriculture : external capital rationing and internal rationing. By the former we mean the case where the farmer cannot get credit at reasonable interest rates from any source. By the latter we mean the case where the farmer will not borrow even though credit be available. Internal capital rationing is by far the commoner in agriculture. As stated above, farmers are very often afraid to borrow in case they may not be able to repay the loan, and therefore there is no point in saying, " let credit be made available at cheap rates of interest," because the people who can use the credit most will not borrow, even if given the money free of interest.

This point of view is vividly illustrated in a recent study dealing with capital use on underdeveloped American farms.[1] In a district of poor land in Southern Iowa, very similar in many ways to parts of this country,

[1]Heady, E. O. and Swanson, E. R. *Resource Productivity in Iowa Farming.* Iowa State College Bul. No. 388 Ames Iowa, June, 1952

a group of undercapitalized farmers was interviewed. One hundred and nine of these farmers agreed that they could use additional capital profitably. When asked why they did not borrow, the majority gave as their reasons considerations associated with risk and uncertainty, fears that something might go wrong and that they would not be able to repay the loan. Pressed as to whether they would borrow at very low interest rates, eighty per cent. of the farmers interviewed stated that they would not borrow additional funds even if given the money free of interest.

That this attitude of mind is not peculiar to American farmers is borne out by statements of delegates from all over the world at a recent Conference in California on Farm Credit in underdeveloped countries, the proceedings of which have just been published.[1] In this publication it was pointed out that the capital problems facing poor farmers are the same everywhere and that the difficulties of getting such farmers to borrow were just as great if not greater, than the difficulties of providing the money. The recommendations of interest to us coming from this Conference might be summarized briefly as follows :—

I. For underdeveloped farms, such as many of ours, a vigorous educational programme must go along with any credit programme. Farmers must be taught to see how they can use borrowed capital profitably. They must be shown how and where to acquire such capital and, of course, the capital must be made available to them for productive purposes.

II. Regular lending agencies like banks are not designed to provide credit for underdeveloped farms. A first class advisory service should go with all loans to the owners of such holdings. The lending agency should provide a farm management supervisor who would plan along with the farmer the way the loan is to be used ; the supervisor should advise the farmer at all stages regarding the carrying out of this plan. This is not alone to safeguard the loan but also to safeguard the borrower so that foreclosure is never necessary.

III. Naturally a supervisory service as outlined above is expensive, and while such a service might be undertaken by large co-operative societies in the areas where such societies operate, it could only be undertaken elsewhere by a state-sponsored agency. It would not pay commercial lenders to undertake it.

IV. An agency such as the American Farmers Home Administration[2] would appear to be what is needed. This U.S. agency makes loans from government-guaranteed funds to farmers who cannot obtain productive loans from banks or other sources. The loan is given on condition that

[1]Blaisdell, T. C., et al. *Farm Credit in underdeveloped areas. A Summary Report of International Conference on Agricultural and Co-operative Credit.* Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal., in Co-operation with Foreign Operations Adm. August, 1953.

[2]Details of this Agency are given in the Proceedings of the Californian Conference cited above.

an approved farm plan is put into operation. The plan is prepared by the agency supervisor who is a farm management expert, and the farmer is given every advice required on the carrying out of this plan.

The Farmers Home Administration works well in the U.S.A. Its main drawback is that it never has sufficient funds to meet the needs of all suitable borrowers, but this difficulty can be overcome by more funds being made available. An agency such as this would be very useful here to provide loans for small farmers and for beginning farmers of all kinds. It would be in addition to the present lending institutions and would deal with farmers in the low equity class who are not now handled by such institutions. Indeed the future of our small farms in non-creamery districts depends on the formation of such a credit agency. Some such institution may enable the small farm to survive in these areas ; without this aid it cannot survive.

Agricultural Education

In this essay it is not necessary to emphasize the importance of education for the farmer. It goes without saying that in this age the farmer, if he is to make his farm pay, must have a good knowledge of the scientific principles underlying agriculture together with an up-to-date knowledge of modern developments in the technique of animal and plant husbandry and farm management. Indeed, one can say without fear of contradiction that, if our farming is not as good as it should be, the deficiency can be traced back to lack of knowledge among a high proportion of our farmers.

In addition to the technical knowledge, however, there are other aspects of education which are equally important to the farmer. A knowledge of elementary economics and some ideas on the advantages of co-operation are also of fundamental importance. It is not sufficient any more to know how to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, because there is little point in producing the second blade if it cannot be sold at a profit. Our modern farmer must be taught to see that the individual working in isolation is powerless in modern society, that organization means strength and power, and that farmers must organize in their own interests. In particular they must organize production and marketing. At the present time unorganized chaotic marketing of agricultural products is costing producers untold amounts. Only a well-educated farming community can organize its marketing so that order will replace chaos and colossal seasonal price slumps will be eliminated.

How to educate the farmer

Agricultural education falls into two broad categories. On the one hand we have the education of our agricultural advisers and on the other

hand we have the far more important job of educating the farmers themselves. It is towards this latter purpose that our education system must be directed. We have been reasonably successful in educating our agricultural advisers. It is true that the present courses could be improved but this improvement is not over-difficult to accomplish. With regard to the education of our farmers on the other hand, we have not been nearly so successful. Indeed in the thirty years of self-government, progress in this respect has been slow. We are very prone to blame our teachers and our teaching systems for this state of affairs but this is not altogether fair. The matter goes far deeper than we are sometimes led to believe. It has its roots in history and in the attitude of our people towards education generally.

Due to historical causes Irish agriculture had up to the recent war been always more or less depressed. A heavy agricultural population seeking to eke out an existence from an improverished soil has meant that much of our farming was at subsistence level. Indeed up to quite recently the standard of living on many of our small holdings could hardly have been much lower. Is it any wonder, therefore, that our small holders would seize any and every opportunity of getting away from agriculture to improve their standard of living since for them farming and low income have been synonymous? Intelligent farm people have seen in education a means of getting away from agriculture and into a better job. All the professional people, teachers and officials, including agricultural advisers, whom they knew, have had a far higher standard of living than they have had. Consequently they spared no effort to educate their children so that they too could enter white collar employment. Even agricultural education was used as a means to this end. Though our agricultural schools and colleges were designed to educate our farmers, the vast bulk of the students have entered these colleges with the express purpose of getting away from farming. Because of this attitude, agricultural schools and colleges have never been able to fulfil the purposes for which they were designed, and the fault can hardly be said to lie with the teachers or with the organizers of the courses.

Whatever success has been obtained in the teaching of our farmers has come from the work done by the agricultural instructors, coupled more recently with that of the rural science teachers in the Vocational schools. The agricultural instructors in particular deal with people who are already engaged in farming, and consequently the instruction given is put to proper use. Unfortunately there were so few instructors up to recently that only a fraction of our farmers could be covered. Within the past few years, however, the advisory services have been greatly expanded and this expansion is one of the most important developments in Irish agriculture in our time. Though the vocational schools like all Irish schools, have been used as a means of getting away from the

land, nevertheless these institutions have been remarkably successful in the education of our farmers. About 25 per cent of the boys who attend the day classes under the county vocational education schemes go back to farming. This is not a great number, but taking present enrolments into account, it means that over 1,000 potential farmers each year receive instruction in the fundamental principles underlying agriculture. Coupled with this, every rural science teacher has at least one, and usually two, adult evening classes throughout the winter months.

On the whole, therefore, both the agricultural instructors and the rural science teachers are making slow but steady progress. When we consider, however, that there are about 250,000 persons in the country whose principal occupation is farming, we see how difficult it is to make much of an impression in a brief period with our limited resources of teachers and advisers. It seems to me, at any rate, that the time has come when we must exploit other means of imparting agricultural knowledge. The most obvious means are the primary schools in rural areas. Since practically every potential farmer attends these schools, the teaching of rural science in them means that every farmer will at least learn something scientific about the land at some stage of his life. This should have an effect. The main trouble connected with the teaching of rural science in the primary schools is the difficulty of fitting it into the already crowded curriculum. This difficulty will have to be overcome. So important is rural science for country children that some other subject will have to be curtailed or dropped altogether in its favour. To undertake the teaching of rural science in primary schools, teachers would have to be instructed in this subject in their training, but this should not be over-difficult. In places where primary and vocational schools are convenient, it could be arranged that the rural science teacher in the vocational school do the teaching, but in any case the teaching of this subject to primary students is not impossible.

The Farm Ladder

Because of our system of land tenure, there is no farming ladder in this country. Land is acquired either by hereditary right or by purchase, and there is no opportunity for a progressive young man to acquire a farm by renting. Our system of eleven months renting has little to recommend it since with so short a fixity of tenure the hirer is not inclined to improve the land by the application of manures. In other countries the method of becoming established in farming is to begin as a farm labourer, save sufficient to rent a farm and ultimately purchase this or some other farm. For a number of reasons this method does not work here. First, the wages of a farm labourer are too low to enable him to save anything worthwhile. Secondly, there is no farm available to rent when he has saved some money. To buy and stock a

farm is usually out of the question. As a result of the poor prospects of betterment as a farm labourer and because so very few of our Irish farm labourers ever become farmers in their own right, there is now a social stigma attached to being a farm labourer. Even if agricultural wages increase very much, this stigma will remain for some time.

Without doubt the best way of becoming an efficient farmer is to serve an apprenticeship to the trade as a farm worker on a good farm. Formal education can never be anything but an auxiliary to this type of training. It is the "farming ladder" which has really made for efficient agriculture in other countries, and the lack of such a "ladder" is a serious impediment to efficiency here.

Probably one of the greatest drawbacks to acquiring land either by purchase or by hereditary right is the fact that such land cannot be acquired at an early age. If the average Irishman is to purchase land, he must work as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker either at home or in a foreign country until he has saved sufficient to buy a farm. This takes years, and it also means that the worker cannot marry until he has acquired the farm. A married labourer cannot save anything out of his small income, and so the man who wishes to save the capital for a farm cannot afford to marry until the money is saved and the farm purchased.

If a man inherits a farm, the same is usually true. Marriage is out of question until the rest of the family are settled and the heir is usually well into the thirties by that time. According to the *Report of the Commission on Emigration*, the average age of succession to farms in this country is between 38 and 40 years of age, while the average marriage age for Irish farmers is 38·2 years, and for their wives 30·3 years.

Progress in farming can only come from young married people. There is no incentive on the part of the young bachelor to improve even if his parents allowed him. The ageing married man is too set in his ways and lacks the energy to make changes and so we are forced back to the conclusion that farms to rent are essential, so that ambitious young people can acquire them and marry at an early age. At the present time the average age of our male farmers is 55 years of age, and of these almost one-third are over 65 years of age. Furthermore, of all the male farmers and relatives assisting (14 years of age and over), 57·6 per cent are unmarried. About one-sixth of all farmers are women, of whom nearly one half are over 65 years of age and three-quarters are widows. It goes without saying therefore that worthwhile progress is impossible from people of this age, marital status and sex distribution. We need an influx of young married farmers.

Because renting of farms is advocated it must not be concluded that a return to the old landlord and tenant system is being suggested : far from it. Any system, no matter how bad, is an improvement on that. Neither is it advocated that people be dispossessed of their holdings.

What is needed is some spark which will start off a chain reaction leading to the creation of a farming ladder in this country.

This idea has been under consideration for some time by advanced thinkers. In a recent article in the *Irish Farmers' Journal*,[1] Professor P. M. Quinlan of University College, Cork, outlined a scheme which is now under consideration by the National Farmers' Association whereby landless men, who have certain specified qualifications, can obtain farms. Briefly the scheme is as follows :—A national committee to be set up and a boy who wishes to become a farmer registers with this committee. This boy then does two years at a vocational school and at the end of this time, having obtained his rural science certificate, he goes to work on either his own or an approved farm for four years, and during this time he saves out of his earnings £50 per annum, which he lodges to his account in a special land fund operated by the national committee. During this time also he attends prescribed evening courses in the nearest vocational school and obtains a farm management certificate. At the end of his four years' apprenticeship he will have lodged £200 to his credit in the land fund, and he will then be eligible to be a farm manager. He is then expected to work as a farm assistant or manager for a further twelve years, and during this period save £100 per annum which he will lodge in the land fund. At the end of this period he may withdraw his own £1,400 with accumulated interest and borrow from the land fund three or, in certain cases, four times the amount saved. This money he may use to purchase and stock a farm.

This is certainly the nucleus of a good scheme, but, as was pointed out by a writer entitled " Dublin Student " in a later issue of the *Irish Farmers' Journal*, it will not work in its present form. Few ambitious young men will embark on such a long training career—actually 16 years—for the honour of being able to borrow £4,000 or so at the end of this period. One could acquire savings much more quickly by working as a builder's labourer in England or the U.S.A., than by working as a farm labourer in Ireland, and for a man who has saved £1,500 to £2,000, the difficulty of borrowing to supplement this is not great.

The Quinlan scheme depends for its success on a large number of boys serving their apprenticeship, but few will embark on this course unless they can be assured that land will be available for them either to purchase or to rent within a reasonable time. Sixteen years is too long to have to wait. " Dublin Student " suggests that representations be made to the Government by the National Farmers' Association to have the Land Commission allocate farms of at least 50 statute acres in area to be rented by young men who have served a four years' apprenticeship period, have acquired the farm Management Certificate and have saved at the rate of £50 a year a sum of £200, which is lodged in the land fund.

[1]Quinlan, P. M. More skilled farm labour. *Irish Farmers' Journal*. Dublin, 16 April, 1955.

"Dublin Student's" ideas appear reasonably sound, but a few modifications may be suggested. In addition to the vocational school courses, the apprentice farmer should do a few short courses of a month's duration each in one of the agricultural schools or colleges. These courses should include some training in the economics of farm management. The apprenticeship period should be lengthened to six years, £50 being saved each year, and at least one year of the six should be spent working on an approved farm in either the Netherlands or Denmark.[1] At the end of the apprenticeship period a reasonably sized farm should be made available to rent. If the tenant wishes, he may opt to purchase the farm over time, but in such circumstances his annual payment should be much higher than if he were just renting the farm.

The National Committee suggested by Professor Quinlan could operate "Dublin Student's" scheme much more easily than could the Land Commission. The Committee would need an initial substantial government grant to enable it to purchase farms for renting to suitable applicants. As rents and interest on loans came in, the scheme would be self-supporting, and little further capital funds would be needed. Since this National Committee would be a land agency, it would have to be established by legislation. It could, however, be a semi-independent body like Bord na Móna or the Irish Sugar Company, with a board consisting of farmer and government nominees. There should be supervision of rented farms by local committees. The help of a farm management expert should be freely available to the tenant, and dispossession should be the consequence if a tenant failed to run the farm in accordance with the rules of good husbandry. These are but the very broad outlines of a suggested scheme. The details of such a scheme would have to be carefully worked out. Naturally the setting up of an agency dealing with such an important resource as land cannot be lightly undertaken.[2]

Economic organization of the individual farm

In the preceding section of this essay over-all agricultural problems have been discussed. In this section the individual farm economy will be examined.

In this country the economy of the individual farm has tended to be neglected. Traditionally our economists have concentrated on the farming problems of the country as a whole ; they have done little work on the economic problems of the farm as a unit. It is important to emphasize that the economy of the individual farm and that of the nation may not always be the same, particularly in the short run. It

[1]It is important to send the apprentice farmer to a non-English speaking country since he might likely not return from a well-to-do country where his own language is spoken.

[2]A farm apprenticeship scheme has recently been established in Britain. Because many of the apprentices have no farming background, there is difficulty in getting farmers to take them on. Such a difficulty should not arise with the scheme suggested here, since it is contemplated that most of the apprentices will be farmers' sons.

may be very profitable for any one or a number of farmers to grow tomatoes or carrots or onions, but if every farmer grew these crops there would be no market and hence no profit. Similarly if every farmer produced milk there would be no market for all the milk, but a certain number of farmers can produce milk profitably. At the present time there is a market for all the beef we can produce, but beef production does not fit well into the economy of the small farm.

Farm economists are therefore divided into two broad categories. On the one side we have the people who concentrate on the agricultural problems of the country as a whole, and on the other side we have men who consider the problems facing any one or a small number of farmers. The latter are called farm management economists or production economists, and it is their function to show the individual farmer how he can organize his resources of land, labour and capital, so that he can maximize income or welfare or whatever else he wishes to maximize.

The general economist has to advise on over-all price structures and has to worry about the institutional pattern facing all farmers, such as markets, exports and imports and balance of payments problems. The production economist takes prices and institutional patterns as given and worries about how his client, who is just plain John Murphy, can best organize his farming within this institutional and price structure. If he is having trouble with Murphy's farm income, he may cry out for changes in the institutional pattern or the price structure, but until these changes come about he must do his best within the existing structure.

Production economists know that different sized farms require different organization. On small farms high outputs per acre must be obtained if the farm family is to enjoy a reasonable standard of living. On the large farms lower outputs per acre will suffice. If on 100 acres of land a total output of £10 per acre is obtained, then the total output for the farm as a whole is £1,000, and from this total the family income should be about £600. A 30-acre farmer, on the other hand, who gets an output of £10 per acre has a total for the farm of only £300, and when expenses are paid in this case there is little left for the family. £10 per acre is therefore far too low a total output for small farms at the present time. The output to be aimed at on a farm will depend on family preferences. But suppose for the sake of argument we wish to obtain a family income of £600 per annum from a 30-statute acre farm, we would need to get a total output of £40 per acre. £40 per acre from 30 acres gives a total for the farm of £1,200. To obtain such a high output expenses would run about half this amount, and therefore the family income would be £600.

With prices obtaining at the present time there is little difficulty in making a living from a large farm. A bullock will leave a gross profit

of about £25 for the year and the farmer who can feed and has sufficient capital to buy 40 bullocks can without any trouble and with no hired labour makes a gross profit of £1,000. The large farm is therefore no real problem in this context though in other contexts it may very well be. Judged from the point of view of making a living from the land, the problem farms in Ireland, and for that matter in every country, are the small farms because to make a living from these requires intensive cultivation, good management and skill.

Because over half the number of farms in this country are under 30 acres, it is up to the farm management adviser to suggest programmes to the small farmer which will enable him to make a living from his farm on a whole-time basis. As matters are at the moment, a big proportion of our small farms are being run as part-time units in a very inefficient manner. To turn these part-time units into whole-time ones should be our aim, if possible. Programmes will have to be designed to see how this can be done, because increased agricultural output from the country as a whole can never be obtained if a high proportion of the farms are being worked on a part-time basis. Studies in the U.S.A.[1] show that part-time farmers in under-developed regions tend to invest their earnings in cars, washing machines and refrigerators, rather than in the land, and so output from these part-time holdings remains static. Our experience with part-time farms is somewhat similar.

PRINCIPLES OF FARM MANAGEMENT FOR SMALL FARMS.

In outlining programmes for small holdings the following broad principles should be kept in mind :—

I. On small units it is important to get a high output per acre. Therefore only intensive enterprises which give such high outputs can be considered.

II. Market gardening is probably the most intensive enterprise there is, but it is only suited to farms convenient to consuming centres.

III. In areas remote from large towns dairying is one of the most suitable enterprises for small farms. The dairy cow gives a very high output per acre, but when the by-products of the dairy cow, in the form of skim milk, are fed to sows and young pigs, the most intensive of all production can be obtained. Indeed one can produce pigs without any land at all, by buying all their food.

IV. In areas such as many parts of the west of Ireland where there is no liquid milk trade and no creameries, the problem of the small farmer is more difficult. On such areas pigs coupled with intensive

[1]Bishop, G. E. Economic developments and adjustments in South Eastern Low Income Agric. *U.S. Journal of Farm Econ. Proc.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 5, Dec. 1954.
Ruttan, V. W. The impact of Urban-Industrial development on Agriculture in the Tennessee Valley and South East. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, Feb. 1955.

tillage are indicated, with sheep to consume the grass which must be part of the rotation.

V. As indicated earlier, shortage of capital is usually one of the most serious disadvantages facing small farmers everywhere. For this reason enterprises requiring small capital outlay are essential for smallholders. Enterprises which require the least capital are cash crops. One can grow beet without any capital at all since the Sugar Company provides manures, seeds, transport and, in many cases, cultivating and harvesting machinery on credit until the end of the season. Traders everywhere provide reasonably cheap credit for other cash crops.

VI. Dry cattle raising is the most extensive of all enterprises and has no place on the small farm. Sheep are much more intensive and give higher returns on capital. Farm records show that for every £100 invested in sheep the gross profit for the year at present prices is usually about £120, whereas with dry cattle the gross profit per annum per £100 invested is only about £50. It follows, therefore, that for men short on capital, whether they be large or small farmers, sheep are more suitable than cattle.

The question which now arises is, can one by the observance of these principles in planning one's farming make a living from small areas? The answer to this question is in the affirmative provided, of course, that the farmer has good skill, that he works to a high income plan and that he can get sufficient capital to put the plan into operation. Many quite skilful farmers are making low incomes from their farms because they have never been taught how to plan their farms for higher profits. Such planning is absolutely essential for success.

To make a farm plan one sets down on a sheet of paper expected physical outputs of crops, livestock and livestock products. These items are then priced (see below), and the estimated gross cash output obtained. Farm expenses are then estimated and deducted from output, the remainder being family farm income. If one is not satisfied with this income, fresh plans should be made until a plan is obtained which will give an acceptable income. An attempt should then be made to put the plan into operation. In planning a farm great detail is not required, but the plan must be realistic if it is to be of any use. It must be capable of being worked by the farmer concerned, and he must be able to come by sufficient capital to put it into operation. In a nutshell, the theory underlying farm planning is this : If one cannot make the farm pay on paper one can hardly expect to make it pay in practice. The plan may not work out but at least it is a goal to be aimed at ; an improvement, at any rate, on the haphazard methods carried on heretofore.[1]

[1]For a more detailed discussion on farm planning cf. O'Connor, R.—A General Survey of Farm Planning. *Agric. Record*, Vol. VIII, 1955.

One of the biggest difficulties encountered in farm planning is the problem of price forecasting. If prices change substantially between the making of the plan and its execution, the selected programme may not be the proper one to have chosen. However this is a hazard which is inherent in all agricultural production and it must be faced by every farmer whether he makes formal plans or not. There is a comprehensive literature on the subject of price forecasting, but in one of the most recent and best treatises on the subject,[1] Dr Johnson of the University of Chicago marshalls considerable evidence to support a thesis that in the long run this year's prices are the best estimate of next year's. Even before the publication of Johnson's book it was customary for farm planners to base their programmes on the prices obtaining at the time the plans were made. The latter work has lent authority to this procedure.

Within the past few years I have advised a considerable number of farmers, small and large, on the planning of their farms. The plans suggested were based on records of good farms in somewhat similar circumstances. It is usually very difficult to get farmers to make bold changes in their farming pattern, mainly due to risk and uncertainty considerations, but some of the more progressive young men who were too young to have felt the full blast of the depression in the thirties are prepared to go quite a long way towards a good farm programme. However, if a farm adviser gets even a few farmers each year to make desirable changes this represents definite progress because neighbours will copy from these leaders at a fairly fast rate.

PROGRAMMES FOR SMALL FARMS

Dairying districts

From experience of farm records in creamery districts, I find that quite high incomes can be made on small farms from cows and sows. The good 30 acre farmers have about 6 cows giving 600–700 gallons of milk. This milk is sold to the creamery and the skim milk fed to four or five sows and their progeny. On these farms only replacement heifer calves are kept. All other calves are sold at birth. At present milk prices it does not pay the small man to feed whole milk to calves. The fertilizer bill on these good farms is about £3 per acre, taking the farm as a whole.

Because of the smallness of the farm and the price of milk, the aim is to carry as many cows as possible. This means that there is not room to produce all the feeding for the pigs. Therefore a considerable amount of the pigs' feed is purchased. Because of the unfavourable relationship between the price of pigs and the price of purchased meals, it does not pay at present to fatten pigs on bought meals. Hence these small farmers try to sell their pigs at 8 to 12 weeks old.

[1]Johnson, D. Gale. *Forward Prices for Agriculture*, chap. VI. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

The better farmers by heavy manuring manage to carry their cows on a reduced area and this leaves some land available for feeding barley for pigs. However, the amount of land available for this purpose will always be limited since winter feeding for cows has always to be considered. The cow giving 700 gallons of milk has to be well fed in the winter, and since it seems to be difficult to get silage into the small farm rotation, the good farmers, to date at any rate, feed their cows on hay, roots, kale and oats. The answer to winter feeding on small farms seems to be tripod hay rather than silage.

A suggested plan for a 30 acre creamery milk farm therefore would be as shown in Table I.

TABLE I.

SUGGESTED PLAN FOR 30 ACRE CREAMERY FARM

St. acres	Crops		Yield	Livestock	Numbers
4	Feeding Barley ...	cwts.	120	Cows (giving 600 gals. each)	7
1	Fodder Beet (Red Otofte)	tons	25	Sows	5
1	Kale	,,	20	Home produced pigs ...	80
2½	Oats	cwts.	58	Calves	2
½	Potatoes	tons	5	Heifers	2
7	Hay	,,	17	Hens (giving 200 doz. eggs)	20
14	Pasture	—	—	Horse	1
	Vegetables, small area ...				

All home produced crops fed to farm animals and used in house; 3,000 gals. skim milk, and 70 gals. whole milk also fed to animals.

Consumed in house (*assume farmer, wife and three children*)

Whole milk, 250 gals., eggs, 150 doz.; Skim milk, 100 gals.; Potatoes, 1½ tons, Vegetables—Value, £12.

COSTS AND RETURNS

Output	£	Expenses	£
Cattle and Calves	100	Rent and Rates	40
Milk sold, 3,950 gals. at 1s. 6d. ...	296	Feeding stuffs, 11 tons at £30 ...	330
Pigs sold		Cereals (direct expenses) ...	110
60 as porkers at £9 each ...	560	Root and green crops (all direct expenses)	30
20 as baconers at £16 each ...	320	Grass seeds and Fertilizer ...	60
Eggs sold, 50 doz. at 2s. 6d. ...	6	Hired Labour	40
Farm produce used in house ...	73	Other farm expenses	100
		Family Farm Income	600
TOTAL	1,310	TOTAL	1,310

Total output per acre $= \frac{1310}{30} =$ £44 approx.

This programme could be handled by one man with a small amount of casual labour for busy periods. Though provision has been made for ploughing done by contract, the programme could easily be operated

by co-operating with a neighbour for ploughing, mowing, and all operations requiring two horses. This would save costs since a draught animal is required on any farm.

The amount of capital required to put this programme into operation is not great, if credit for fertilizers and feeding stuffs can be obtained from the creamery. Good cows would, of course, be required, and these might not be so easy to obtain quickly. Therefore the plan suggested above would take a number of years to develop, and prices would have to be good during these developing years so that capital in excess of family living requirements would be available to go back into good cows, pigs, farm buildings and fertilizers.

It could be argued that the man capable of operating this programme would not stay on such a small farm, and there is a good deal of truth in this argument. Though there are a limited number of small farmers throughout the country working on lines somewhat like this, it is perhaps optimistic to hope that any high proportion of small farmers will rise to this stage of efficiency in a reasonably short period. However, it is the duty of the agricultural adviser to outline the type of farm plan which he thinks can be worked for profit. After that it remains for the farmer to accept, reject or modify this plan.

The small farm in a non-dairying district

To make the small farm pay in a non-dairying district is not an easy matter unless some high profit enterprises can be developed in particular areas. Producers of certified seed potatoes manage to do quite well in suitable districts even though this crop has a very high labour content. Small fruit producers, market gardeners and other such intensive farmers seem to be making a reasonable living off small farms in certain districts, but as there is only a limited market for such commodities, all small farmers cannot adopt such enterprises. The main body of small farmers will have to adopt more orthodox farming systems, and, if milk is out, then the economy will have to develop around pigs, sheep and intensive tillage. In this case the bulk of the pig-food will have to be produced on the farm, only the protein element of it being purchased. Where capital is scarce the pigs should be sold at the bonham stage, but if this is impossible the next most profitable selling time is at the 120 lb. live weight porker stage. It is much better to intensify by keeping extra sows rather than by bringing the pigs to extra weights.[1]

If the farmer decides to go in for pigs, he should stay in production even when prices drop. One cannot make money from pigs by hopping in and out of production every time prices fluctuate. The farmer who gets rid of his breeding stock in time of low prices cannot get back into

[1]It should be mentioned that the porker market as well as the bonham market is easily saturated and so the pig producers must always be prepared to carry some of his pigs to bacon weights.

production again in time to avail himself of high prices. It is very difficult to plan the pig cycle and one should decide either to stay in production for a definite period or not to go into production at all.[1]

A suggested programme for a small farmer in a non-dairying district is shown below.

TABLE II

SUGGESTED PLAN FOR 30 ACRE NON-CREAMERY FARM

St. Acs.	Crops		Yields	Livestock	No.
3	Wheat	Brls.	30	Cows	2
3	Feeding Barley	cwts.	105	Calves	2
2	Sugar Beet	tons	24	Yearlings	2
1	Oats	cwts.	23	Horses	1
½	Potatoes	tons	5	Ewes	24
½	Fodder Beet (Hunsbelle) ...	,,	9	Home produced lambs ...	32
5	Hay	,,	11	Store lambs bought in Oct., and fed on beet tops and stubble grazing until January	30
15	Pasture	—	—	Sows	2
	Vegetables, small area ...			Home produced pigs ...	32
				Hens	30
30	TOTAL ...				

Home produced food for animal feeding and seed

Hay 11 tons, Oats 23 cwts., Potatoes 3½ tons, Whole Milk 100 gals., Skim Milk 500 gals., Beet Tops 30 tons, Sugar Pulp 1 ton, Barley, 105 cwts.

Consumed in house (assume farmer, wife and three children)

Whole Milk 250 gals., Eggs 150 doz., Butter 260 lb., Skim Milk 100 gals., Potatoes 1½ tons, Vegetables—value, £12.

COSTS AND RETURNS

Output	£	Expenses	£
Cattle Output	80	Beet (all direct expenses) ...	60
Home produced lambs and wool ...	208	Cereals ,, ,, ...	120
Other lambs (sales less purchases) ...	45	Potatoes and Fodder Beet (all direct expenses)	14
32 pigs sold as porkers and baconers	360	Purchased meals, including Pulp	80
Eggs sold, 150 doz., at 2s. 6d.	19	Grass seeds and fertilizers ...	60
Wheat sold, 30 brls., at £3 5s. 0d. ...	98	Rent and Rates	40
Sugar Beet, 24 tons, at £6 ...	144	Hired Labour	40
Value of Farm Produce in house ...	112	Other farm expenses	100
Profit on ton pulp	8	Family Farm Income	560
TOTAL	1,074	TOTAL	1,074

Total output per acre $= \frac{1074}{30} =$ £36 approx.

[1]In the U.S.A. where the pig price cycle is exceptionally pronounced, farm managers recommend slight curtailment of output when prices are low, but they definitely advise against going out of production altogether at these times. The same advice is applicable here.

This programme is not unrealistic : it is based on actual records of farms where similar programmes are carried on. With credit from traders and the Sugar Company, the capital requirements are not over high and a good energetic man working in close collaboration with his county instructor should be able to carry this programme through. In working this plan some difficulty might be encountered with surplus grass if home produced lambs are sold early. This trouble could be overcome by the purchase of a few store cattle to consume such grass or by the making of a small amount of silage using the new silage additive —Sodium Metabisulphite.

Again I am not over optimistic that any high proportion of small farmers will adopt similar programmes to this in the near future, but if any small farmer in a non-dairying area hopes to make a living from his farm, he will have to go on these lines. He will never get anywhere on the store cattle farming.

The type of programmes outlined above for small farmers are also suitable for large farms though on a more expanded scale. The large farmer will find that in addition to his cows and tillage crops he can carry dry cattle as well. These require very little labour and so he can utilize all available labour on tillage, cows and pigs, and then stock up the remainder of his farm with dry stock.

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that no matter how much we discuss the problems facing farmers or facing the nation, and no matter what grandiose schemes are drawn up on paper, nothing can come of it all unless farmers throughout the country can be persuaded in some way to make desirable changes. Improvements will never come about unless there can be created a widespread will to succeed. Too many of our farmers tacitly accept or are apathetic about too low a standard of living. There must be created a widespread demand among farmers for the better things of life. The 1946 Census revealed a very low standard of social amenities even amongst the larger farmers who should know, and could afford, better. We want rejuvenation amongst farmers of all ages, more life, more ferment. If the will to improve can be developed, all the plans I have suggested or discussed, and many more, will come about almost of their own accord.

The Dependent Child

by THE REVEREND CECIL J. BARRETT

Director, Catholic Social Welfare Bureau and Catholic Protection and Rescue Society

THE child welfare programme in this country, in so far as it is related to the normal healthy dependent child, has not made any spectacular advance for many years. And yet there are over 10,000 normal healthy dependent children in institutions and in foster homes throughout the State. Who are these children? Where do they come from? What of their future? These are questions we might well ask ourselves. These children, deprived of parental care, may be divided roughly into three groups: the orphans; those from the broken or bad homes; and the illegitimate children.

At the outset may I state that whilst I dislike placing healthy children in any institution I do not wish to be considered critical of those who manage children's institutions. These Homes are an essential part of any child-welfare programme and perform a most useful function in caring for certain classes of children. Institutional care for some children is inevitable. But institutional life for the child is only third—literally third—best and I believe that greater efforts should be made to save the child from such a life. Surely it is common knowledge without any facts or figures, that each and every little child needs one person who will be the object of his faith and love.

In this country the number of children needing care as a result of cruelty, the death of one or both parents, separation of parents, or through the prolonged illness of a parent, is comparatively small. By far the largest number come from homes which for one reason or another we might call "bad homes". Poverty, neglect and lack of parental control account for the majority of children in our institutions. Surely in these cases preventive work of family rehabilitation could be most effective. Here there is a large field as yet unexplored by the trained social worker. I consider that when application is made to accept these children into care away from home, an investigation made by a trained social worker might very easily result in restoring peace and order and happiness in the home. By reason of her knowledge and skill and experience the social worker could help to eradicate the cause of the upset in the home and so make it unnecessary to remove the child from it.

Even though she fails in her first efforts and the child is sent to an institution, by following-up the case with subsequent visits to the home she may easily be in a position to recommend the child's return to his

home in a short time. It so often happens that a young child is sent to an institution and allowed to remain there much longer than is necessary. It may be an emergency which has caused the child's removal to an institution—a housing problem, parental illness, neglect of parental duties, or just sheer poverty and bad home management. Any one of these could be of a temporary nature, and the home circumstances might have changed in six or twelve months. By continued contact with the home the trained family welfare worker might, through her practical help, sound advice, kindly encouragement, and skill, both innate and acquired, bring about such improved conditions that the continued absence of the child would be totally unnecessary.

The child has a right to his own home and the parents have a lasting duty to provide a home and loving care for their children. Parents who neglect their duty and fail their children need constant, though perhaps gentle, reminders of their obligations towards their children. There is none more competent to deal with such tragic cases than those specially trained and fitted for the task. It is skilful work for it requires, besides knowledge and experience, infinite patience and prudence, tolerance and understanding and the burning zeal of true charity. It is the charity of Christ which gives the social worker the courage to persist in her follow-up in spite of the apparent hopelessness of her problem, and which makes her unwilling to accept failure too easily.

Unfortunately our family-care work in the homes of children who are in institutions is far from satisfactory. Let us briefly examine the position of children in the industrial schools. First of all, here are some figures : there are 15 schools for boys and 36 for girls, scattered throughout the country : a total of 51 schools. The accommodation available in these schools is 7,524 and the total number of children in these schools on 31 December 1954, was 5,513 (2,505 boys and 3,008 girls). There has been a decline in numbers in recent years and those qualified to speak attribute this decline partly to the increased social services, especially the children's allowances. The total number committed through the Court under detention is 4,975 and of these about 15% are considered to be delinquents, i.e. about 745. There are, then, about 4,768 children in industrial schools through no fault of their own, who have been committed by the Court as destitute or on account of their homes being bad. Many of these are legitimate children whose parents have failed to fulfil the primary end of their marriage contract.

All these children, no matter what their age when they appear before the Court, are committed to the industrial schools and ordered to be detained there till they reach the age of 16 years. On committal, they become subject to the Minister for Education and may not be taken out of school without his consent. Apparently, because the Court

decides that the home is bad to-day, the child must be removed from the home for many years : until he is sixteen. The home and the parents are presumed to continue to be unsuitable for the child of the home. It is a presumption—no one does a thing at any stage to find out if it is still unsuitable ; no one lifts a finger to try to make it suitable : family rehabilitation is almost unknown.

In the meantime the child spends the formative years in an institution where he is well-fed and excellently cared for. He has a clean bed, good clothing and a good health service. He attends school regularly and from 14 to 16 years he is learning a trade. He has the companionship of other children and a good sound religious training. What more could he want ? Let us not dispute about the good things which the school provides : let us agree that he is provided with the best of institutional care. But it is institutional care and he has not his rightful share of love or affection ; he has no normal home life ; he has none of those things which matter most in the child's development. And it is all his parents' fault ! But is it, really ?

The official view is that the Minister for Education relies on the parents themselves to claim out the child : that their natural love and affection for their child will urge them whenever possible to do so. But does not this view leave out of account one very important thing : the very weakness of human nature ? The weak and ignorant, the poor and selfish, the neglectful and unmindful parent, may easily enough become accustomed to being without his children and may even, in his very ignorance, deceive himself into believing that his children are better off in the school. The freedom which he enjoys, with no responsibilities, may make him loath to face up to his duties towards his children. He may need to be stimulated into action, to be shown the error of his ways and even to be admonished for his behaviour.

But let us pass on and suppose that the parent does apply to the Minister and claim out his child. What then ? The Department of Education makes inquiries and after mature deliberation reaches a decision on the parent's claim to his children. We are not concerned for the moment with what this Departmental decision may be, but it is important to notice who it is who makes the inquiries on behalf of the Department—those inquiries which are so important and on the result of which so much depends. The inquiries are made by the local N.S.P.C.C. inspector (who often is a man) and the Gardai. There is no need for anyone to tell me of the good done by the N.S.P.C.C. inspectors and the Gardai. I fully appreciate it and no one holds them in higher esteem than I do. But surely there should be some limit to the tasks which they are asked to shoulder. These good people have to undertake the grave responsibility of recommending the suitability or

otherwise of a parent to care for and provide for his own children. Is it fair or right or proper that they should be chosen for such a task? I do not think so. Such an intimate, delicate and gravely responsible mission requires at least the services of a woman trained especially in the skills of family-welfare casework. The rights of parents in respect of their children are most sacred God-given rights, inalienable and imprescriptible by virtue of our Constitution, and only for the gravest reasons may parents be denied or deprived of their rights.

If I appear to feel very strongly against permanent institutional care for children whose parents are alive, it is because I consider the removal of children from parental custody to be a very serious matter and something that must be accepted only as a last resort. To remove any danger of being misunderstood may I emphasize that my criticism is aimed solely at the system and the method of dealing with industrial school cases? I can pay a tribute to the concern and consideration of the officials who have to administer the system, and I readily admit that no words of mine would be adequate to extol the meritorious work of the Sisters and Brothers who manage the Schools. But I do believe that the system needs reviewing and that many changes could be made which would be beneficial towards our dependent children and which would help enormously in preserving intact the unity of the home and family life. (We must beware of the view which holds that soap and water are more important than love and affection: those who hold this view would have the child living in one place and loving in another.)

The voluntary children's Homes are in a somewhat different class to the industrial schools. They cater mostly for orphans and half-orphans and are generally smaller institutions. Their children often come from good homes and application for admission is made directly to the manager of the Home. The manager maintains close personal contact with the surviving parents or guardians of the children and very frequently the parents contribute something, however small, towards the cost of the child's maintenance. By paying something the parents feel their responsibility and fulfil their duty to the best of their ability. But again it is institutional life for the child and as such is not the ideal.

Now let us turn to that third group of dependent children: those who are illegitimate. Some of them are kept by their mothers; some placed in foster-homes; some are adopted. Which is the best method of providing for the child of the unmarried mother? There is no simple straightforward answer to this question. Provision for the illegitimate child varies from case to case. It is impossible and unwise to attempt to make a general rule catering for all. Opinions differ as to whether the child is better off with its own mother or with adoptive parents,

because of the different estimates made of the importance of the biological tie between the natural mother and her child. Some say that the prospects of security in a good adoptive home much outweigh any advantage which may be derived from care by the natural mother. Others believe that the loving care of a natural mother cannot be equalled even by a satisfactory adoption. It is said too that the affection of the natural mother is likely to survive later disappointments which might turn even a normally affectionate adoptive parent against the child. Those who advocate adoption emphasize the advantages for the child : those who want to help the unmarried mother to keep her child feel even more strongly about it.

So far, though the two sides have many adherents, there are no long-term follow-up studies available either of the illegitimate child kept by his mother, or of the illegitimate child brought up by the local authority or in a voluntary children's home, or of the illegitimate child who has been adopted. Until such studies are done we shall have no real evidence on which to base our opinions, and it is worth while remembering that a few spectacular successes or failures, one way or the other, are not conclusive evidence. Well might we wonder if those who say that a mother should keep her child at all costs are not trying to force upon her the responsibility for the result of her misconduct without making any effort to assess whether or not she is capable of assuming that responsibility. Many girls do want to keep their babies, but they just cannot. Their feelings are sometimes very mixed and swing violently from one extreme to another. If a girl wants to keep her baby she knows what the social handicaps will be and how difficult will be her financial struggle ; if she thinks of parting with him, she feels guilty : " I am giving away my baby ". She cannot face the world and the future with her baby, but her natural maternal attachment to the child creates a bond which she cannot bear to break. And so she swings to and fro—back and forward : at all costs she must keep her baby : at all costs she must part with him quickly. She is involved in all the conflicting emotions of the moment and she is entangled in a mass of strains which render her incapable of reaching a sound decision.

This briefly is the tangled problem which the unmarried mother presents to the social worker. And the social worker's approach to it must be one of great christian charity, coupled with much sympathetic understanding of what is involved, not merely for unmarried mothers in general, but for this particular unmarried mother and her baby. The worker has to try to help the girl to think straight and to look ahead. She must support her and inspire confidence and allow her, and even encourage her, to express her feelings quite freely. The main thing to ensure in reaching the final decision is that the mother will not later

regret it or feel that she was talked into it. The worker cannot afford to take anything for granted : the girl who is most determined to give up her baby before confinement is often the one most definite afterwards in her anxiety to keep him.

Now let us consider very briefly the three means of providing for the illegitimate child. First, the mother wants to keep him herself : a most laudable aim, but one difficult to achieve. If she can return home with her baby it may be the happiest solution of all, as it provides the child with a family background and enables him to grow into his relatives' lives as a normal member of the family. But the family case-worker ought to be on the alert for difficulties which may arise from time to time. The girl's brothers and sisters may resent the child's presence, even though they may appear fond of the child. If the mother cannot work to provide maintenance and clothing for her child, there is a real danger that some members, if not all, of her family will grow tired of the situation and the child may suffer. Placing the child with the mother's aunt or other relative is not always a good solution, as the relative caring for the child may grow so fond of him that the mother's continued interest is resented and feared. This can very easily lead to a most complicated situation.

But if the mother cannot bring home her child it is, in practice, most difficult for her to keep her child at all. Fear of the future, the economic difficulties she is bound to encounter, the censure of her family, friends and society, have all to be faced and overcome. What can she offer her baby : what provision can she make for him ? Is he to spend his days in the care of a neighbour or an unwilling landlady ? Or will he sometimes be in a nursery, sometimes with a foster mother, sometimes back again with his mother, so that, tossed about so much, he does not feel that he belongs anywhere or to anyone. The taking up of a domestic post to which the mother is allowed to bring her baby is only a temporary means of providing for him. As soon as he begins to walk, things become difficult ; the situation becomes more and more unsatisfactory from the employer's point of view as well as from that of the mother and her child. It is, then, a simple matter to declare that a mother should keep her child ; it is no simple matter for the unmarried mother and her child to face life together. The dice are loaded against them and the chances of the illegitimate child having a normal, happy, secure childhood with his mother are very small in practice.

The second method of providing for the child is temporary foster-care. Some mothers, anxious to keep their children, seek temporary foster-mothers to mind them for six or twelve months, until such time as they can keep the children themselves. This is a very poor solution of the difficulty : few mothers ever succeed in taking back their children.

They procrastinate in reaching a final decision. In the meantime the child grows fond of his foster-mother and does not recognize his own mother. No real mother–child relationship is developed, and as the matter drifts on from a year to two or three years the mother ultimately realizes that she has no hope of ever reclaiming her child ; she finally decides on adoption—the third method of providing for the illegitimate child.

The chief aim of good adoption work is to provide for the dependent child a normal happy family life to give him a feeling of emotional security in a good and permanent home. I have deliberately waited until this late stage in my essay to treat of adoption as I am anxious to stress that it must not be considered as the be-all and end-all of child care. It is merely a part of child care, though a most important part, which offers one solution to the problems presented by the dependent and the illegitimate child. Adoption must not be considered simply *in vacuo :* it should, on the contrary, be closely integrated with all child-welfare work. From many angles it may be considered to be the most responsible branch of child-welfare for it involves three sets of people : the mother, the child and the prospective adopters. The lives of these three groups are deeply affected by the adoption arrangement : the mother gives away her child : the child has new parents chosen for him : whilst the adopters aim to fill the blankness of a childless home with the happiness and blessings which a child's presence brings. Is it any wonder then that we stress the importance and the responsibility of adoption work ? Is it any wonder that special knowledge and skill are demanded of the adoption worker ?

I have already referred to the sympathy and understanding which the social worker requires when helping the unmarried mother to plan her child's future. When the mother has decided to allow her child go for adoption, the worker must then satisfy herself that the child is eligible and suitable for adoption and she must attempt to classify him in order to choose a suitable home for him. The parental background of the child must be closely studied, in so far as is possible, as the parents' mental and physical history, together with their social status, occupations, education and moral background are all important factors in assessing the child's eligibility for adoption. The best guide to potential intelligence is often the intelligence of the parents, though for many reasons this cannot be any more than a very rough guide. A study of the child himself must be made, as his colouring, build and physical features, habits and behaviour, all contribute in guiding the worker towards her estimate of the child. The child's medical certificate must cover a complete physical examination and show his previous medical history, in addition to listing the various tests, such as Wasserman and Kahn, which

he has undergone. In Ireland very young infants are not subjected to psychological and developmental tests as the predictive value of such tests is considered negligible. On the other hand, the psychological or mental testing of children over 18 months old is believed to be useful in assessing the child's *potential* development.

Whatever be the effect of heredity on the child's development, all are agreed that environment plays a more important part. The emotional life of the child in his infant years is the most important single factor in determining his future mental health. The child's adoptive parents constitute for some time almost the whole of his environment, and for a very long time they constitute the most important part of it. Because the actual home in which the child grows up is so much more important than his background, inheritance or descent, those who place children for adoption are charged with the responsibility of making a careful study of the prospective home. This study of the adoptive home must be a painstaking one and must embrace, apart from the general outward appearance and the material effects of the home, the religion of the home, the motives of the applicants for wanting a child, their background and relationship one towards the other, their own mental and physical health, their age and economic status. The social worker who undertakes this task must be a case-worker skilled in interview techniques, who can size up the character and temperament of the prospective adopters and satisfy herself concerning their motives for wanting to adopt a child.

When the home study has been completed and the home approved, then, and only then, may the task of choosing a child for the new home be undertaken. This selection of the child for the home—or the selection of the home for the child—is of paramount importance : it is in a real sense the final step in planning the adoption placement. Much depends on the right choice being made, for the happiness of the child and the happiness of the adopting couple are at stake.

This brief glimpse into the background of modern adoption methods and practice is intended to demonstrate that it is a specialized field of social work, which requires the services of the expert social worker who never loses sight of her duties and responsibilities towards the three parties of the adoption process : the natural mother, the child and the adopters.

Since January 1953 we have had legal adoption in this country. An Adoption Board, consisting of a Chairman and six members, was appointed by the Government to fulfil the functions assigned to it under the Adoption of Children Act, 1952. This Board has the power to make an order for the adoption of a child on the application of the adoptive

parents. The effect of an adoption order is to confer upon the adopters all the rights and duties of natural parenthood, as if the child had been born to them in lawful wedlock. The Adoption Act is a good Act ; while primarily seeking to protect the interests of the child, it gives due and proper consideration to the rights of the natural mother and the adoptive parents.

I am frequently asked " How is the Adoption Act working out " ? and " What do you think of the Adoption Board ? " My replies to these questions are always rather guarded and politic. The Act has not been sufficiently long in force for one to pass judgment on it. The Board's time to date has been almost fully occupied in dealing with applications from people who have had children adopted in the past, " existing adoptions " as they are called. The members of the Board have been fulfilling an onerous task and they are devoting many hours of their time, voluntarily, to the consideration of applications for adoption in respect of older children. The Registered Adoption Societies sponsor the applications of their own clients, and I would like to pay a tribute to the courtesy, efficiency, and understanding displayed at all times by the officials of the Adoption Board.

The appointment of qualified Investigators by the Adoption Board has been a subject of much discussion which even reached the correspondence columns of the newspapers. I fully agree that the Board's Investigators should be women, trained and experienced in family case-work and child care. But I would point out that there appears to be some little confusion concerning the functions of the Board's Investigators. The Adoption Board does not place children for adoption : nor does its Investigators arrange adoptions. The adoption arrangements are made and the child is actually in the adoptive home many months before the Board's Investigator is asked to decide as to the suitability or otherwise of the home. In a sense one might say that the Board is presented with a *fait accompli,* as the Adoption Act does not impose any obligation either on the person placing the child or the couple accepting the child with a view to adoption, to notify the Board of their intentions. It must be remembered, too, that the Adoption Board's Investigator will have no knowledge of the child's history or parental background, so that her function consists in deciding whether the home is suitable for the child. She has no responsibility for deciding whether the child is suitable for the home. Again, anyone who wishes may arrange an adoption and as soon as a couple have taken a child, they are free to make immediate application to the Board for an Adoption order. Finally, the Board has no power to order the removal of a child from an unsuitable home : it merely has power to refuse to make the adoption legal.

May I offer two suggestions for the consideration of the Adoption Board : first that when considering applications from adopters who

have taken a child since the introduction of the Act, the Board should as a general rule invoke Section 17 (1) of the Act and merely grant an interim order for a period of six to twelve months. During this interval, or probationary period, the Investigator might visit the home a number of times and thus be enabled to size up its suitability or otherwise. Secondly, when the Board comes to fixing adoption standards, as it must sooner or later, I would suggest that it invite into conference representatives of the adoption Societies registered with the Board, so that by co-operation and informal discussion standards might be reached and agreed upon which would be of immense help in enabling all to achieve their common interest, namely the welfare of the dependent child.

Spain and the West

by RAMÓN MARTIN HERRERO

I

THE words West, Western Europe and European are of so imprecise and elusive a nature, Europe's future is so uncertain and European realities are so little encouraging that the quality of European is not one we Spaniards are nowadays very eager to claim or extremely proud to exhibit. We might also on our side of the Pyrenees succumb to the temptation of treating Spain and the rest of the Continent as separate and contrasted entities. To do this, however, we would have to be in a very defiant mood ; to adopt an attitude so offensive to truth and to historical facts could only be done out of bravado. My intention, then, is to show that Spain is an inseparable part of the West and one that the West can hardly afford to disregard, or, more bluntly, one that the West will have difficulty in doing without.

No one can be convinced of this, though, unless Spain is thought of as a country lying only a few hundred miles off the English coast, and unless everybody ceases to believe that Spaniards are beings straight out of flying saucers. Matters could be speeded up if some of my fellow-countrymen, in their turn, stopped writing and talking about the Spanish psyche as something simply too complicated and profound for words and, consequently, beyond the powers of normal comprehension. We are all human : that should be the starting point for everyone.

The case for Spain as a non-Western or anti-Western country is documented with a series of reasons which can be grouped under two counts : (*a*) the country itself ; its climate and physical features : (*b*) the people, their psychology, as reflected both in the individual as such and the nation as a whole.

Spain—we are told—is a land full of contrasts, of vast and arid expanses, of bleak, barren mountains, a land also of difficult approach, with a climate passing from extreme heat to extreme cold. Its geographical situation, while precluding outside European influences from penetrating it deeply, lays it open to invasion and penetration from the Orient. How could Spaniards fail to be fashioned by their surroundings ? How could they fail to be given to extremes, to be hard and indolent at the same time, intolerant and fatalistic, averse to mechanization

and social progress? This is, I think, a fairly approximate summing up of the usual line of argument.

If we are to be able to deal with it all, the ground must be cleared of some misconceptions, not obviously connected with our principal subject. Regrettably, this means a certain amount of meandering through a maze of apparent irrelevancies. "Apparent", I say, because it is important that students of Spanish problems should not wear spectacles of any sort, or if they do, that they be conscious of the fact and of their colour.

Now the trouble with the whole question, and with almost everything written and said about Spain, is that it is neither true nor untrue, neither totally right nor entirely wrong, but simply confusing and misleading. Naturally, I am not the first to point it out nor the first to note that every attempt to reduce to formulae the complex realities of a country so variegated and contradictory is bound to lead to coclusions at least partially false. Literary travellers do not fail to perceive this, but even when their travelling has not been merely "fellow-travelling", contrasts, though loudly proclaimed as typical of Spain, are taken practically into account only in so far as they fit into the preconceived pattern. However, as realities do not let themselves be coerced, whenever they happen to contradict the visitors' purpose or prejudice they are quickly disposed of by saying—in rather an uninhibited way—that "this" or "that" is not Spanish, even that it is un-Spanish and therefore just exceptional or accidental. "Pink" or "pinkish" travellers often use this dialectic device, for they must satisfy both their aesthetic proclivities and their instinct to vituperate, and the happy harmony they enjoy when they can indulge simultaneously in these leanings is only attainable in a country classifiable at the same time as picturesque and reactionary.

Another complicating factor, what we might term the appeal of picturesqueness, must not be forgotten. The search for something exotic and different seems, indeed, to be an irrepressible urge in every traveller. Doubtless an ox-cart makes a better photographic subject than a truck; crumbling houses—if venerable enough—decorate an album better than brand-new buildings. So that when we go through the pages of a book of Spanish pictures recently published in London,[1] (and a beautiful book at that), we realize once more that the "roving camera" has avoided all modernities, shown a clear predilection for grim, lunar landscapes and urban outskirts, dwelt with relish on narrow lanes and derelict dwellings, waited patiently for the donkey to fit the picture that a lorry would spoil . . . . And here we are again confronted

[1] *Spain.* By Martin Hurliman.

with a Spain scarcely less fictitious and unreal than one, for instance, in which there would be no donkeys at all.

There is also that little matter of nearly always avoiding cultivated Spaniards of cosmopolitan outlook, because, you know, they are not typical, not genuine. The harm done to a sober, matter-of-fact appreciation of things Spanish by people, who, for the same reason have thought it necessary to travel third-class or take lodgings in fifth-rate inns, is hard to assess. And one or two things more : to quote but one and have done with it. Among Spanish regions, Galicia is, together with Andalusia, and next to Castile, perhaps the one which has given Spain a greater number of writers, politicians and statesmen, and one of those which has had the most influence in the moulding of Spanish destinies. Rainy Santiago de Compostela is as Spanish a town as sun-drenched Seville. But while few foreign authors ever go to Galicia, we may be sure that Andalusia will not be left out of their travel itinerary. Learned visitors appear to have fallen a prey to the fascination of the South, as has the ordinary tourist, with results fatal for a comprehen ive grasping of all the complexities of Spanish civilization.

One wonders how many ordinary travellers realize that the country presented to them by means of such a technique belongs more to the domain of literary myths than to that of hard realities.

So much for our preliminaries.

II

Generally speaking, it can be said that not enough attention is paid to the Nordic and Occidental elements in Spain's culture and history. To begin with, though the Iberian populations were those to offer the longest and most stubborn resistance to Roman conquest, Spain soon became one of the parts of the Empire in which Romanization was most successful. Nowhere, outside Italy, have the remains of Rome's civilization such grandeur and splendour. Spain, as is well known but not often remembered, gave Rome no less than three Emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius ; her best epic poem, Lucan's *Pharsalia* ; her best satirist, Martial ; one of her best philosophers and the only one to produce before Christianization a philosophic and moral system congenial to the Spanish people, Seneca ; her best rhetorician, Quintilian ; and, after Rome became Christian, again her best poet, Prudentius.

The Visigoths in their turn were no less and no more lucky than the Romans ; their part in the historic process of the shaping of Spanish

nationhood was also a decisive one, if in a slighter degree, though it is seldom emphasized as it deserves to be. Salvador de Madariaga, in the main an adept in the theory of the predominance of Oriental influences in Spanish civilization, underlines this when he says, in his *Portrait of Europe,* that there are considerable Germanic traces in Northern Spain, even to-day. He adds that all the national heroes, including the conquerors of America, were pure Goths and that the Spanish theatre knows of no dark-haired and dark-eyed heroine until the nineteenth century.

Spain is also partly a Celtic land and, begging the pardon of Scottish readers, the land of the bag-pipe almost as much as that of the guitar.

It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of the gigantic figure of St Isidore of Seville. He seemed to have a clear conception of Spain's existence as a national entity. As a matter of fact, he was the first to give formal expression to that which in others must have been but obscure feeling or mere premonition. St Isidore wrote the first of the "*laudes*" or "praises" of Spain, in which the later Spanish literature abounds. Centuries after St Isidore, his epigones of the so-called School of Seville had the greatest influence in modelling the relationship between the subjugated peoples of Spain and their Moorish invaders, and succeeded, to a certain extent, in westernizing the latter. The Visigoths also influenced profoundly the formation of Spanish Law and gave us our first Code, the *Liber Judiciorum.* From this moment on, Castilian Law was to be alternatively of Roman or of German character, this latter represented by the *Fuero Real,* the former by the *Siete Partidas* of Alphonso the Wise. The importance of the Visigoths in the realm of Spanish legal institutions will be seen by the fact that the Spanish Liberals considered the Episcopal Concilia at Toledo as the embryo of Spanish parliamentary life.

What then of the alleged all-pervading and indelible Oriental influence exercised by the Mohammedan conquerors? In the first place, the invading hosts took the Peninsula by surprise—to which fact, by the way, their quick success is to be ascribed—and were not very numerous; consequently, they soon mixed with the native populations by whom they were, so to speak, submerged, so that it is reasonable to assume that the inhabitants of the Moorish kingdoms of Spain were Islamized Spaniards rather than authentic Moors. The racial stock of the peoples living on both sides of the Straits cannot have been, before the Conquest, fundamentally different. Similarities of climate and surroundings must have done the rest, and many of the external affinities between Al-Andalus (Andalusia) and Al-Mahgreb (Morocco) are probably due to geo-climatic causes. To this may be added that the

social and political life of Christian and Arabic Kingdoms all point to a common origin, previous to the arrival of the invaders. Whatever we may have of the Oriental has probably a very remote and obscure source, possibly Semitic (i.e. Phoenician) strains, leading to or coming from Tyre and Carthage, at the moment when Southern Spain was the " Ultima Thule " of the civilized world. On the other hand, the Moors were not only permeated by Christian Spanish culture, but brought with them, paradoxically enough, such unoriental ideas as, for instance, Aristotelian philosophy.

Nor were the Spanish Christian kings, however absorbing their domestic ventures, entirely devoid of interest in the happenings in other Christian States outside the Peninsula. Alphonso X called himself German Emperor to the end of his life and Alphonso VII had also been self-styled Emperor. Castile took part in the Hundred Years' War on England's side ; Catalans and Aragonese overthrew and dominated the Byzantine Empire and annexed Sardinia and Sicily to Aragon.

Intercourse went both ways, for all through the Middle Ages pilgrims came to Santiago de Compostela in a steady flow, at a time when Christian knights from all over Europe took occasional part in the Wars of Reconquest, while non-Spanish monastic orders (Cluny) exercised on Spanish religious life a considerable and sometimes decisive influence. Later, after national unity had been achieved, there was no war, peace, royal marriage or succession, in short, no event—major or minor—with which Spain was not connected in some way or another to the point that it would be no jest to say that besides England and France, Spain was not a part of the West, but *the West.*

During this period, the expansive force of Spanish culture was scarcely less considerable than her military prowess. It has been contended that Spain had no Renaissance, but any doubts on this point have long been dispelled, although the contention still finds its place in the *Cambridge Modern History.* Nobody seems to have bothered to explain how without a Renaissance Spanish literary productivity could have reached in the seventeenth century its Golden Age and highest peak of achievement. The fact is that Counter-Reformation and Renaissance, often treated as contradictory and irreconcilable phenomena, although actuated by very different stimuli, had in some aspects the same consequences, particularly in the flourishing of humanistic studies.

Printing came to Spain between 1468 and 1474, and barely thirty years afterwards, the *Biblia Complutensis,* containing the first Greek version of the New Testament ever to be printed and one of the best Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, saw the light in Spain.

I cannot here give any names illustrating the development of humanism in Spain, and must refer the reader to specialized studies. It is enough to say that military power and victories in the field of battle are not enough to explain Spanish predominance in the European scene for two hundred years and that during the whole course of these two centuries the interrelation of Spanish and non-Spanish cultures is constant and uninterrupted. In this instance, too, traffic went both ways. Let us quote as originating on the Spanish side, the influence of the Spanish picaresque novel and Spanish drama upon French writing (Lesage, Scarron) and the French theatre (Corneille), of Spanish internationalists (Vitoria, Suarez de Menchaca) upon non-Spaniards such as Grotius, of Spanish religious music upon Italian composers (Tomás Luis Victoria =Palestrina), and, the other way round, of Italian pastoral novels, lyrics and books of chivalry upon Spanish literature as a whole.

After the War of the Spanish Succession, the panorama changes ; hesitations, doubts, and what we would call to-day complexes, set in with the breakdown of the Spanish Empire. Our seventeenth century "intelligensia" turned for a great part sceptical, imitative and self-conscious, not without reactions and not without some magnificent figures, as—for example—P. Feijóo, one of the most enlightened spirits of the Europe of that time. The Napoleonic invasion, bringing what to some looks like the doom and to some like the awakening of the Spanish national conscience, opened an epoch of civil warfare and political turbulence. It is well to remember, though, that France's history until at least 1848, is not much less agitated than our own. As to foreign meddling, it is also good to keep in mind that all the borrowing of outside political models with which we are reproached had its source in the self-righteous indoctrinating spirit of foreign liberals or pseudo-cosmopolitan Spaniards of liberal sympathies.

From the organic and evolving, if slow-moving and cumbersome, governmental apparatus of the Spanish Hapsburg monarchy, through the already more systematic and abstract regime imported from France by the Bourbons, we go over to a frenzy of experimentation and of political aping, making our nineteenth century an indescribable pandemonium with some farcical sides to it. The cardinal fact remains that all that borrowing of panaceas already alluded to is an exclusive responsibility of westernizers and reformers. Foreign intervention appears historically as a quasi-monopoly of the progressive and enlightened faction. Reaction in Spain is reaction in the strictest sense of the word, that is, a stiffening up of national resistance against ideological attack from across the frontiers. It is a well-known fact that Ferdinand VII was restored to absolute power by French military intervention under

the Duke of Angoulême. Not so well-known, however, is it that a quadruple alliance was formed to assist the Spanish liberals during our first Civil War (1833–1840), and the graves of some British fallen are there in San Sebastian to remind us of it. One should also remember the affair of the Spanish marriages, when Palmerston's Britain and the France of Louis-Philippe were at loggerheads without actually coming to blows ; more fortunate than Napoleon III and William of Prussia, who went to war on a Spanish dynastic issue. Let us repeat it, the key to an understanding of the significance of the Pyrenees as an ideological barrier lies in the fact that behind all the Spanish political turmoil, starting with two French invasions (1795 and 1808), the string-pullers—whether Spaniards or not—are always somewhere in the West : the scene is set in Spain, the *metteur-en-scène* is elsewhere even if the actors are prone to forget their lines and to begin acting on their own, thus bringing the plot to an unforeseen ending.

III

At this point, I seem to hear the reader's retort that surely there is something " irredeemable " differentiating the idiosyncrasy of the *homo ibericus* from that of his fellow-Europeans, and that recent trends in Spanish history confirm this view. Well, this is naturally a contention that cannot be proven " nor yet disproven ", but it is my personal conviction that given similar circumstances, events would have developed along very much the same lines anywhere else.

All nations wear a label, and even if there are often some grains of truth in commonplace prejudice, yet, taking, as I recommended, the *homo sum* as a sound basis for judgment, it will be seen that no country has the monopoly of the shortcomings attributed to it, or, for that matter, of the virtues it pretends to have.

Intolerance ? From the age of the rack to that of the gas-oven, the world has witnessed so many examples of intolerance to know that this is a plant that grows and thrives everywhere.

Aggressiveness ? Yes, a hard, stony harshness, a ruggedness, a certain angular aggressiveness may be the most striking side to the foreign observer in the body and soul of Spain, but it is far from being the only one of this many-sided land. The arcadian, the bucolic note is not lacking in the landscape of Spain for those to whom it appeals, and who know where to look for it, nor is the Spanish soul lacking in soft and tender chords, as is proved by many centuries of splendid lyric poetry.

From time immemorial the Spaniard has been known for soberness, and the capacity of enduring hardships, but, remember, the most succulent of gargantuan feasts ever depicted in the world's literature, outside Gargantua's country, is probably Camacho's wedding banquet from Cervantes's pen. And Spain produced, several hundreds of years before Brillat-Savarin, one of the first known gastronomic treatises.[1]

Laziness, indolence, lack of organizing and inventive capacities are said to be other pejorative features of Spanish psychology. But here also I must beg leave to disagree ; as to the first, the contemplation of the quadrangular and rectangular plots making up the geometric pattern of hundreds of miles of almost treeless and waterless Spanish land, telling of the unceasing toil of the Spanish peasant, should, it would seem, supply an amply eloquent answer. As to the second, as to the famous Spanish *mañana,* God knows there is a great deal of *mañana* outside Spain's frontiers : more still at a moment when even world politics seem an unending succession of *mañanas.*

And it is difficult to imagine a greater feat of organization than the rise and growth of the Spanish Empire in America ; it lasted until 1825 and in remote parts of that Continent, the house, the bridge, or the road built by the Spaniards are still the most conspicuous achievement of material civilization.

Concerning material progress, the Spaniard's view is that being a means and not an end, progress in that sense cannot be the ultimate goal of civilization. In spite of this, since the beginning of the century and to a greater extent after the two World Wars, Spain has accomplished much more in the way of economic and social improvements than most foreign critics care to admit. Though Miguel de Unamuno in patriotic wrath once exclaimed " Let them[2] invent ! ", Spaniards also have invented not a few things : helicopters,[3] submarines,[4] and anti-cholera vaccine[5] are some inventions amongst others. But not many people know of this, and, besides, far be it from me to try to compete with Soviet panegyrists in claiming priority in the field of human inventiveness. All the same, it is surprising that people outside Spain who profess to consider progress as self-defeating should, none the less, use it as a criterion to decide which nations truly belong to the Occidental world. To such people industrialization and Western civilization are synonymous terms ; to them progress begins with the spinning-jenny.

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[1] Marquess of Villena's *Ars Cisoria.* (13th century)

[2] " them ", i.e. the non-Spaniards

[3] The autogiro. Juan de la Cierva

[4] Separately by Narciso Monturiol and Isaac Peral

[5] Dr Jaime Ferran

IV

And what is the conclusion to be? To my mind a very obvious one: namely that there is not one, but several interpretations of the West and of Western spirit and that Spain embodies one of them, one in which the ingredients are the same, though mixed in different proportions and blended with other elements giving it a different, perhaps richer flavour. The view which identifies the West with industrialized Europe seems to us Spaniards a very narrow, almost provincial one.

The question arises: what does the Spanish contribution to the occidental world (in the wider sense of the word) amount to, and I must make it clear that I am referring to the occidental world purely and solely as an historic and cultural community. In the first place—and let no one smile—Spain can contribute a Quixotic spirit, a badly needed and very important commodity, if I may so call it. There is already too much talk of coal and iron pools, of steel communities, in short, too much of Sancho Panza. An ideal is needed, and it does not seem that it could be expressed by such slogans as the "Political rights of man" or "Social equality" and "Distribution of wealth" and, mind you, I do not belittle these. To more positive and prosaic people I shall say that Spain, astride two continents and facing two seas, constitutes a bridge towards both America and Africa. Despite all the attempts to conceal the Spanish character of the discovery and colonization of America (or two-thirds of it), either by the use of the highly equivocal and inadequate expression "Latin America" or by christening the 12 October "Columbus Day" (as if the nationality of the discoverer were all that mattered on that day!), Spain is alive and ever-present in the social and cultural life of all the "Latin American" countries. She is even present in such remnants of *hispanophobia* as may still exist in some sectors of those countries: whoever wants to detract from the Spanish influence must do it by using Spanish as a weapon. The way to Hispano-America goes through Spain.

With the Arabic countries, the position differs widely, but still this is one instance in which historic foes become friends, through that paradoxical kind of understanding and mutual respect reached through opposition and struggle. No country is better qualified than Spain to understand Islam and we owe this to the eight centuries of our reconquest. The importance for a regenerated and rejuvenated Europe of possessing such a bond with the Mohammedan world should be plain to anyone.

Lastly, and though not concerned here with the political side of the question, Spanish strategic and military potentialities are far from negligible.

Some people like to think that, whatever the future may have in store for us, Spain, " the old and necessary enemy of the West ", is bound to be in the Occidental camp. That may be so, but it seems evident that a well-disposed Spain would be more alive to the requirements of the situation than one antagonized through school-mastering, vetoes and exclusiveness. Compelled by circumstances, Spain has been these last years going her own ways ; she might well go on doing so, if needs be.

Post-war Europe has come to life again as an undefinable and ill-shaped creature. She stands on very weak legs and is already mutilated ; will she be made an incurable cripple by amputating yet another valuable limb ?

Reflections of an English Writer in Ireland

by DONALD DAVIE, PH.D.
Lecturer in English, University of Dublin

IN a recent number of STUDIES (Summer, 1955), Mr Denis Donoghue, writing " Notes towards a Critical Method," took me to task for questioning some of the procedures of Professor Cleanth Brooks, whom he recognizes as his own master in literary criticism. I do not write in the first place to defend myself, though I stick to my point and I think Mr Donoghue was less than fair to me. I consider the point at issue between us an important one ; but I hesitate to cross swords with Mr Donoghue because I sympathize so much with his position that I think he may be right for his age and generation, as I am right for mine.

This requires some explanation, for I am not so much older than Mr Donoghue that I would in the normal way be thought to belong to another generation. No ; the point is simply that he writes as an Irishman, where I write as an Englishman. As a literary critic and an Irishman, thinking first of the present state of Irish literature and literary study, Mr Donoghue makes it his first concern to argue that statements of false doctrine in a poem make no odds when we reckon up its value as poem, as a work of art. This is entirely natural, and I have no doubt that if I were an Irishman I would want to make the same point. As an Englishman, however, thinking first in terms of the current English habits of thought in these matters, I find myself faced with a situation quite different from the Irish situation ; a situation in which poetry and the criticism of poetry have so far emancipated themselves from moral values that there is at no point any appeal to standards outside the field of literature itself. And so I am concerned to argue that there are some poems which stand or fall according as their doctrine is true, which must be judged therefore by standards brought into literature from outside. I think particularly of some poems by Wordsworth, such as the " Lament of a Forsaken Indian Woman," where the internal organization is poor and meagre, showing nothing of that " complexity," which Mr Donoghue would make very nearly the ultimate criterion, which yet are great poems simply by virtue of the truths they utter about the human condition.

If I am asked which of us is right, I think I must make the lame but chastening answer that we are both of us right and both wrong : there are poems which ask to be approached in his way as there are others

which ask to be approached my way. And so my quarrel would be with the assumption implicit in his very title—the assumption that there is or can be *one* critical method which is right. Every critic, perhaps, must have several " methods," and his first job on any poem is to establish which of the several methods is appropriate. (This is no more, after all, than the traditional notion of *genre*—only a bad critic approaches an elegy in the same spirit, armed with the same method, as when he approaches an epic.)

And yet even here I can see what Mr Donoghue is after, and why. He wants to establish, what I too would affirm as vigorously as possible, that the criticism of literature is an exacting intellectual discipline in its own right, an honourable profession. Here the contrast is not between England and Ireland, but between both of these on the one hand and the U.S.A. on the other. In America the professional critic seems to enjoy so much esteem that some Americans (Mr Randall Jarrell, for instance, in his recent *Poetry and the Age*) think it is high time his wings were clipped. I think in this Mr Jarrell may well be right ; for one certainly gets the absurd impression, reading some current American criticism, that the poet in the U.S.A. exists chiefly to feed his poems into the mills of criticism, a naive producer of he knows not what, who must humbly wait for the critic to tell him what he meant to do, and how he did it unknowing, or why he failed to do it. In England and Ireland however (how the Scots and Welsh manage, I don't know), it is still widely assumed that criticism is something that anyone can do ; something that the philologist or the moralist or the retired colonial governor or the poet (*any* poet) can be relied upon to turn out in a spare half hour. This conviction that literary criticism is at best a sort of higher journalism is often the motive behind those university courses in English where the candidate cannot get a degree on the score of literary criticism and literary history, but must go through the supposedly " scholarly " drill of Old and Middle English philology. And indeed once again as an Irishman Mr Donoghue is worse off than I am. For while the critic as such has never been much esteemed in England, yet England has had critics, even a continuous tradition of literary criticism; while nothing is more striking in the Anglo-Irish literary tradition than the absence of any true critic at all, certainly of any critical tradition. Burke's *On the Sublime and the Beautiful* is a work of aesthetics ; Goldsmith's critical essays are pot-boilers. Apart from these, there are " John Eglinton " and Daniel Corkery. And consider Yeats's one contribution to criticism, the preface to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse !* Even to-day, if we except Mr Donoghue himself, where can we find the Irish literary critics, among the reviewers, the columnists, and the brilliant talkers ? Mr Donoghue, one comes to see, was not so much arguing for the one and only true critical method, as for any critical method at all, for an acknowledgment that such methods

exist. For " methods " here read " standards " ; because the lack of a critical tradition in Ireland would not matter, if it did not foster the idea that any degree of objectivity in criticism is impossible. The reviewers, for instance, are themselves demoralized, and have no confidence in their own activity. Hence the assumption, which I have found all but universal in Dublin, that any critical judgment, where it is not either log-rolling on the one hand or malice on the other, is merely the statement of a personal opinion, of no more weight than any other.

I return to the first point I made, that what was tactically right for Mr Donoghue, as an Irishman, would be tactically wrong for me. The implications are interesting ; for what it means is that the literary independence of Ireland is an accomplished fact. The tradition of Irish writing in English has reached quite another point, on quite another course, than the English tradition—that is why what it is timely for Mr Donoghue to say is not timely for me. During the five years that I have lived as an English writer in Dublin, nothing has impressed me so much as this ; and it may be worthwhile my putting it on record, since I have no axe to grind, whereas for an Irishman it might be suspected that the wish was father to the thought. Among poets as among critics, I have been forced to realize that what is right for me—and not just for me but for any Englishman at this date—is wrong for them, and vice-versa. Mr Thomas Kinsella, whose work I admire most among Irish poets not yet " established," goes to work on a poem in ways that would (I am convinced) be suicidally wrong for any young English poet in the same situation. Here there is room for the old-fashioned literary nationalist to weigh in with " the Irish genius " or that old chestnut so beloved of English reviewers, " the celtic temperament." But neither Mr Donoghue nor I can admit these apparitions into our discourse, for no critical method can afford such large areas of comfortable vagueness. If such imponderables exist, they are precisely that, imponderable, and must be left out of account. At the risk of being accused of historical determinism, I prefer, to explain what baffles me in Mr Kinsella's case for instance, T. S. Eliot's idea of literary tradition. That is, I believe (and I would say, I have proved from my own experience and observation) that at a given stage in the development of a tradition, only certain courses are open to the writer in that tradition. To take a crass example, it is, I take it, inconceivable that any Englishman to-day could write a great poem in regular blank verse. The tradition has moved on from there and may at some time circle back on its tracks ; but that time is not yet. Now I should not like to say that the same is true of an Irishman writing English poetry. For the Irishman different roads are open, different roads are blocked. Perhaps, to give two other examples, the young Englishman can still learn from Yeats where the young Irishman cannot, just because that great voice is ringing so much more loudly in

his ears ; *per contra*, and for much the same reason, perhaps the Irishman can learn from Auden where the Englishman cannot.

Here, however, we must face the disquieting possibility that the Anglo-Irish tradition is *not* following another course from the English and that if the Irish poet or the Irish critic finds himself in a different literary situation from his English counterpart, it is only because he is further back on the one road, behind the clock, twenty or fifty years out of date and still catching up. If I thought this, it would be very tactless for me, as an Englishman, to say so ; but I certainly do not think it. I am fairly sure that Mr Donoghue does not think it either. And yet he behaves as if he did. For the New Criticism that he would introduce into Ireland (where it is known among the literati as a gibing catchphrase but not practised, unless by Mr Donoghue himself) is of course not new at all, in the country of its origin. In the U.S.A. the New Criticism is already " old hat " ; and while we must ignore the mechanical fluctuations of literary fashion, not all the recent American misgivings about their own New Criticism can be dismissed as a mere swing of the fashionable pendulum. Mr Hugh Kenner, for instance, is a transatlantic critic who seems to find, as I do, that New Criticism " pays off " in respect of some kinds of poem but not of others ; he opposes it, as I tend to oppose it in Mr Donoghue, because of its exclusiveness, its claim to be the one and only true discipline universally applicable. Must Ireland, then, go through the phase which in the U.S.A. has just completed itself? Mr Donoghue seems to think so. And in thinking so he seems to act on the assumption that Ireland is just lagging behind, twenty years out of step.

If, as I believe, the Irish tradition of writing in English is now independent of the English and American traditions, as it certainly was not in the last century, the credit for that must surely go to Yeats. And when I pointed to Wordsworth as a poet who would not lend himself to Mr Donoghue's " method," I had in mind the conclusion which Yeats reached in 1909 :—

> The doctrine of what the younger Hallam called the Aesthetic School was expounded in his essay on Tennyson, and when I was a boy the unimportance of subject was a canon. A French poet had written of girls taking lice out of a child's hair. Henley was supposed to have founded a new modern art in the ' hospital-poems,' though he would not have claimed this. Hallam argued that poetry was the impression on the senses of certain very sensitive men. It was such with the pure artists, Keats and Shelley, but not so with the impure artists who, like Wordsworth, mixed up popular morality with their work. I now see that the literary element in painting, the moral element in poetry, are the means whereby the two arts are accepted into the social order and become a part of life and not things of the study and the exhibition.

Though Mr Donoghue would not use these terms, it seems to me that " the unimportance of subject " is a canon of his critical method no less than of Hallam's ; and that he is to that extent trying to put back the Irish clock to 1909. Yeats here foresaw the conclusion that the Americans are reaching only after claiming too much for a criticism based upon this canon, and being subsequently disillusioned. Must the Irish, as Mr Donoghue seems to imply, go through this cycle of high hopes and subsequent disillusionment, or should they not rather take up where Yeats left off?

Here again I can sympathize with Mr Donoghue. For another of the points I want to make, as an outsider living in Ireland and observing Irish writing, is my conviction that the Irish tradition has not yet assimilated the achievement of Yeats. Nothing so surprised me from the first in literary Dublin as the extent to which Yeats is a prophet without honour in his own country. I have said already that I can see good reasons why the Irish poet should not take Yeats as a model of poetic technique. What I have in mind now is something different : I think Irish poets, Irish critics, and Irish readers have not yet recognized the logic of Yeats's poetic development, still less worked out the consequences of that in terms of their own aims and procedures. For instance, among those extracts from a diary kept in 1909, now printed under the title " Estrangement " in the new volume *Autobiographies*, is one where Yeats writes :

> When I was twenty-five or twenty-six I planned a *Légende des Siècles* of Ireland that was to set out with my *Wanderings of Oisin*, and show something of every century. Lionel Johnson's work and, later, Lady Gregory's, carried on the dream in a different form ; and I did not see, until Synge began to write, that we must renounce the deliberate creation of a kind of Holy City in the imagination, and express the individual.

Yet a quarter of a century later, Padraic Colum, introducing the poems of Austin Clarke, writes throughout as if this project which Yeats had abandoned in 1909 were still, in 1936, a going concern. If Mr Colum had grounds for deciding that Yeats had been premature in abandoning his *Légende des Siécles* (and that he did so at this time could be gathered from his poetry alone, without needing his own testimony), at any rate Mr Colum did not even argue the case. It is probable that this discontinuity in the Irish tradition, by which positions gained are silently abandoned, questions are left in mid-air, issues are left unresolved, is related to the lack of any continuous and self-respecting tradition of literary criticism. Where Yeats is concerned, I cannot help relating it also to the very common tendency, among the older Irish writers I have met, to decry Yeats in order to exalt George Russell (AE). To be sure, all I can truthfully say is that many people who have known both Yeats

and AE seem to remember the latter with more affection ; and it may well be that as a private individual AE was more engaging and more likeable. But once again the real trouble is the lack of any faith in objective standards of criticism ; for in default of such standards, by which Yeats and AE could be compared strictly as poets, a preference for AE as a person slides unchecked into a preference for him as a poet. Time and again I have found it taken for granted that his achievement as a poet was at any rate comparable with Yeats's—an assumption that I venture to think one would find nowhere but in Ireland. Nowhere else, either, would one find it seriously asserted that the poetry Yeats wrote before 1912 was better than what he wrote after that date. And if Irish writers thus refuse to come to terms with Yeats, they have only themselves to blame when Mr Colum or Mr Donoghue beguiles them into literary heresies from which Yeats's example could have saved them.

Mr Donoghue can claim for his masters, as they claim for themselves, that the critical method they evolved was designed precisely to do justice to the poetry of Yeats, as of his British and American contemporaries, T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. All three of these poets have, in some parts of their work, a strong didactic bent ; and the New Critics revived or maintained the tenet of the indifference of subject matter in order to enjoy the poetry without having to come to terms with the doctrines it expressed. There were enough readers who agreed with the Christian doctrine of Eliot, or with the Confucian doctrine of Pound, to resist the New Critics when, in their reading of these two poets, they tried to have their cake without eating it. But there were hardly any readers of poetry who agreed with the necromantic doctrines of Yeats, and so nearly everyone was prepared to take Yeats's poetry on the New Critics' terms. Yet Yeats, it is plain, meant his doctrines to be taken more seriously than this ; to use his own terms, the New Critics read the later Yeats as if he were a " pure " poet like Keats, while he saw himself rather as an " impure " poet like Wordsworth.

The result has been what Yeats foresaw : that his poetry, and poetry in general, has come to be a thing of the study only, divorced from the life of society as a whole. And Mr Donoghue, like his American masters, while rightly insisting that literary criticism is a professional discipline, tends, in doing so, to wall up poetry even more inescapably inside the study of those trained specialists who alone can do it justice. The only way out of this impasse is to insist that the critic's professionalism is nearer to that of the artist than to that of the technical consultant. That is to say, the faculty of literary criticism is a gift ; and though the gift will be largely or wholly wasted unless it is disciplined by training, yet in default of the initial gift, a much rarer one than is generally supposed, no amount of training and no " method," however theoretically unimpeachable, will make a critic. No critical method is fool-proof.

Where I agree with Mr Donoghue entirely is in his implication that the doctrinal bearing of a poem, its morality, can be distinguished and judged only by the literary critic. What is the subject of a poem? What is the moral doctrine, if any, which it promulgates? These are questions which already make demands upon the critical gift and upon critical training. The overt subject of "Lycidas" is the death of Edward King; but most people would agree that this is not the subject of the poem in any real sense, and that to decide what the subject truly is demands the greatest critical delicacy and tact. Similarly to define, as I have done, Eliot's doctrine as Christian, Pound's as Confucian, Yeats's as necromantic, is far too crude; and before moral judgment could be passed on any poem by any one of these men we should have to know quite precisely what sort of Christianity, or what sort of Confucianism, the poems profess—again a critical operation of the most exacting kind.

I hope it is clear that I would not as an outsider criticize the Irish literary situation so sharply, if I did not see a chance for Ireland to escape some of the mistakes that have already been made in England and America. In Ireland the ties between poetry and society have not yet snapped as they have in England and America, though I think they are stretched very nearly to breaking point. Mr Donoghue's programme, if it were widely adopted in Ireland, might break those ties. To keep them intact and to strengthen them, one would need rather to follow Yeats and to believe that some poetry at any rate *can* be valued rather for what it says than for the way in which it says it. This is what the common reader in Ireland believes, just as (I think) he still believes that some poetry is a repository of moral wisdom. In America and in England the common reader has been laughed out of court for believing this, with the result that in those countries the common reader no longer exists, except as a necessary wistful fiction in the minds of some responsible poets and critics. If I am right in supposing that in Ireland he still exists in fact, it is of the first importance to Irish literature that he should not be allowed to disappear.

Technique in Hopkins

by DENIS DONOGHUE, M.A.
Department of English, University College, Dublin

EVERYBODY knows by now that the best way to learn about metre and rhythm is to spend three or four months studying *The Pisan Cantos* : what Eliot said about the early poems applies even more insistently to Pound's latest.[1] In *The New Criticism*[2], John Crowe Ransom stuck to the view that metre is simply an arrangement of sound textures which have no part in the poem's meaning, that what we get from metre is " an independent phonetic pleasure " : the *Cantos* contradict all this. Or at least they suggest that when language is used at its best, when all its resources are engaged in creating the total meaning, metre and rhythm refuse to detach themselves from the whole. For instance :—

> ' Prepare to go on a journey'.
> or to count sheep in Phoenician,
> How is it far if you think of it ?
> So they said to Lidya : no, your body-guard is not the town executioner
> the executioner is not here for the moment
> the fellow who rides beside your coachman
> is just a cossack who executes . . .
> Which being the case, her holding dear H. J.
> (Mr James, Henry) literally by the button-hole . . .
> in those so consecrated surroundings
> (a garden in the Temple, no less)
> and saying, *for once*, the right thing
> namely : ' Cher maitre '
> to his checqued waistcoat, the Princess Bariatinsky,
> as the fish-tails said to Odysseus, ξυι Τ ροίη, ...[3]

Here the rhythm is so closely related to the tone (and therefore to the meaning) of the passage, plays so positive a part in determining that tone, that no separation of the two is possible.

The main purpose of the present essay is to subject a few of Hopkins's poems to this kind of test, to see what happens the poetry if and when the metre pulls loose from the sense. At the same time I want to test my own notion that poetry stands the best chance when all its elements (imagery, metre, syntax, etc.), are purely *functional* and, literally, *co-operative*. The essay is not intended, of course, as a full-scale examination of Hopkins's technique : it is merely a point of departure.

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[1]The post-Pisan Cantos bear this out : see *Hudson Review*, Vol. viii, No. I, Spring, 1955.
[2]*New Directions*, 1941
[3]Canto LXXIX : *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (Faber, 1954), pp. 520–1

The example from Pound is probably enough to indicate what I mean by *function* in this context but at the risk of tedium I propose to offer one more instance : the second stanza of Allen Tate's *Ode to the Confederate Dead.*[1]

> Autumn is desolation in the plot
> Of a thousand acres where these memories grow
> From the inexhaustible bodies that are not
> Dead, but feed the grass row after rich row.
> Think of the autumns that have come and gone !—
> Ambitious November with the humors of the year,
> With a particular zeal for every slab,
> Staining the uncomfortable angels that rot
> On the slabs, a wing chipped here, an arm there :
> The brute curiosity of an angel's stare
> Turns you, like them, to stone,
> Transforms the heavier air
> Till plunged to a heavier world below
> You shift your sea-space blindly
> Heaving, turning like the blind crab.

Of this, Tate himself has commented :—

> *There* is rhymed with *year* (to many persons, perhaps, only a half-rhyme), and I hoped the reader would unconsciously assume that he need not expect further use of that sound for some time. So when the line " The brute curiosity of an angel's stare " comes a moment later, rhyming with *year-there*, I hoped that the violence of image would be further reinforced by the repetition of a sound that was no longer expected. I wanted the shock to be heavy ; so I felt that I could not afford to hurry the reader away from it until he had received it in full. The next two lines carry on the image at a lower intensity : the rhyme, " Transforms the heaving *air*," prolongs the moment of attention upon that passage, while at the same time it ought to begin dissipating the shock, both by the introduction of a new image and by reduction of the ' meaning ' to a pattern of sound, the *ere*-rhymes. I calculated that the third use of that sound (*stare*) would be a surprise, the fourth a monotony. I purposely made the end words of the third from last and last lines—*—below* and *crab*—delayed rhymes for *row* and *slab*, the last being an internal and half-dissonant rhyme for the sake of bewilderment and incompleteness, qualities by which the man at the gate is at the moment possessed.[2]

It should also be noted that in the *Ode* as a whole a rhythm of formal regularity is used for that part which presents an heroic emotion, and a broken rhythm for the failure of that emotion.

[1] *Selected Poems* (Scribner's, 1937) Tate revised the poem for inclusion in *Poems, 1922–1947* (1948), but the second stanza was not changed

[2] ' Narcissus as Narcissus ' : *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Winter, 1938. Reprinted in *Reason in Madness*. (Putman's, 1941)

One has but to read *The Notebooks and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*[1] to see that he was fascinated by metrics, scansion and every other technical aspect of poetry : final evidence is provided by the poems themselves. Two statements are particularly revealing : the first from *Poetry and Verse* :—

> Poetry is speech framed for contemplation of the mind by the way of hearing or speech framed to be heard for its own sake and interest even over and above its interest of meaning. Some matter and meaning is essential to it but only as an element necessary to support and employ the shape which is contemplated for its own sake.[2]

And the second is a reference to *The Sea and the Skylark* in the letter to Bridges of 26 November 1882 :—

> It was written in my salad days, in my Welsh days, when I was fascinated with *cynghanedd* or consonant-chime, and, as in Welsh *englyns* ' the sense ', as one of themselves said, ' gets the worst of it '.[3]

After all that poetry has gone through during the past seventy years it is hardly necessary to point to the dangers in Hopkins's justification of word-pattern as an end in itself " over and above its interest of meaning ". In any event we are primarily concerned with the poems, which may still be good in spite of defective theory. I propose therefore to examine a few of these patterns and to assess their validity in specific cases.

The Interrupted Phrase

I think it is agreed that most of Hopkins's word-patterns derive from his study of Welsh poetry :[4] this was the precedent for his frequent omission of the article and the relative ; the use of compound words ; the device of placing a clause between the parts of a compound word or between noun and qualifying adjective, as in *The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air We Breathe* :—

> Or if there does some soft,
> On things aloof, aloft,
> Bloom breathe, that one breath more
> Earth is the fairer for.[5]

Here the words " soft bloom ", which in their normal association tend to share a single emphasis, are individually emphasized by being separated ; and yet the rhetorical structure holds, because the syntax

[1] Edited by Humphrey House (Oxford University Press, 1937)
[2] *ibid.*, p. 249
[3] *The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges.* Edited by Claude Colleer Abbott. (Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 163
[4] See Gweneth Lilly : ' The Welsh Influence in the poetry of Hopkins ' : *Modern Language Review*, July, 1943
[5] All quotations from the poems are from the third edition. (Oxford University Press, 1948)

is strong enough to carry the interpolation. On the other hand, no syntax is strong enough to bear the parenthesis in *Tom's Garland* :—

> . . . Low be it : lustily he his low lot (feel
> That ne'er need hunger, Tom ; Tom seldom sick,
> Seldomer heartsore ; that treads through, prickproof, thick
> Thousands of thorns, thoughts) swings though . . .

Complex Alliteration

Stanza 7 of *The Wreck of the Deutschland* begins :—

> It dates from day
> Of his going in Galilee ;
> Warm-laid grave of a womb-life grey ;
> Manger, maiden's knee ;

This is a good example of technique being put to the service of a highly complex idea. " Warm " and " womb " through initial and final alliteration insist on coming together though syntactically unrelated : initial alliteration and vowel-identity relate " grave " to " grey " : a minor relationship is established by simple alliteration between " laid " and " life ". The effect of these relationships in a single line (where the basic syntax is complicated by sound-factors) is to suggest with tremendous force the mystery of Christ's adherence to the living death of bodily existence. The complex idea is arrived at by making a knot of the simple ideas, " warm womb " and " grey grave ".

Hopkins's alliteration is not always as constructive. Take, for instance, the sonnet *The Candle Indoors* :—

> Some candle clear burns somewhere I come by.
> I muse at how its being puts blissful back
> With yellowy moisture mild night's blear-all black,
> Or to-fro tender trambeams truckle at the eye.
> By that window what task what fingers ply,
> I plod wondering, a-wanting, just for lack
> Of answer the eagerer a-wanting Jessy or Jack
> There God to aggrandise, God to glorify.
>
> Come you indoors, come home ; your fading fire
> Mend first and vital candle in close heart's vault :
> You there are master, do your own desire ;
> What hinders ? Are you beam-blind, yet to a fault
> In a neighbour deft-handed ? are you that liar
> And, cast by conscience out, spendsavour salt ?

Alliteration forces on line 4 a degree of emphasis, of significance, which the simple meaning of the words cannot sustain: the attention which the line compels is left frustrated. Furthermore, this false significance reduces the impact of the spiritual meaning which grows through the sestet in the familiar Hopkins manner : there may,

indeed, be an " independent phonetic pleasure " in the alliterative sequence, but if so, we gain it at the expense of a greater rhetoric and coherence. The same criticism applies to " rook-racked, river-rounded " in *Duns Scotus's Oxford*, but not to " Of realty the rarest-veined unraveller " in the same poem : the climax needs this force and the assertion can bear it.

INTERNAL RHYME

In 1935 T. S. Eliot wrote :—

> The tendency of some of the best contemporary poetry is of course to dispense with rhyme altogether ; but some of those who do use it have used it here and there to make a pattern directly in contrast with the sense and rhythm pattern, to give a greater intricacy. Some of the internal rhyming of Hopkins is to the point. . . . This rhyme, which forms a pattern *against* the metric and sense pattern of the poem, may be either heavy or light—that is to say, either *heavier* or *lighter* than the other pattern. The two kinds, heavy and light, have doubtless different uses which remain to be explored.[1]

It seems to me that when in Hopkins the internal rhyming pattern is *heavier* than the sense pattern, there is grave risk of an uncreative distortion of language. I have in mind cases like *The Silver Jubilee* :—

Though no high-hung bells or din
Of braggart bugles cry it in—
    What is sound ? Nature's round
Makes the Silver Jubilee.

Five and twenty years have run
Since sacred fountains to the sun
    Sprang, that but now were shut,
Showering Silver Jubilee.

Feasts, when we shall fall asleep,
Shrewsbury may see others keep ;
    None but you this her true,
This her Silver Jubilee.

Not to-day we need lament
Your wealth of life is some way spent :
    Toil has shed round your head
Silver but for Jubilee.

Then for her whose velvet vales
Should have pealed with welcome, Wales,
    Let the chime of a rhyme
Utter Silver Jubilee.

In stanzas 1, 3, 4 and 5 the internal rhymes (line 3 in each case) follow the pattern of sense and work with it : but stanza 2 is quite differ-

[1]Introduction to *Selected Poems by Marianne Moore* (Faber and Faber, 1935) p. 10.

ent. Here in line 3 the internal rhyme *but-shut* relates these words in defiance of the natural relation of " shut " and " now " ; and for no valid rhetorical reason that I can find. Eliot's appeal to " greater intricacy " does not hold in this case since the utterance throughout the poem is deliberately simplified in metre and diction. When, in addition, the rhyme involves distortion of the natural way of speaking the line, a valid reason for the procedure seems necessary : I have failed to find any in this case.

Exactly the same rhyming arrangement is used in *Thee, God, I Come from, to Thee Go*, and this time with complete success :—

Thee, God, I come from, to thee go,
All day long I like fountain flow
From thy hand out, swayed about
Mote-like in thy mighty glow.

What I know of thee I bless,
As acknowledging thy stress
On my being and as seeing
Something of thy holiness.

Once I turned from thee and hid,
Bound on what thou hadst forbid ;
Sow the wind I would ; I sinned :
I repent of what I did.

Bad I am, but yet thy child.
Father, be thou reconciled,
Spare thou me, since I see
With thy might that thou art mild.

I have life before me still
And thy purpose to fulfil ;
Yea a debt to pay thee yet :
Help me, sir, and so I will.

But thou bidst, and just thou art,
Me show mercy from my heart
Towards my brother, every other
Man my mate and counterpart.

The internal rhymes in the first five stanzas (line 3 in each case) are at least indirectly constructive in that they point up a pattern which will become very important in the final stanza. In this case the contrived rhyming relationship between " brother " and " other " is a vital part

of the total meaning of the poem because it urges on the reader a sense of humanity, a feeling that in the sight of God 'every man is my brother'. It may be argued that *even by themselves* and forgetting all about rhyme the words mean this ; but there is an unparaphrasable increment of meaning which arises from the precise placing of "brother . . other," and which does not derive from any discursive source.

This notion may perhaps be denied ; and I value the point sufficiently to try to make it stick. In case the Hopkins pitch has been queered it might be a good idea to test the matter over new ground ; I suggest we have a look at the opening lines of Marianne Moore's *The Steeple-Jack* :—

> Dürer would have seen a reason for living
> in a town like this, with eight stranded whales
> to look at ; with the sweet sea air coming into your house
> on a fine day, from water etched
> with waves as formal as the scales
> on a fish.[1]

Even at the risk of parading the obvious I want to try to indicate the point of the rhymes in this passage ; for that they have a highly significant point I have no doubt whatever. In line 5 the imperfect rhyme *waves-scales* intensifies the likeness which is being suggested on a discursive level, by giving these terms the *additional* likenesses of sound and shape. In turn "scales" sends us back to "whales" in line 2 and the effect is to make the idea and the name hover by the side of the comparison. If it is true that the key-terms of the passage are Dürer, whales and waves, then the job of the rhymes is to help to form from these terms a remarkably delicate and subtle unity. They do something more : the job of syntax. Not only do they prevent the lines from sprawling *à la vers libre* ; by gaining for the poet our confidence in the degree of control and clarity which she possesses (she claims no more), they entice a corresponding confidence in what the poem 'says' : rhymed and unrhymed lines hold a graceful if precarious balance. Indeed, if in this context the reader finds an independent phonetic pleasure in the rhymes, that pleasure is more likely to derive from his recognition of the sheer coherence of the poem's tone and rhetoric : the rhymes are functional, not exhibitionist. As R. P. Blackmur says :—

> The business of rhythm is to move perception into meaning, and so to move meaning into words. The business of meter (the quantitative or numerical measure of words prescribed by laws only partly known) is to keep meaning in motion by giving the rhythm foot and hand holes on the up and down (the up *or* down) of the rock-face to be climbed or descended to reach the theoretic form of life we call poetry. Prosody—

[1] *Collected Poems* (Faber and Faber, 1951), p. 13

the precise and loving care of the motion of meaning in language—is of first but not necessarily conscious importance.[1]

Blackmur has in mind lines like Yeats's

> O body swayed to music, O brightening glance,
> How can we know the dancer from the dance?[2]

of which he says :—

> I submit that in these lines the sensibility has disappeared into the words and the words have disappeared into what is sung, and nothing forgot. *Nothing forgot* because the meter is so united with the rhythm that the quality of the act of perception is united with the urgency of the thing perceived.[3]

Distortion : functional or gratuitous

Even at this stage I think it must be conceded that one cannot simply say, as Gweneth Lilly does, that " sound in Hopkins is rarely, if ever, independent of the meaning " or that " his vocalic correspondences are wholly organic ".[4] One cannot generalize about a problem of this kind : one can only point to certain poems in which ' technique ' is organic and to other poems in which it is not. A similar critical difficulty emerges when we examine the following statement by T. S. Eliot :—

> In most kinds of poetry, the necessity for its reminding us of contemporary speech is reduced by the latitude allowed for personal idiosyncrasy : a poem by Gerard Hopkins, for instance, may sound pretty remote from the way in which you and I express ourselves—or rather, from the way in which our fathers and grandfathers expressed themselves : but Hopkins does give the impression that his poetry has the necessary fidelity to *his* way of thinking and talking to himself.[5]

Or this one by Arthur Mizener :—

> However much Hopkins crowded a sentence with repetitions, it never lost the cadence of actual speech ; the sound of the voice speaking it is always there in the reader's ear to give the poems their incomparable immediacy.[6]

The question of the relation of Hopkins's poems to human speech is not of itself a live issue ; because that question is far wider than any

[1] *Language as Gesture* (London : Allen and Unwin, 1954), p. 427
[2] ' Among School Children ' : *The Tower* (Macmillan, 1928), p. 60
[3] Blackmur, *op. cit.*, p. 430
[4] Gweneth Lilly, *op. cit.*
[5] ' The Music of Poetry ' : *Selected Prose* (Penguin Books, 1953), p. 61.
[6] *Gerard Manley Hopkins* by the Kenyon Critics (New Directions, 1945), p. 108 : quoted by Yvor Winters, *Hudson Review*, Winter, 1949.

individual case. What we have to decide, in cases in which the natural speaking rhythm of the words has clearly been flouted, is whether the end justifies the means: the case for *functional* distortion is, in my opinion, impregnable. Take, for instance, this passage towards the end of *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves* :—

> . . . Oúr tale, O oúr oracle ! Lét life, wáned,
> ah lét life wind
> Off hér once skéined stained véined varíety upon, áll on twó
> spools ; párt, pen, páck
> Now her áll in twó flocks, twó folds—black, white ; right,
> wrong ; reckon but, reck but, mind
> But thése two ; wáre of a wórld where bút these twó tell, each
> off the óther ; of a rack
> Where, selfwrung, selfstrung, sheathe—and shelterless, thóughts
> agaínst thoughts ín groans grínd.

I think it will be agreed that if Hopkins had not marked the stresses he wanted, most readers would have read the lines quite differently : it would not have occurred to anyone to read the last line, for instance, in the precise way which the poet indicated. The natural rhythm of the last phrase would obviously be : " thóughts against thóughts in gróans grínd ". But here Hopkins was right : the deliberate forcing of the scansion against the normal stress of the words compels a feeling of strain, of violence, which is an important part of the *meaning* of the lines : the contrived rhythm and the remembered natural rhythm *grind* against each other ; not supplementing the achieved meaning of the words but creating a complex meaning for which the words alone are inadequate. What the contrived rhythm contributes is the untranslatable part of that complex meaning.

If we could agree on some such test in cases of language-distortion, I think we could then more profitably discuss individual instances. Referring to the lines from *Spring and Fall* :—

> Now no matter, child, the name :
> Sórrows springs áre the same. . . .

William Empson comments :—

> It seems difficult to enjoy the accent on *are*, which the poet has inserted ; I take it to mean : ' Sorrow's springs, always the same, independent of our attitude to them and of our degree of consciousness of them, exist', permanently and as it were absolutely.[1]

[1] *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. (Chatto and Windus, third edition, 1953), pp. 148–9.

Whether or not we *enjoy* the accent is quite irrelevant : the sprung rhythm of the second line is successfully used (as a variant on the normal trochaic seven-syllabled line) because the omission of the expected unaccented syllable after " springs " lengthens out that word and therefore gives it an extra emphasis which it can well bear. Not only that ; the accenting of " are " gives the assertion its necessary strength, its dogmatism. Similarly with Hopkins's accent on " will " in line 9 and on " is " in line 14 of the same poem.

There is no point, however, in evading the fact that several of Hopkins's markings are simply gratuitous. I can see no merit whatever in the indicated reading of the last line of *The Lantern Out of Doors* :—

> Christ minds ; Christ's interest, what to avow or amend
> There, éyes them, heart wánts, care háunts, foot fóllows kínd,
> Their ránsom, théir rescue, ánd first, fást, last friénd.

In this case the significance of the alliterative relation of " ransom-rescue " is thwarted by the displacement of the natural accent from " rescue " to " their " : the feeling of violence which results, far from helping the poem's rhetoric, works *against* that rhetoric by conflicting with what the words *say*. Here again the rhythm pulls loose from the words and causes nothing but confusion : the poetry suffers.

I hope it is clear that the reasons for writing this essay do not include a desire to cast doubt on Hopkins's achievement : there is no question of that. It is true, however, that I disapprove of the total and unqualified assent to Hopkins which characterizes such studies as Sir Herbert Read's *The True Voice of Feeling*,[1] books which do not appear to recognize that Hopkins bought sprung rhythm at a considerable price. I have tried to prove that it is not *possible* to say, simply and blithely, that :—

> Hopkins understood the technique of English poetry as no poet since Dryden had understood it.[2]

There is a lot more to it than that. Indeed it requires no great insight to see that the example of Hopkins (the good and the bad in it) has been commonly misunderstood. Cecil Day Lewis, for instance, in a broadcast-talk on *Some Influences on Modern Poetry*,[3] said :—

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[1]Faber and Faber, 1953.

[2]Herbert Read : *A Coat of Many Colours*. (Routledge, 1945), p. 160.

[3]*The Listener*, 29 January, 1953, p. 186.

Here are two pieces of contemporary verse, which would not have taken the form they have taken if Hopkins had not written, yet show his influence thoroughly assimilated. First, a passage from *Europa and the Bull*, by W. R. Rodgers :—

> But look ! the Bull ! indubitably bull,
> Elbowing slowly through the obeisant herd,
> Blazing and bellowing. His massy head,
> Laden like a dahlia, dallied and swung,
> And his vast eye slid to and fro as sharp
> And glaucous as sea-holly, salting all
> Their thoughts with suddenness. They hardly knew
> What most to admire : but most his hub of power
> And circumambience of gentleness
> Delighted them. Arms curved and craved to stroke
> His milky sides, insidiously veined
> With watery blues and bloody ivyings.
> But how describe him ? words can only add
> To lightning the thunder's redundancy.
> He was most godlike and most temperate.

There is no point in quoting Mr Day Lewis's second example, the sonnet *To My Mother*, by George Barker. That verse such as the passage from *Europa and the Bull* is offered as an example of the influence of Hopkins " thoroughly assimilated " I find deeply depressing. That the poems of Hopkins have been read so uncritically as to give rise to lines like the first three in the *Europa* passage (" Look what I can do with the letter B") is the most dismal fact of all and the real justification for the present essay. Until the example of Hopkins has been thoroughly understood in all its complexity, we are unlikely to be spared the exhibitionist capers of a passage like this : (" Letter S this time, watch ! ") :—

> Slow, slow, slow, with bubble-pause and slide,
> He paced before Europa there, and she
> As if with shivering drew her shoulders now
> Shyly about her, yet she shivered still.
> Never did shadow so shimmer with midges
> As she with switherings. Should she go ?
> Or no ?

Father Athanasius Kircher, S.J.

MASTER OF AN HUNDRED ARTS

by CONOR REILLY, S.J.

THE roll-call of men of science in the seventeenth century is long and impressive. The names of William Harvey, John Kepler, Francis Bacon, Galileo Galilei, Robert Boyle, René Descartes and Isaac Newton catch the eye as one reads down the list. These are the men who did so much to bring modern science to birth. They were men of genius and their glory has not faded in the last three centuries, though science in its advance has made obsolete portions of their work. Biographies of Boyle, Bacon, Newton and the others have been numerous ; their works have been reprinted and re-edited ; and in histories of science it is they who receive the greatest attention. This is only to be expected for it is the fame of the masters that first attracts the historian ; and the history of science is as yet in its infancy.

The full story of the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century has not yet been written ; it will not be completed until the contribution of the lesser as well as of the greater scientists has been studied and analysed. Until we know more about these men who were often the real pioneers of the revolution, but whose achievements have been eclipsed by the brilliance of others ; until the work of Hooke, Huygens, Gassendi, Sanctorius, Mersenne, Stensen, and of other little-known investigators has been properly assessed, the picture will remain a mere outline sketch.

Much has been done, and is being done in this regard and the findings have been rewarding and illuminating. But there is one group of seventeenth century scientists whose works and achievements remain neglected, and whose names seldom appear in histories of science. These are the Jesuit scientists, in their day highly honoured, who did so much to stimulate the birth of our present-day science. Few of their works have been re-edited ; seldom have critical examinations of their discoveries been attempted, yet these were men who, as Francis Bacon wrote, " partly in themselves, and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning "[1]. Boyle, who displayed a close acquaintance with the works of " these eminent scholars . . . . of the most learned order of the Jesuits . . . . divers of whom for their eminence in mathematicks

[1] Bacon, Francis : *The Advancement of learning*, Book I, p. 15 in the 1843 edition of the *Works of Lord Bacon*, London.

and other learnings I much esteem "[1], refers to " Clavius, and divers others (who) have as prosperously addicted themselves to mathematicks as to divinity. And as to physics, not only Scheiner, Aquilonius, Kircher, Schottus, Zucchius and others have very laudably cultivated the optical as well as other parts of philosophy ; but Ricciolus himself is not only a divine, but a professor of divinity "[2].

To-day these Jesuit scientist-divines are hardly remembered. They are not, as Boyle felt they should be, ranked with Galileo, Huygens, Descartes, Kepler and Pascal. The work of Clavius in undertaking the reform of the calendar for Pope Gregory XIII, the researches of Scheiner and Aquilonius on light, of Ricciolus on problems of astronomy, of Schottus on hydraulics, and of Kircher on subjects ranging from harmonics and acoustics to chemistry and medicine, played a significant part in the early scientific revolution. Only detailed and critical study will reveal the true value of these contributions.

Athanasius Kircher seems to hold the most honourable place among these scientists of the Society of Jesus. It is not for the brilliance of his intellect, nor for the actual value of his achievements (Clavius and Scheiner did work of far more permanent value) but for the universality of his learning and for his far-reaching influence among scientists of his day, that he merits this ranking. Not alone does Boyle quote frequently and with much deference from Kircher's works, but his ideas find their place in the writings of René Descartes, Robert Hooke, Nicholas Stensen, Gottfried Leibnitz and many other scientists and philosophers of the seventeenth century. Catholics and anti-catholics referred to his works, not always with the approval Boyle manifested, but in each case showing the international influence of this Jesuit.

Kircher's life as a scientist spanned the period from the death of Francis Bacon, 1626, to what has been described as " one of the greatest decades, if not the very climax, of the scientific revolution "[3]—the decade in which Isaac Newton published his *Principia* (1687). Kircher was a scholastic, an ardent Aristotelian ; he was also a keen experimenter, fully open to modern ideas and progress. He stands as a link between medieval and modern science, quick to accept or to criticize what he found worthy of praise or blame in the science of the two periods. His own investigations were valuable and assisted others to make progress ; but his main success seems to have been as a collector of scientific facts and materials, an encyclopaedist. It was in thus facilitating a wide diffusion of ancient and modern knowledge, in stimulating thought and discussion by his vast collections of scientific information, that Kircher deserves a place among the " fathers " of modern science.

[1] Boyle, R. : *Defence of the Doctrine touching the Spring and Weight of Air,* in Vol. I, p. 120 of *Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle,* ed. Birch, London, 1773.
[2] Boyle, R. : *The Excellence of Theology* in *Works,* Vol. IV, p. 62.
[3] Butterfield, H. : *The Origins of Modern Science,* p. 138, London, 1951.

It is true that this has not always been the view expressed on his life and labours. Some would have us believe that his influence on his contemporaries was nil[1]. Let his life and works refute this accusation.

" I was born " wrote Kircher in his autobiography[2], " at three o'clock in the morning on the second day of May, the feast of St Athanasius, 1602 . . . . . in Geysa, a town three hours journey distant from Fulda. It was a year of general calamity in the world ". The Germany into which he was born was indeed a country of calamity, where the political and religious tensions that finally led to the Thirty Years War were causing unrest and hatred and bloodshed. John Kircher, Athanasius's father, a loyal and devoted Catholic and a distinguished scholar, had already suffered much for his faith at the hands of the heretics. A lay doctor of divinity and former professor of theology at Seiligenstadt, he had been appointed councillor to the Prince-Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar of Dermbach. However the Prince-Abbot had been driven into exile by the heretics and John Kircher, expelled from his office, had retired to Geysa and there devoted himself to study and to the education of his children. Athanasius grew up in a scholarly atmosphere and was early introduced by his father to the study of the classics, mathematics and music.

The boy first came into contact with the Society of Jesus when he was sent to the college of the Order at Fulda. It would appear that he showed little signs of precocious genius in his schooldays ; he was more interested in sport than in study. Later, on his first application for admission to the Society of Jesus, he was to be refused on the grounds of insufficient mental ability. The " universal genius ", as he came to be called in adult life, seems to have been slow in developing his talents.

Several accidents helped to sober the lively schoolboy, and gave his father the opportunity to point out to his wayward son the moral in all these occurences. One was the near escape from drowning when Athanasius, while swimming in a forbidden pool, was swept down a mill-race and under a mill wheel ; another time it was an almost miraculous escape from being trampled to death, when, having worked his way to the front of a great crowd of onlookers, he was pushed out into the path of racing horses ; finally there was the severe accident, resulting in a hernia, which came from an abortive attempt to show his skill in ice skating.

These boyhood accidents made Athanasius acutely conscious of the protection of divine Providence and soon he began to think seriously of devoting his life to God in religion. His first attempt to enter the

[1] A particular example of this attitude is found in Goldsmith, M. : *The Road to Penicillin*, London, 1946, p. 53, where it is stated that " Kircher never really emancipated himself from his scholastic background ; he knew too much about too many things to be absolutely objective in his observations ".

[2] Kircher, A. : *Vita a semetipso scripta*, ed. by Langenmantel, 1684, p. 4.

Society of Jesus failed. He persisted, however in his endeavour, and finally in October, 1618, was admitted to the Novitiate at Paderborn. Fear that he would again be refused admission had made him conceal the fact that not alone was he suffering from the hernia contracted in the previous winter, but that also his legs were seriously gangrened. This he attributed to " the long hours and late nights I had spent at my studies in the same bitter winter weather "[1], trying to make sure that he would not again be turned away for lack of mental ability.

His joy at entering the Novitiate did not last long. As he says himself, " the ills from which I was suffering forced me to walk with tottering steps. My superiors immediately noticed this, and I was obliged to tell the whole story. A surgeon was called in. He was horrified at the state of my legs . . . . . and pronounced me incurable . . . . . I was told that since no medical attention could do me any good, I would be sent home from the Novitiate if I did not get better within a month "[2].

Kircher even now was a man of prayer, and pray he did with all his young fervour to the Blessed Virgin. Within a few days, not only had the hernia been cured, but his legs were perfectly sound. Kircher felt that it was a miracle ; the surgeon confessed so too, and the story has come down in Jesuit tradition that Our Lady, through her ancient and much venerated statue in the church at Paderborn, had performed just one more of her miraculous cures[3].

It was at the beginning of his course of philosophy in 1620 that Kircher began to show the first signs of his extraordinary mental ability. He was not given much time, however, to develop these powers, for hardly had he begun the study of physics when, in 1621, the storm of the Thirty Years War broke over Paderborn. The heretical bishop of Halberstadt swept down on Westphalia with a strong army, laying waste the countryside. The college at Paderborn was dissolved before the advance of this self-professed " supreme hater of Jesuits " ; it was only with difficulty that its eighty scholastics and fathers managed to evade the bishop's troops. Ill-prepared for the journey, without food or clothing to protect them from the winter cold, Kircher and three companions set out for Cologne.

He could never forget the sufferings of that journey. Snow was deep on the roads, and in the war-devastated countryside the young Jesuits could find little food or shelter. Exhausted and hungry they finally reached the Rhine. The river was frozen over. On the advice of the local people, who took them for deserters from one of the warring armies, they began to cross the ice. It seemed quite solid but Kircher,

[1] *ibid* : p. 10.
[2] *ibid* : p. 11.
[3] *ibid* : p. 12.

who was leading the way, suddenly saw open water before him. He turned back, but a gap had opened between him and his companions ; he was trapped on an island of ice. The river current caught the floe on which he stood and swung it out into midstream. His companions could do nothing to help : they implored God and His Blessed Mother to save him ; they watched as he was swept along, until he was out of sight ; then they crossed the river at another point and made their way to a Jesuit College on the west bank of the Rhine.

Hours later, stiff and blue and bruised and bleeding, Kircher struggled up to the door of the college. To the joy of his companions, who had been praying for the repose of his soul, he told how his ice-floe had been jammed among others down stream, permitting him to clamber along towards the further shore. He had had to swim a wide gap before he finally reached dry land.

Kircher suffered no ill effects from his terrible ordeal, and was able, after some days of rest, to proceed to Cologne, where he resumed and completed his course of philosophy.

From Cologne he went to Coblenz to begin the study of Classics, modern languages and mathematics. He was appointed professor of Greek, and was soon highly esteemed for his talent as a teacher. His great natural bent for mathematics and physics also became apparent during this period, and he began to devote himself in earnest to these subjects. In 1624 Kircher was sent to teach in the Jesuit college at Heligenstadt in Saxony. During his stay there he came to the notice of the Archbishop of Mainz through an elaborate " scenic display " which he arranged to entertain the Archbishop's legates. This " display " seems to have been some type of scientific conjuring, a show of mechanical and pyrotechnical novelties, which greatly impressed his audience. The Archbishop sent for Kircher and appointed him his mathematician and surveyor. His duties were to make maps of all the Archbishop's domains ; he carried out this work with much success, but it came to an end soon afterwards with the death of the Archbishop. Kircher was recalled by his superiors and sent to begin the study of theology at Mainz.

It was while at Mainz that Kircher made an extremely interesting and significant observation. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1625, he looked at the sun for the first time through an astronomical telescope. " As he looked at the billowing sea of flame, and saw it disturbed by flecks and spots, which now formed and now disappeared, he was filled with amazement and wonder. From that time astronomy remained his favourite study "[1]. In commenting on this astounding observation he came to the conclusion that the sun was made of the same elements as was our earth, not of the unchanging quintessence of the ancients.

[1] Brischar, K. : *P. Athanasius Kircher, Ein Lebensbild,* Würzburg, 1887, p. 29.

When it is remembered that at the time the struggle between the Copernican and the Ptolemaic theories of the universe was still undecided, and that it was only nine years since the first trial and condemnation of Galileo, the significance of Kircher's conclusion is realized.

Kircher was ordained priest in 1628. By this time his talents were recognized by all : his knowledge of the classics and of modern languages was very extensive, and he had also spent several years in studying various oriental tongues. He was a skilled mathematician and physicist and, in Mainz, had made a name for himself as an experimentor. Now he was stimulated to further study in yet another branch of knowledge.

He discovered in the library of the Jesuit house at Speyer some books of illustrations of Egyptian obelisks. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the obelisks interested him greatly : they presented a challenge which Kircher accepted. Thus began another of his life-long interests. Later, in Rome, he was to be appointed by several different Popes and Cardinals to the task of deciphering and restoring various Egyptian obelisks. It appears that he acquitted himself of these charges much to the satisfaction of his contemporaries. Modern Egyptologists have not the same respect for Kircher's attempts at hieroglyphic interpretation. In fact, until the discovery of the Rosetta stone in 1779, all such attempts were foredoomed to failure, since it was believed that the hieroglyphics were ideographs, while in fact they were alphabetical.

From Speyer Kircher was sent to Würzburg where he was to teach two very unrelated subjects, mathematics and the Syrian language. Here, too, he began to write his scientific treatise, "*Ars Magnesia : Experimentalis physico-mathematica de natura, viribus, et prodigiosis effectibus magnetis*", a study of magnetism, published in 1629. This book was the first of a long series of works on natural science which Kircher was to produce in the next half century.

The Thirty Years war was still devastating Germany. In October, 1630, a sudden attack by the Swedish army under Gustavus Adolphus took Franconia by surprise, and soon the enemy were marching on Würzburg. The Jesuit college was closed and its members scattered. With considerable difficulty Kircher made his way to Mainz and thence back to Speyer. But not even here could he find peace for his studies. Finally he was forced to leave his fatherland and go into exile in France. After a short stay in Paris, Kircher moved on to Avignon where he taught mathematics and oriental languages in the Jesuit College.

He now had the good fortune to meet Nicholas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, a brilliant scholar and patron of learning, who shared his interest in oriental languages and Egyptian hieroglyphics. De Peiresc opened his library and gave every other assistance he could to the Jesuit. It seemed that at last Kircher had found a haven in which to pursue his studies. However, his superiors directed him to set out for Vienna,

where the Emperor had personally asked to have him appointed mathematician. "When de Peiresc heard of this", records Kircher, "he left no stone unturned to prevent my going. He was afraid that if I were occupied with mathematical studies at the Court of Vienna, I would neglect my studies on hieroglyphics. He sent urgent letters to Rome, both to the Pope, Urban VIII, and to his friend Cardinal Barberrini, begging them to forbid me to go to Austria, and to call me to Rome instead"[1]. Before de Peiresc received a reply from Rome, Kircher was already on the road for Vienna.

To avoid the dangers of war-torn Germany he decided to travel by sea to Genoa. From there he would go overland through northern Italy to Austria. But Providence had other plans for him. The little coastal vessel on which he embarked at Marseilles made little headway because of contrary winds. After sheltering in the lee of an island for some days, the captain lost patience. Disregarding the still unsettled weather he decided to put to sea. To the sea-sick landlubber, Kircher, this resolve must have seemed foolhardy, especially as the storm continued to increase in fury. "The wind howled from the south", he records, "and the sea arose in mountainous waves. However, with courage that inspired all, the captain held to his course. But soon we were reduced to terrible straits and the ship was no longer able to resist the violence of the waves. These were so terrible that you could not look on them without being filled with fear. We did our best to keep on bailing out the water as it poured into the ship. All were desperate, and tried to gain Divine help by going to confession and making vows to the Blessed Virgin"[2].

Darkness fell; not even the moon gave its light; but the pilot kept his head. He remembered that there was a cavern on the nearby coast, which opened on to the sea, and hoped that it might give them shelter if he were able to get the vessel through the narrow entrance.

"Completely ignorant of the dangerous resolve of the pilot, we approached the cavern. Every now and again the waves would roll up and cover its entrance and then recede and expose it once more. Coolly, and certainly with the help of his guardian angel, the pilot watched the waves roll back. Then swiftly he turned the vessel and was swept by the force of the next wave right into the cavern. It was more by the help of God, than by the skill of man, that he managed this feat, for otherwise the ship would have been swamped at the entrance and we would all have been smashed to death on the rocks".[3]

After further adventures the weary travellers finally reached the port of Civita Vecchia. Here, to his great surprise, Kircher found

[1] Kircher, A.: *Vita*, p. 29.
[2] *ibid*: p. 30.
[3] *ibid*: p. 31.

letters awaiting him with orders to abandon his Austrian journey and proceed to Rome. De Peiresc had succeeded in his endeavour and Kircher's appointment as Court Mathematician at Vienna had been cancelled. At the command of the Pope he was to devote himself to the study of ancient languages and of natural science in " the City ".

The Roman College of the Society of Jesus which opened its doors to Kircher in early 1634 had been in existence for more than eighty years. Founded through the generosity of the Duke of Gandia, Saint Francis Borgia, the college had already made a name for itself in the world of learning. It has continued its honourable and successful history to the present day, and is now known as the Gregorian University of Rome.

Kircher's duties at the Roman College were to lecture in natural history and to carry out researches on the interpretation of hieroglyphics and on problems of mathematics. Within a few years he was freed by order of the Pope, from his lecturing post, so that he might have leisure to apply himself fully to his scientific research.

Kircher lived in Rome for the remainder of his life, except for two years spent in Malta as Confessor to the Papal legate. His return journey from Malta through Southern Italy coincided with a period of violent earthquakes and volcanic activity in the region. Stromboli and Vesuvius poured molten lava and ash on the surrounding countryside. Though Kircher was little prepared by his own solid fatherland for such phenomena of nature, and had been shaken by a narrow escape from death during one eruption, he made full use of his opportunity for ' on the spot ' scientific observations. He spent some time studying the cause and effects of volcanoes. His interest even led him to have himself lowered on the end of a rope into the now quiet but still smoking crater of Vesuvius, to see for himself what this outlet of subterranean fire might be like. As a result of these investigations he wrote *Mundus Subterraneus*[1].

Mundus Subterraneus deals with everything that is to be found under the earth, with volcanoes, earthquakes, underground rivers and lakes, minerals and underground animals, plants, and even, underground men. It is an enormous work, divided into twelve " books ", containing not only the results of Kircher's own investigations, but also all the information he was able to collect from ancient and modern authors. It is extremely well illustrated, some of the beautiful engravings showing techniques of mining and metallurgical operations. The eleventh book, *De Alchemia* is of particular interest and deserves special attention here.

Kircher justifies the inclusion of a section on alchemy in *Mundus Subterraneus* on the grounds that all alchemy, even the pseudo-science

[1] Kircher, A. : *Mundus Subterraneus*. Quotations are from the third ed. published in Amsterdam, 1678.

of the seekers of the Philosophers' Stone, is derived from the ancient and honourable science of metallurgy, a science which draws its material from underground. In fact, he says, metallurgy is the " prima alchemia " while the two other branches, " alchemia transmutatoria " and " chymia spagyrica " or " chemistria " are later developments of the " alchemia metallurgica "[1].

The most important point about this book is that it was published in 1665, four years after Robert Boyle had given to the world his revolutionary *Sceptical Chymist*. Boyle's intention was to stop " learned men " from taking all the ancient teaching on chemistry for granted ; to show that certain of the traditional doctrines of qualities and principles were unsound, to lead chemists to investigate and make experiments for themselves, and thus to put chemistry on a sound scientific footing. He criticized the Aristotelian teachings on the four elements and the three principles, and questioned whether salt, sulphur and mercury were the real basis of all other substances. By his scepticism Boyle put chemistry on the road to its present-day high status[2].

Kircher held firmly to the Aristotelian doctrines, but this did not make him less a " modern " than was Boyle. His purpose, he said, was " to separate truth from falsehood, the licit from the illicit, the honest from the fraudulent . . . . so that learned men, both physicians and philosophers, when they have examined these matters and experiments, may, along with me, be able to discern truth from falsehood "[3]. By descriptions of his own skilful experiments and by examination and criticism of the writings of others, Kircher builds up an excellent picture of the state of chemistry in his day. A detailed examination of his work would be out of place here. Suffice it to say that Kircher could share with Boyle, not alone the title " sceptical chymist ", but also that of " father of modern science ".

A brief account of some of Kircher's other books will give an idea of his vast erudition and of the breadth of his interests. In 1638 he published in Rome a second treatise on magnetism. Several books on eastern languages, on archaeology and on Egyptian hieroglyphics appeared in the following years. The most famous of these, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652) embodies the results of twenty years of research on hieroglyphics. His work on music, *Musurgia Universalis* was published in Rome in 1650 and in Amsterdam in 1662. As well as dealing with the theory of sound and acoustics, the book contains selections from the works of little-known seventeenth century musicians. Here also Kircher describes a mathematical method of learning music—a method which Robert Hooke was to criticize in a letter to Boyle some years

[1] Kircher, A. : *Mundus Subterraneus*, p. 250 and 251.
[2] Boyle, R. : *The Sceptical Chymist, Works*, Vol. I, p. 459ff.
[3] Kircher, A. : *Mundus Subterraneus*, p. 249.

later[1]. A book on light and shadow was also published at Rome and Amsterdam. It contains an interesting description, as well as illustrations, of an early type of " magic lantern " built by Kircher.

In *Arca Noë,* a book on animals of the time of the Great Deluge, Kircher expressed his belief that our modern species had developed by transmutation within definite series of forms. Biologists of later centuries commented on this remarkably progressive view on the evolution of species[2].

In 1656 bubonic plague, which had already ravaged Southern Italy, reached Rome. Thousands fled from the city to avoid the contagion. Of those who remained fifteen thousand perished, despite the efforts of the health authorities, directed by the Pope in person[3]. The Jesuits and the other religious of Rome laboured unceasingly to help the plague victims. Kircher applied his scientific skill to finding some remedy for the disease. With the assistance of the doctors of Rome he examined numbers of patients, suggesting cures and treatments. Moreover, using the primitive microscopes at his disposal, he examined blood samples from infected persons. He came to the conclusion that " the carriers of plague are tiny worms (vermiculi), so small, fine and subtile, that they can only be recognized through a very good microscope "[4]. He suggested that the plague was spread by contact between persons, or by cats and dogs and even by flies and other insects. Kircher published the results of these investigations in a book entitled *Scrutinum Physico-medicum contagiosae Luis, quae Pestis dicitur* (Rome, 1658).

It is true that what Kircher saw through his microscope may have been blood corpuscles or even insect larvae, and not bacteria, but his book nevertheless contains an excellent résumé of all that was then known of the plague. Moreover its sections on the spread of the disease were most valuable and far in advance of much that had been written on the subject until that time.

Among other works published by Kircher in these years is one which reveals a further interest of this universal scholar. This is *China Monumentis Illustrata,* in which he edited the notes of several great Jesuit missionaries, including those of Fathers Roth and Grueber. Father Grueber's account of his overland journey from Peking to Smyrna, " the greatest missionary journey in the history of the Jesuit missions "[5], is given in part, as well as a Sanskrit grammar compiled by Fr Roth,

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[1] Hooke, R. : Letter to Boyle in *Works,* Vol. VI, p. 495.

[2] Kircher, A. : *Arca Noë,* Amsterdam, 1667, p. 196. See also, Wasmann, E. : *Modern Biology and the Theory of Evolution,* London, 1923, p. 276.

[3] Pastor, L. : *The History of the Popes,* Vol. XXXVI, c. 1.

[4] Kircher, A. : *Scrutinum,* pubd. in Rome, 1658, cf. p. 141.

[5] Plattner, F. : *Jesuits go East,* Dublin, 1950, p. 187.

the first to be published in Europe. Kircher's book created a great stir among scholars and was soon translated into many languages[1].

Reference has already been made to the interest displayed by Robert Boyle in Kircher's studies. In later life, through friends visiting Rome, Boyle established contact with Kircher and sent him enquiries and greetings[2]. He became a correspondent of one of Kircher's former assistants, Fr Kaspar Schott, S.J., who was at the time professor of physics at Augsburg. With Boyle's permission Schott incorporated one of the English scientist's pneumatical works into a treatise on mechanics, which also contained a section by Kircher[3].

Kircher's contacts with the Royal Society in London were twofold : extracts as well as reviews of some of his works were published in the early numbers of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Society[4]. Some years later he had a controversy with the Society with regard to the priority of invention of some peculiar instruments. Samuel Moreland, F.R.S., had demonstrated before the Society a type of speaking-tube or megaphone, and had been acclaimed in the *Transactions* as the inventor of the instrument[5]. Kircher maintained that he had published an account of this very instrument some twenty years before Moreland's demonstration. His claim, backed up by the testimonies of many other scientists, was printed in a book entitled *Phonurgia Nova,* which was an amplification of his earlier work *Musurgia Universalis*[6].

In his fifty years at Rome Kircher produced about forty books on scientific matters, as well as a number of papers and smaller works on a variety of non-scientific subjects. He also founded a museum which was reckoned one of the great scientific museums of the world until its dispersion in 1870[7]. His ceaseless investigations, his many commissions from Popes, prelates and princes won him the titles of " universal genius " and " master of an hundred arts ".

But there is another facet of his character which has not yet been discussed. Kircher was a zealous priest, eager to spread the Kingdom

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[1] It was translated into English by a certain John Ogilby and was reproduced in part in Nieuhof, J. : *An Embassy of the East India Company . . . to the Emperor of China . .* , London, 1669. Russian, French and Dutch translations were also published.

[2] Southwell, R. : Letter to Robert Boyle in *Works,* Vol. VI, p. 299.

[3] Schottus, K. : *Mechanica Hydraulica-pneumatica,* Leipzig, 1657. Boyle, R. : Minutes of a letter to Schottus in *Works,* Vol. VI, p. 299.

[4] *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (London),* Vol. I, *4o,* 1665, contains a translation of an extract from *Mundus Subterraneus* entitled *An Experiment of a Way of Preparing a liquor that shall sink into and colour the whole body of Marble . .* In the same volume is a review of *Mundus Subterraneus* itself. Volume II (1667), p. 484, has a review of *China Monumentis Illustrata* and volume IV (1669), p. 1093, a review of Kircher's book *Ars Magna Sciendi* which was published in Amsterdam in 1669.

[5] *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. (Lond.),* 1672, *VI,* 3056.

[6] Kircher, A. : *Phonurgia Nova,* Rome, 1673.

[7] Murray towards the end of the last century described the Kircherian Museum of the Roman College as " one of the great museums of the world ". *Museums—their History and Uses,* Glasgow, 1904, p. 106.

of Christ in Europe and in missionary lands. At one time he had hoped to spend his life on the Chinese mission, using his scientific skill as Ricci and Schall had done, as a passport to the " Forbidden Empire ". His superiors had decided that he would serve God better by dedicating himself to study at home and Kircher humbly accepted that decision.

Towards the end of his life he had the opportunity of exercising his apostolic zeal in a manner, not as spectacular, but yet in the same spirit, as his brethren in missionary lands. During an archaeological field-trip he discovered an ancient shrine of Our Lady in the Sabine Hills near Rome. This shrine of Our Lady of Mentorella had originally been erected by order of the Emperor Constantine the Great in the fourth century, but after great initial devotion it had been forgotten by people. By the seventeenth century it was neglected and crumbling into ruins. With the financial help of his patrons and with the blessing of the Pope, Kircher had the church renovated and its ancient statue of Our Lady restored and decorated. Soon crowds were again flocking to the shrine. Kircher devoted much of his later years to the service of the shrine, frequently saying Mass there, organizing pilgrimages, hearing confessions, and preaching. To-day the shrine still stands as a memorial to Kircher the priest.

At the age of seventy-nine, on 28 November 1680, Athanasius Kircher died at Rome. The Pope, Princes of the Church and State, scholars, the people who had grown to love him at Mentorella and his brethren in many lands lamented the passing of this great man. At his special request his heart was buried at the foot of the statue of Our Lady of Mentorella, as a sign of the spirit of devotion and love and dedication which had animated his years of study.

The life of Athanasius Kircher brings out clearly two important points. It exemplifies the labours and achievements of the Jesuit scientists of the seventeenth century, and justifies their inclusion among the pioneers of modern science. It also shows that scholars of the Catholic Church, even in the days of Galileo, were ready to join in the new, progressive movement which was to release physical science from its over-close connection with philosophy, and lead it, an independent, empirical discipline, to its present-day position. Kircher saw clearly the distinction between natural science and philosophy. His investigations were experimental and objective in the best traditions of modern science, and, unlike those of many of his contemporaries, were not smothered in a confusion of philosophical terms. He was a traditionalist ; yet his achievements in the modern sciences are undeniable. He was a man whose mind was not only imbued with the spirit and learning of the past, but was ever open to the developments and possibilities of the future.

The Flight of the Earls

by ALEXANDER BOYLE, M.A.

IN this article it is hoped to disprove a commonly-held view that the flight of the Earls in 1607 was a crucial event in Irish history. It has been thought best to quote neither Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel* nor the Remonstrances addressed to the King by the Earls after their departure for the Continent. Meehan's bias is so evident and his style so execrable, that his book would have had no value for the serious historian but for the large body of evidence from State Records quoted in full in the body of the text. The case presented by the Earls in their Remonstrance is too open to the charge of *arrière-pensée* to be used in an investigation such as this. It has been thought better to rely on the evidence of the State Papers for the period before the Flight, as offering a possibly more objective picture of the circumstances which brought it to pass.

Certainly, some such assessment seems overdue. Far too many otherwise reputable historians have viewed the Flight as in itself a major calamity. They have taken the Earls to task for their action. They have professed not to understand why they acted as they did. They have taken the events of September 1607 as a direct, if not a major, cause of the Plantation of Ulster. Here is the lament of the Four Masters, written three hundred years ago :

> Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of their setting out on this voyage, without knowing whether they should ever return to their native principalities or patrimonies to the end of the World.[1]

Even writers who do not normally accept the account of the Four Masters without scrutiny, adopt this point of view. Cyril Falls[2] calls the flight of the Earls an 'astonishing' event. Godfrey Davies[3] considers that

> the reasons for the 'flight of the earls' appear inadequate.

Constantia Maxwell, a quarter of a century earlier, although describing O'Neill as deciding 'to escape from an impossible situation' had added in the same breath

> The immediate causes of the flight of the Earls are rather obscure,[4]

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1 *Four Masters* (O'Donovan), VI, 2359.
2 *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, p. 338.
3 *The Early Stuarts*, p. 106.
4 *Irish History from Contemporary Sources*, p. 44, n. 8.

and that

> The flight of the Earls from Ulster in 1607 created, however, an entirely new situation. All schemes for the pacification of the North under Irish rule collapsed. The Government had to step into a vacuum and erect a new sovereignty.[1]

In a book published only last year she makes the same suggestion.

> The ' Flight of the Earls ' gave the English Government a completely free hand. Their territories were ruthlessly confiscated and planted with English and Scotch.[2]

In his *History of Ireland* Curtis, although correctly stating the reasons for the flight, yet ends up by saying that ' its causes are obscure '.[3]

Falkiner[4], referring to the proposal to set up a Presidency of Ulster, says

> This proposal was probably a proximate cause of the Flight of the Earls.

This possibility, however, could hardly have weighed heavily on O'Neill, considering his other manifold grievances. As a matter of fact, Chichester's suggestion of a Presidency[5] was flatly turned down by the King four months later.[6] It may be that O'Neill, who listed it later in his Remonstrance as one of his complaints, did not know this. It does seem odd that one who is credited with so efficient an espionage system should have been unaware of the fate of the proposal. It is at least possible that he did so know, but retained this as one of the many reasons he later put forward to justify his departure.

Among the passages quoted above not only are there misstatements of fact, but even where the language employed is accurate as far as it goes, a totally wrong impression is conveyed, namely that the actual flight of the Earls was a prime factor in the events that followed.

In this article it is proposed to show two things : (1) that the flight of the Earls was not astonishing, but only too clearly to be expected ; (2) that the pre-conditions for the historic Plantation were already under way, and that it was only a matter of time before the native Irish system in Ulster disappeared.

First, let us consider the attitude of the Government to O'Neill after the latter's pardon and re-installation to his former position. In a letter to Cecil[7], Davies, now Solicitor General for Ireland, comments

[1] *ibid.*, p. 51.
[2] *The Stranger in Ireland*, p. 16.
[3] P. 226.
[4] *Illustrations of Irish History*, p. 272, n. 2.
[5] *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 10 May 1606 (referred to hereafter as *C.S.P.I.*).
[6] *C.S.P.I.*, 2 September 1606.
[7] *C.S.P.I.*, 19 April 1604.

on a reported meeting between O'Neill, Mountgarrett and others. He says that O'Neill is not likely to rebel and admits he does not know what they talked about, but 'this he dares affirm, that it was not to this end, that religion and peace might be established in this kingdom.' In spite of this attitude, O'Neill appears to have administered his territories with firmness and justice. In June of the same year Chichester, the Deputy, tells Cecil how he 'has broken and killed and hanged above the third man' over a hundred outlaws,

> and the Earl of Tyrone has done the like with those upon his borders, not sparing his own nephew, whom he took and hanged.[1]

In December, Davies has to admit that

> For the North there is no part so quiet and void of thieves as my Lord of Tyrone's country.[2]

Indeed, so far did O'Neill go in co-operation that he made repeated attempts to bring his son back to Ireland from the Spanish service, simply because this was the wish of the Government.[3] Both Davies and Chichester seem to think that these attempts are genuine, although Chichester later changed his opinion.[4]

Even up to the last,[5] whatever may have been suspected, no proof is forthcoming that O'Neill was doing anything else but trying to live on his estates *more patrio*, a task which he was obviously finding more and more beyond his powers. On only one occasion do we find him breaking out. At the end of 1606 he lifted some cattle from O'Cahan, which Davies calls 'the first notorious violent act that the Earl hath done since he was received to grace.'[6]

There runs through the correspondence of 1604–7, like some melancholy refrain, a continuous stream of complaints from O'Neill. Significantly, these are addressed to England. It is apparent that he has no hope of getting redress in Ireland. They are mostly about loss of territory.[7] Other complaints are loss of fishing rights on the Bann and Lough Foyle,[8] 'secret enemies'[9] and the defection of the sub-chiefs.[10] Lest it may appear that the complaint about the loss of fishing

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[1] *C.S.P.I.*, 8 June 1604.
[2] *C.S.P.I.*, 8 December 1604.
[3] *C.S.P.I.*, 30 December 1604 (where the Deputy refers to his readiness to assist them [the Council] in victualling garrisons) : 6 January 1605, 29 October 1605.
[4] *C.S.P.I.*, 12 September 1606 (p. 565).
[5] *C.S.P.I.*, 7 September 1607 (p. 261).
[6] *C.S.P.I.*, 12 November 1606.
[7] *C.S.P.I.*, 30 August 1604 ; 3 March 1605 ; 2 June 1605 ; 6 December 1605 ; 17 June 1606 ; 26 January 1607 ; 26 May 1607.
[8] *C.S.P.I.*, 2 June 1605 ; 26 January 1607.
[9] *C.S.P.I.*, 23 Jan 1607.
[10] *C.S.P.I.*, 26 January 1607. The reference is to O'Doherty. Later O'Cahan was to provide one of the main reasons for the Flight.

rights is a frivolous one, a contemporary author[1] says that the yearly rent of the Bann from fishing was five hundred pounds. Who the secret enemies were we are not told. On the other hand, the complaints about the loss of territory are somewhat more detailed. The two chief offenders, in O'Neill's eyes, were George Montgomery, Protestant Bishop of Derry, and O'Neill's chief uriaght, O'Cahan, whose territory lay between the Bann and Lough Foyle.

In 1605 James had bestowed on Montgomery the bishoprics of Londonderry, Clogher and Raphoe, the latter *in commendam.*[2] By October 1606 not only are he and his wife nicely settled 'in the Derry, in a very pretty little house', but Mrs Montgomery boasts that her husband 'hath as many thousand acres of as good land as any in England'. It was to get full access to these acres, then in the hands of O'Neill, that the Bishop backed O'Cahan in his quarrel with the Earl. Those two, while working on a different legal basis, had in common the breaking of the territorial power of O'Neill.[3] If O'Cahan were successful, the lordship of O'Neill would be destroyed. As St John wrote to Salisbury :[4]

> So are there many others, even within Tyrone itself, . . . who will, according to the success of this business, endeavour to procure their freedom.

Montgomery's case was, of course, the Crown's case, that all lands originally belonging to the Catholic Church had by now been resumed to the King, who could distribute them where he willed. O'Neill's case was that such lands were originally a grant from the chief of a territory to the Church,[5] and if resumed at all should go to him ; or, on a broader basis, that they formed part of the original regrant of 1603, after his submission. After their tour of the North, the Deputy and Council wrote a long account to the Privy Council, of which there exists a second copy with marginal notes.[6] One of these is significant of the attitude of the Irish administration at that time.

> I perceive that O'Caine's country is not sufficiently passed to the Earl O'Neill, of which good use may be made.

The upshot was that both O'Neill and O'Cahan were commanded to appear before the King in London, a visit which O'Neill could hardly

[1] *Fynes Moryson, Itinerary* (in *Falkiner, Illustrations of Irish History*, p. 302). The estimates vary. O'Donnell, in his 'Remonstrance' (*C.S.P.I.*, 1606–8, pp. 364 sqq.), estimates the value of his own fisheries at eight hundred pounds a year. But cf. Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland* (in Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I*, p. 167), who says the Ulster fisheries are 'exceeding great', but appears to adopt a lower figure for their annual value.

[2] *Maxwell*, op. cit., pp. 301, seqq.

[3] *C.S.P.I.*, 26 January 1607 : 4 March 1607 : 2 May 1607.

[4] *C.S.P.I.*, 1 June 1607.

[5] cf. *MacNeill, Celtic Ireland*, ch. IX.

[6] *C.S.P.I.*, 4 October, 1605.

expect would be so felicitous as when he had last gone there in 1603, to return a pardoned rebel and still Earl of Tyrone.[1]

Finally, O'Neill's wife had been tampered with. These two were on bad terms, and the Deputy sent Sir Toby Caulfield to interview her and ask her to spy on her husband and report to him. In spite of a long letter containing the first report on this piece of espionage, little that was concrete seems to have arisen from the transaction.[2]

We may now pause to consider what was happening to Rory O'Donnell during these years. Inferior to O'Neill in age, prestige and ability, he was not regarded at first as being so dangerous as his brother Earl. After all, he owed his position as successor to Red Hugh to the former Deputy Mountjoy, who had accepted O'Neill's submission. His hands were kept pretty full from the start with the other claimant to Tyrconnel, Neil Garve, who had supported the Government during the Northern rebellion. Thus, in the tour of the North of autumn 1605, while both Earls had to submit to the holding of assizes, and promise to create freeholders, O'Donnell had also to hand over 12,400 acres to Neil Garve, while the Deputy in a letter to the Privy Council suggested that Lifford and Derry should be planted with English and Scots.[3] O'Donnell, in a letter to Salisbury, complains of the loss of Lifford, which was being turned into a 'free town' or garrison, but little more is heard from him until nearly a year later when news reached the Government[4] that he and O'Boyle had requested passage for Spain on the ship of one Gavin More or Moore. This dress-rehearsal for what was to follow had little effect on the English authorities, Salisbury annotating the letter from Ireland which contained the news, to the effect that it was an 'absurd conceit' to think that O'Donnell would seek refuge abroad. Cuconnaught Maguire—yes: but O'Donnell—definitely no. This judgment may have been based on a personal estimate of both characters, Maguire being apparently the more energetic and adventurous of the two. No consideration appears to have been given to the feelings of a territorial lord asked to share his power with strangers and stand by powerless to avert the imminent destruction of his people's social system. The Deputy and the Irish Council knew better and protested against this view in a letter to the Privy Council.[5] In the meantime, at least two people (Sir Neale O'Donnell and one 'Farraghe MacHugh O'Kelly') had, on examination, deposed that O'Donnell was concerned in a conspiracy, O'Kelly implicating O'Neill as well.[6] The matter was still being investigated four months later and formed

[1] *C.S.P.I.*, 1606–8: King to Chichester: pp. 220–1.
[2] *C.S.P.I.*, 25 January, 26 February, 1606.
[3] *C.S.P.I.*, 30 September 1605.
[4] *C.S.P.I.*, 30 August 1606.
[5] *C.S.P.I.*, 12 September 1606.
[6] *C.S.P.I.*, 7 August, 13 September 1606.

one of the complaints of Chichester against O'Neill in an interview he had with him in which he taxed him with being privy to O'Donnell's and Maguire's intention to escape abroad.

In May 1607, however, we find the first mention of a far more serious plot (which may have been simply a more detailed version of the previous one at a maturer stage). Not only is O'Donnell implicated again and again, but O'Neill's name also crops up, although here, even up to the end, the testimony is more hesitant and uncertain. The chief informant was Howth, whose first conversation with the Deputy described a plot to seize the Castle.[1] In a later statement Tyrconnel was implicated. The Privy Council suggested that Howth come to London and showed their interest in the bigger game involved by the somewhat guarded statement that

> If this could be, or that Tyrone and O'Cahan[2] should likewise come over, as they have desired, it might be even of greater advantage whatever his [A.B.'s][3] advertisement may prove.[4]

Others mentioned in the plot were Mountgarrett, the Burkes (Sir Thomas and Sir Theobald), Randall McDonnell and Cuconnaught Maguire. Howth advised O'Donnell's arrest, advice which the Deputy admits he meant to follow[5] if the latter had not foiled his plans by escaping abroad, along with O'Neill and other of the Ulster chiefs, in circumstances too well-known to repeat here, ' on the festival of the Holy Cross, in autumn '.[6]

So far, we have dealt with the more personal problems of the Earls. It is time now to have a look at broader issues, namely what was happening to the old Irish way of life in Ulster during the years 1603–7. As early as April 1603 Dowcra had recommended the installation of Scots in Ulster.[7] In the autumn of 1605 the Deputy and Council, after a tour of the North, recommended to the Privy Council that Lifford and Derry be planted by English and Scots.[8] The Deputy suggested to Salisbury that abbeys in Tyrconnel held by O'Donnell *in custodiam*, apart from ' one or two ', should be disposed of ' to some English and

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[1] *C.S.P.I.*, 27 May 1607.

[2] Reference has already been made to this projected visit.

[3] The code name for Howth.

[4] *C.S.P.I.*, 22 July 1607.

[5] *C.S.P.I.* (1606–8), pp. 254–6, 259–262.

[6] *Four Masters*, VI. 2357.

[7] *C.S.P.I.*, 15 April 1603. Spenser's *View*, written some years before, though not printed until 1633, foreshadows the fate of Irish Ulster. His proposals (*op. cit.*, pp. 167–9) are : (1) forts as the nucleus of (2) towns, (3) plantation, (4) a Presidency for Ulster. Only the last proposal failed to be implemented.

[8] *C.S.P.I.*, 30 September 1605.

Scottish freeholders'.[1] The following year[2] St Leger gave it as his opinion that

> If the waste and unpeopled places of this land were inhabited by honest and well-affected persons out of England . . . it would, no doubt, do much good.

The Deputy was keen on the settlement of Cavan by 'some English and other civil people' under the direction of 'some principal person'. One wonders whom he had in mind.[3]

The Council, in reply,[4] insist that in any plantation of either Fermanagh or Cavan 'natives are to be preferred', the English to be given the Church lands only. This is one of the few passages in the correspondence of the time with any trace of consideration for the native Irish. This must be done, the letter goes on,

> lest if many strangers be brought in among them, it should be imagined as an invention to displant the natives, which would breed a general distaste in all the Irish.

The provisions of the historic Plantation do not seem to have been framed in any such spirit as this.

At the height of the O'Neill-O'Cahan controversy,[5] a couple of months only before the flight of the Earls, Davies considered that not only O'Cahan's country but Glenconquein, Killetragh, and 'other good scopes of land in Tyrone' were Crown property, and suggested that O'Cahan's country should be planted with mixed Irish and servitors (i.e. English or Scots with some experience of life in Ireland, preferably such as had borne arms in the late wars).

As though the departure of the earls had been the signal, the State correspondence immediately began to contain further proposals along these lines.[6] Although it cannot be stated that there existed prior to the events of September 1607 a plan to enforce anything like the wholesale plantation that followed, there can be little doubt that only the presence of the earls and the reputed favour of O'Neill at Court had so far saved Ulster from plantation. Once O'Neill despaired of remaining in the King's good graces[7] and fled abroad, there was nothing to hinder those plans. In that sense, and in that sense only, was any vacuum created. Obviously a system of tenure that depended on the precarious favour of the King was doomed from the start.

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[1] *C.S.P.I.*, 4 October 1605.
[2] *C.S.P.I.*, 27 July 1606.
[3] *C.S.P.I.*, 12 September 1606.
[4] *C.S.P.I.*, 14 November 1606.
[5] *C.S.P.I.*, 1 July 1607.
[6] There are three in the space of three weeks: *C.S.P.I.* 9, 17, 29 September 1607.
[7] See curious references by the Deputy (*C.S.P.I.* 8 and 17 September 1607) to O'Neill's reasons for flight.

As if to foreshadow in miniature what was to happen later, the Montgomeries (Sir Hugh Montgomery of Braidstane and his brother George, first Protestant Bishop of Londonderry) had staged their own little plantation as early as 1606.[1] By a grant of the King the lands of the Clandeboy O'Neills in Down were assigned to Hugh Montgomery. The grant was later rescinded in favour of James Hamilton, an erstwhile teacher of Latin in Dublin, Montgomery himself, and the chieftain of the O'Neills, Con O'Neill, to have equal portions. About 20,000 acres thus fell to Montgomery's share. He leased out these lands to his friends and 'divers wealthy, able men', who built stone houses and engaged in foreign trade. Others of lesser means flocked into the settlement, and by 1610 Montgomery could muster a thousand men for the militia. There is no mention in the account[2] of how the native Irish fared. We are only told that Lady Montgomery's house was 'numerous in servants', and that when roofing the chancel of the church

> he [Montgomery] needed not withdraw his own planters from working for themselves, because there were Irish Gibeonets, [i.e. hewers of wood and drawers of water] and garrons [ponies] enough in his woods to hew and draw timber for the sanctuary.

Apart from the tenure of land, the basic Irish customs were already doomed. The Government's antipathy to such features of the Gaelic polity as Brehon law, 'cuttings'[3], tanistry, fostering, and a host of other non-English (or rather, non-feudal) customs, is too well attested over the whole course of Irish history to need any further discussion here. Everywhere there was a head-on clash of systems, one of which had to give way to the other. To take only the case of the Church lands. The case of the Irish chieftains was that such lands had originally been grants from the local chief[4], and if the old Church was not to be allowed to make use of them, they should revert to the chief and form as integral a part of his jurisdiction as any other territory under his sway. Yet all through the period the Government case is that these lands are theirs to dispose of directly, as (at least in Ulster) they did not attempt

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[1] The following account follows that of *Cyril Falls, Birth of Ulster*, pp. 154, seqq.

[2] *Montgomery MSS.* (ed. Hill), pp. 51 67 (quoted in *Maxwell, op. cit.*, pp. 301–4).

[3] i.e. the practice whereby the Irish chief had fixed services in kind or duty, as opposed to a rent payed annually in money. This is normally described by the English of the time as uncertain, and may have been so at this period owing to the breakdown of regular institutions due to the protracted warfare of the period. Normally it had been as fixed as the monetary system, the real objection of the Government being that the inhabitants of a region looked towards the local chiefs instead of the King as the prime source of authority. The practice was immensely strengthened by the contemporary depreciation of the currency.

[4] See *MacNeill, Celtic Ireland*, ch. IX passim. (Whether one believes that the land was owned by the people in common or formed the *dominium* of the chief does not affect the issue.)

to do with what was looked on as the land under the control or possession of the chief.[1]

To take the matter a stage further. The calm acceptance of grants of Church land by the Irish chiefs may have been due, to some extent, to the same motives as actuated the English nobles in similar circumstances. No nation has a monopoly of greed. But two facts should be borne in mind. First that they must have felt that they were merely resuming what had originally been theirs : secondly, that the resumption of Church property for lay purposes was more apparent than real, the monks continuing to use their monasteries, at least in Ulster and Connaught, up to the end of the sixteenth and even into the seventeenth century.[2]

Added to all this was a lack of imaginative insight into the mentality of the Irish chief. Davies, for example, complains to Cecil[3] that O'Neill is trying to get back tenants who have left his territories. It was not merely the monetary loss involved or a desire for revenge that moved O'Neill to pursue this line of conduct. It was, as a modern writer has put it, that[4]

> A modern landlord may measure his degree of dominion by power to evict ; an ancient Irish noble measured his by power to restrain his tenants from leaving him.

It could be argued that the earls had a duty to their people whom they left in the lurch by their flight from Ireland, that they were selfish and consulted only their own interests. There can, of course, be no doubt that, as human beings, they could hardly avoid acting from mixed motives. There was pretty obviously a certain concern for their own safety. It would be foolish to deny this or to picture them as paragons of patriotism and all the virtues. When all has been said, however, they had a very strong case. By remaining, they risked at least exile, if not death, on a charge of conspiracy. They were elected by the people to protect their interests, working within the traditional Irish framework of custom and law, which, as has been shown, was being attacked in the North, as already elsewhere in Ireland. The choice was merely between slow torture or a quick death. There was no question of ' Irish rule '. Not only had England the power, by the collapse of resistance in the late rebellion, to enforce her wishes. Those

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[1] For the period 1603–7 see *inter alia C.S.P.I.*, 2 June, 4 October 1605 (p. 327), 14 November 1606, 4 August 1607 (on Termon lands claimed by the Bishop of Derry. Chichester thinks they are not real Church lands and should go to the Crown).

[2] See *Wilson, Beginnings of Modern Ireland,* pp. 279–80, for some of the evidence.

[3] *C.S.P.I.*, 19 April 1604.

[4] *MacNeill, Celtic Ireland,* p. 111.

wishes were as plain as a pikestaff and obviously they were going to be enforced. There was to be no nonsense this time. In the Proclamation of March 1605,[1] Chichester, the representative of the new spirit, says :

> His Majesty is fully resolved to extend the uttermost rigours of his laws against them [*those who refuse to obey*], without any pardon or remission, and to prosecute them and every of them by all ways and means possible, to the utter extirping and rooting out of them, their names and generations for ever.

This quasi-biblical language showed a new spirit in the times. There was a sharpness of definition here so often lacking in Tudor policy, which had played off native Irish against English and Anglo-Irish in a policy of *divide et impera.* The writing was on the wall. The events of the next two years were merely to underline its message. The Flight of the Earls, so far from being a decisive event, influencing, as such, the fate of their country, was merely the anticipation and recognition of the end of a chapter in Irish history.

[1] Quoted in *Maxwell, op. cit.,* pp. 208–10.

Reviews

MAN AND ART

THE VOICES OF SILENCE. By Andr Malraux. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. London : Secker and Warburg. 1954. Pp. 661 ; 15 full-page colour plates and over 400 monochrome illustrations. £6.

THE ever increasing influence this book has exercised since its appearance in post-war France, would seem to mark it as a classic. Never before have the Voices of Silence cried out so loudly by the mouth of philosopher, critic or historian as to-day, and Malraux's mighty composition rising from the tumult is frightening. It is no mere ' book on art ' in the conventional sense, no more than Gibbon's *Rome* is a history or *Das Kapital* a mere treatise on economics. Time only can ratify these comparisons, but there can be no doubt that never before has man spoken on art like this. Vehemence ? Erudition ? The passionate lucidity of the lover ? Yes, and more—for these pages contain not only a man's speculative interest or even his life's work, but his religion.

The Voices of Silence—the final draft and completed thesis of *La Psychologie de l'Art*—is a brilliant and original enquiry into the meaning and value of the visual arts in order to discover man. It is the audacious attempt to ask of colour and stone : what is Man ? The reader is led on until he stands in the presence of Art itself—that silent Sphinx—and is challenged with Oedipus's ancient riddle. The art-treasures of all times and civilizations pass in review before his gaze, borne on the ever marching shoulders of a humanity conceived as in Spengler's vision. It is the prodigious mass of material and its universal treatment—staging the question and meeting the challenge—which gives Malraux's work its significance and importance. And the answer ? Man is indeed an ancient riddle and who shall solve it ? Although art may instruct us more lucidly than either gold or science, it is not always the formulated answer that touches the heart of the matter ; and so Malraux's work is felt to be great, not because he claims a solution, but because of St Augustine's : ' in the seeking is the finding '.

The pleasure of reading these pages is heightened by insistent reference to the best in man's art treasury and by the personal and experimental way in which they are written ; sometimes it is troubled by the unaccustomed approach. Malraux's thought is clad in the multicoloured phenomenology which became such a fascinating fashion in France, when people began to think that the Truth was so precious a find that its expression must be essentially obscure. The apparent absence of logical reasoning may prove for an English-speaking public, if stimulating, somewhat bewildering ; and this feeling is accentuated by a translation—in this case a particularly difficult task—which on the whole falls short of transmitting the elegant ease and conciseness of the original. However, the text can hardly fail to grip, and there is more in this book than the text : almost on equal footing stands the ' museum without walls ', an outstanding selection of illustrations, excellently reproduced;

and those alone would make of the book a valuable and enchanting document which will constantly be referred to. For that very reason one would have expected a stronger binding (and even a plurality of volumes), more especially as the price compares rather disproportionately with that of the French edition.

The nature of the book makes it impossible to propose its contents in much less than the original six hundred pages. The subject matter, however, can be considered from three principal viewpoints : history, aesthetics and philosophy. The ' song of History '—" transposing destiny on to the plane of awareness "—can be heard as the constant ground-bass throughout the entire work, and the historian interested in what has recently been christened ' meta-history ', will find especially in the Second Book (The Metamorphoses of Apollo) an original and highly stimulating analysis of the civilizations of Asia, Greece, Rome and Christendom. Gothic, in particular, is treated with extraordinary sympathy, but without the fundamental insight which even the humblest Christian has to-day : that the cathedrals in all their glory proclaim neither their own praises nor man's . . .

Aesthetically the work is exceedingly interesting. The art-critic and the art-lover will rejoice throughout at the many exciting vistas opened to them with every chapter. Subjects include : the creative process, time and metamorphosis, the effect of the museum and of reproduction ; style, death, the master-piece ; the social and spiritual function of art in general as seen through the eyes of almost every people under the sky. There is nothing abstract or *à priori* about the treatment—a welcome change from Maritain's able writings on the matter—and only in so far as theories of beauty or intuition are needed, are they abstracted from the data under discussion. These data vary from Celtic coins to Van Meegeren's forgeries, from the Gothic eye to Lunatic art, from Van Gogh's chair to a New Hebrides death-mask, and they comprise almost any variations the imagination is tempted to add. Works of art are for Malraux the " small change of the absolute ", and for that reason he bitterly reproaches the Church for having surrendered the Sacred Art of Christendom into profane hands. " When art " he writes, " does no longer help religion to create a universe in which man is at home, art will attempt to create it alone." He himself is proof of that terrible truth. There would seem to be only one remedy : the restoration of art to its ancient function and its incorporation once more into religion.

One cannot hope to summarize Malraux's philosophy in one short paragraph, much less evaluate its merits and its dangers comprehensively. Fundamentally his thesis is erroneous and perverse : art is proposed as *the* Absolute Value and as man's only claim to immortality. It is the charter of a new generation which, turning from the idolatry of scientific progress, has already erected the pedestal for another golden calf. Malraux has here expressed and mightily vindicated the new hopes and aspirations of modern paganism in its search for God. He has followed Nietzsche but only to turn aside and point to a more promising, real and even phosphorescent horizon. To Sartre's apathy he opposes " the honour of being a man ", leading man's mind happily away from the chaos of nihilism and beyond the cosmos of mere materialism ; but his efforts come to an untimely ending in the mysterious universe of artistic creation. This universe is undoubtedly man's highest incarnate achievement

but for that very reason finite and always remaining a means to an end. Error is bound to arise from a misconception of time and the material universe in which we live. These two elements are indeed the essential context in which man is to be studied, but they can never furnish the material for an ' artistic Infinity ' whose nature claims to be contrary to both. One thing is certain : Malraux's work has brought to light an exceedingly important point—not only does man live in a context of time and matter, but equally in a context of art ; and this is frequently forgotten both by scholar and educator. Indeed, the fact that this work is to be labelled " Caution ! " (or even " Poison ! ") ought not to deter the experts from examining its contents.

In the struggle for a true and spiritual conception of man, threatened to-day as never before perhaps by material progress and psychotecnics, the Voices of Silence have an important part to play. They are capable of calling into being a universally popular ' proof ' and a new response to the beauty of man's soul. They also have the more sinister power to cause a supersonic explosion that could destroy much that is good and sacred. One would like to regard Malraux's work therefore as a challenge, a challenge and perhaps an inspiration for Christian scholars, to clarify a long forgotten but vitally important relation : man and art.

ANTHONY MILLS

GOOD AND BAD TASTE. By Odd Brochmann. Translated from the Norwegian by M. A. Michael. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1955. 18s.

THE lucid text and charming drawings in this little book contain much good sense and excellent pedagogy. It is a course in applied aesthetics; and it manages, somehow or other, to give enough instruction to enable most people to decide whether an axe, a house, furniture, the arrangement of a room, a telephone or wallpaper is beautiful or not. There are plenty of people, Odd Brochmann thinks, who know whether a thing is " right " or not, but who are unable to give reasons for their likes and dislikes : it is to help them he writes the book. Whether or not bad taste can be overcome by good arguments I do not know : if it is at all possible, this is the book to do it.

One is straight away forced to admire the skill in bringing out, quite painlessly, the implications in geometric or inorganic form. By means of a few simple diagrams it is made quite clear how, in a static form, there can be a feeling of movement and tension. The cube, sphere and cone (and their related shapes) are dealt with in a way that, besides helping the beginner, will clarify the ideas of those even who have some knowledge of design and composition. In one unobtrusive sketch (perhaps the cleverest of all the clever diagrams) we are given an intuition of the liberating effect of space, so important in town planning and baroque decoration. And, lest all this should seem abstract, we find ourselves applying it immediately to the design of a domestic exterior and to the position of furniture in a room. It is interesting to be shown that the pure cube, with sharp angles, appears both smaller and heavier when its corners have been rounded off, but when one sees that the lightness of an Empire chair or a modern house depends on its cubist design, one's appreciation

of the elegance of clear forms is enchanced. One knows too why indistinct outlines and concealed shape make for heaviness.

The variations of inorganic forms are numerous but, when we come to consider the possibilities of organic form, we are faced with the infinite variety of nature itself. Nature is a reservoir of shapes which, without strict geometric similitude, make a pattern depending on each part, springing naturally and inevitably from a previous one. The parts of an organism are bound to unity by a natural cohesion which is always new and a source of inspiration to the artist. Organic form is the inspiration of baroque furniture, of much of the work of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, of the drawings of Paul Klee. Without shutting his eyes to the light, I do not think any man of good will could read these limpid pages on form as an organism and remain unaware of the ugliness of so many statues and busts (so often religious) where meaningless wriggles obscure the clean beauty of simple, natural, clarified form.

Mysterious sounding principles are clearly explained : equality of dimension and Corbusier's Golden Section, based on the proportions of the human body. Our intimate knowledge of the body determines by association the implication of many lines and forms. We speak of a resilient line, for instance, and say a pot-bellied jug has a festive appearance. From the practical proportions of animals, not excluding the human animal, we arrive at the notion of functional beauty. Functional fitness is of the essence of beauty when we come to look at the things man uses to help him in his work and in his life : his tools. A chair big enough for an elephant or too small for a child is either pretentious or ridiculous ; never beautiful. But to recognize functional beauty we must understand function clearly. A well made axe is obviously a lovely thing but a shining machine may not be beautiful : we must understand it before we can say.

JOHN C. KELLY

BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

BELIEF AND UNBELIEF SINCE 1850. By H. G. Wood. Cambridge University Press. 1955. 12s. 6d.

THE change in the religious belief of Britain from 1850 to 1950, the climate of opinion which accounts for the contrasts, the future of a more enlightened presentation of the Christian message: these are the themes of Mr Wood's analysis. A hundred years ago, Catholics and Protestants were at one on the sacred character of the Bible ; Christians and rationalists were at one in accepting Christian ethics as the fundamentals of life. The change set in when the doctrines of eternal punishment and of the vicarious sufferings of the Redeemer were found to be incompatible with humanistic thinking. Then came natural science. Evolution and astrophysics undermined belief in creation and the Fatherhood of God ; biology threw doubt on personal immortality, and psycho-analysis on all aspirations of religious belief. Finally, literary and historical criticism questioned the validity of the Old and the New Testament and shook the foundations of faith.

The author meets fairly and acutely the misgivings aroused by natural science, and remains on solid ground. He thinks ,however, that the " humanist" difficulties may be best met by eliminating such absolutes as damnation, and

by re-stating the Atonement to make the death of Christ an inspiration to men rather than a sacrifice to God. And history, he maintains, will cease to be a difficulty when we allow error and imperfection to be as compatible with the incarnation of God in Christ as with the inspiration of the Bible. To substantiate the claims of a clarified Christianity, there always remains the scientifically registered fact of personal, mystic, religious experience. Further, the very existence of ethical standards gives a valid basis to religion, as is well argued against the Logical Positivists. The last chapter presents the preachable residue of the Gospel : the mercy of God, offered through faith in Christ. The validity of the offer is, apparently, to be felt during the reading of the gospel ; the role of Christ's miracles and resurrection as proofs of His claim is not touched on.

This book, professedly " High Church ", is valuable as a sketch of development in Anglican theology. and contains much that is of great apologetic force, and of deep religious sincerity. But could there be much future for a morality which rejects the absolute holiness and justice of God, and for a Christianity which seeks to make itself attractive by jettisoning also the infallibility of its founder ? The sad effects of various policies of appeasement should have taught us by now that to throw food to the wolf-pack only whets its appetite and makes it follow the sledge faster.

KEVIN SMYTH

SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF. By C. A. Coulson, F.R.S., Rouse Ball Professor of Applied Mathematics in the University of Oxford. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege (for the Oxford University Press). 1955. 8s. 6d.

THIS book is based on four lectures given at an American University, where Professor Coulson accepted the invitation of the trustees of a foundation established " to show the mutual bearing of science and theology upon each other, and to prove the existence and attributes, as far as may be, of God from nature ". The first lecture, " The Challenge of Scientific Thinking " opens disappointingly, by giving us, not, as one might expect, some assured findings of science which might seem to be in conflict with religion, but a sketch of the shocked reactions of some Victorian fundamentalists to nascent Darwinism, with some crude materialistic views on religion, of which *Pravda* is made one of the spokesmen. However, Professor Coulson soon recovers, to assert the competence both of science and religion, each in its own sphere, and to point out that believers must not look for " gaps " in science, which they can fill in triumphantly with the hypothesis of God, as if He must come in somewhere in Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy or in the phenomena of parapsychology. This would be the same type of error as that of the scientist who proclaims that he has never found God at the end of a telescope or as the solution to an equation.

The second lecture, " Scientific Method ", insists on the provisional nature of scientific law, which is seen as the progressive building of conceptual patterns, or the tireless attempt to impose a principle of order on perpetually recalcitrant facts. In the ultimate analysis, we accept scientific laws, not because they correspond in detail to facts, which are literally indescribable, *e.g.*, in atomic

physics, but because they form a pattern which holds together, at least long enough to suggest a new outline. Science and religion first come together on the basis of a common ignorance and a common hope. This, however, is not to replace the " God of the gaps " by the God of blind faith or feeling or wishful thinking. It means that the same ineluctable sense of an ultimate order of things, which is the basis of religion, is also the driving force of scientific search, and therefore if science is possible, religion is true. " Our belief in science must be regarded as the token of much wider convictions ". It is in fact a legacy from religious conviction, which is the pre-supposition of scientific ends (order) and method (probity).

" The Human Element ", the third lecture, asks why all scientists do not recognize their implicitly " religious " assumptions. The answer is that scientists, being forced to specialize, are inclined to claim that only one particular pattern may be used to link up the whole of experience, and exclude everything unattainable by their own limited technique. This, Professor Coulson says, is as unscientific as to confine the description of light either to the corpuscular or the wave theory. The very fact of the human observer, just as it necessarily affects all measurement, opens up a new field of interpretation, the view which he calls " tamely enough ", total. But this more " general act of reflection " is the final comprehension in which we find God. The fourth lecture, " Christian Belief ", shows that God is not merely an ultimate hypothesis in the Kantian sense, since the order which revealed Him was not a merely subjective one which our mind alone imposed on things, but an objective " given-ness " ; a reality which is also a comprehensive unity ; a unity that "has a quality about it that can only be described as spiritual": a recognition of " the personal character of everything ". Further, revelation in the strict sense is also admissible. Just as a scientific law is embodied in some particular, so it is not unreasonable to suppose that the most universal truth should be incarnate in an individual. Whatever our reserves with regard to this last consideration, we must welcome this work as an important and timely contribution to the debate. Professor Coulson makes do without such terms as causality, and describes the ascent of the mind from the order of things to its Maker rather as a direct intuitive perception than as an inference. But he has done his public a good service by re-affirming the right of the mind to soar past prejudices to its true home.

KEVIN SMYTH

ECONOMICS

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CAPITALIST REVOLUTION. By Adolf A. Berle, Jr. London : Macmillan and Company, Limited. 1955. Pp. 157. 8s. 6d.

Even in the early part of the twentieth century economists still accepted conditions of perfect competition as the norm. It was not until the early thirties that efforts were made by Mrs Joan Robinson and others to show that perfect competition did not fit everyday conditions. Far from being the norm it had really only become a text book concept of ideal conditions. Imperfect competition was really the order of the day.

The latest development in twentieth century capitalism is the growth in importance of the modern corporation. Berle attempts to show that the corporation assumes the role of a social and political institution. Since the corporation concentrates power and wealth into the hands of few, there is the obvious danger for society of becoming subservient to their dictates. Society has little or no sanction over these tycoons. As a result we are left at the mercy of the philosophy of the men who control large business.

This social development brings in its train a need for a recognized body of doctrine, by which leaders of corporations may test their acts from day to day. Alternatively, society must establish some responsible custodian authority which can examine the social implications of policies pursued by corporations, and so protect the best interests of society.

Professor Berle has made a shrewd observation and has seen with foresight a definite void in the social fabric of the United States, at least, to which his thoughts are directed. His work, however, scarcely represents the first complete overhaul of the concepts of capitalism since the days of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, as is claimed on the dust jacket.

MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH

THE REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN POSTWAR BRITAIN. Allan M. Cartter. Yale University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumerledge. 1955. Pp. 242. $5.00.

THIS is the second recent study to appear on the effect of redistribution of income in Britain. A review of the other work, *The Social Services in Great Britain and the Redistribution of Income* by Alan T. Peacock, appeared in the Summer issue of this journal. While the latter study was of an essay form, the author of this work has devoted a full length volume to the matter.

Briefly, the aim of the book is to assess the effect of the income redistribution policy of the British Labour Party in the fiscal year 1948-'49. This is done by comparison of the redistributive programme in Britain in 1948-'49 with that of a prewar year and secondly by a comparison with prewar and postwar experience in the United States. The author is indebted to Tibor Barna, whose *Redistribution of Income through Public Finance in 1937*, was a path-breaking epic in this field. Barna's conclusions are used for purposes of comparison.

To attempt to measure statistically the redistributive effects of public finance is an ambitious task. The practice involves an imputation of direct and indirect taxes to various income groups, and in addition an allocation of divisible and indivisible benefits. By a comparison of the amount of tax paid and benefits received by each income group, a measure of the net benefit or otherwise of governmental fiscal policy to each income group is obtained. This in effect is really an indication of the extent of income redistribution. The task, however, in practice is beset by difficulties.

In the first place, direct taxes have to be allocated to the different income groups. The tax unit must be selected, and whether this is regarded as individuals or families of average size, there are attendant difficulties. Assuming, however, that personal taxes on incomes can be satisfactorily allocated, there still remains the difficulty of finding a valid method of distributing capital

taxes and death duties. Whereas the distribution of direct taxes presents formidable obstacles, the distribution of indirect taxes presents insurmountable ones. Only on the basis of estimates of consumer expenditures is any allocation possible and here again there must be a high degree of arbitrariness. The allocation of benefit proves just as difficult.

Benefits may be of two kinds, divisible and indivisible. Divisible benefits, such as children's allowances, can be traced to individual consumers, indivisible benefits are enjoyed in common, like the pleasure derived from public parks or museums. The allocation of indivisible state expenditures can only be made on highly conjectural assumptions. Cartter uses three assumptions and arrives at three possible distributions. First, he assumes that benefits are equal *per capita* for every income group. Secondly, he assumes that benefits are proportional to net private income. Thirdly, he assumes that indivisible benefits are proportional to the sum of taxes paid by each person or group. No one of these three possibilities can conform ultimately to reality. The marrying of highly doubtful estimates of the sources of revenue to equally doubtful estimates of benefit disbursement can only produce an offspring of doubtful legitimacy. Redistributive effects for all the calculations must still remain largely conjectural.

Notwithstanding these strictures, this work of Cartter has its merits. In principle, the effects of income redistribution can be appreciated. In practice, we can never hope to indicate more than noticeable trends. The period under discussion, namely, the year 1948–'49, was obviously a year when an egalitarian policy of income distribution was pursued. It follows that there was redistribution of income in favour of the poorer classes. Cartter's estimate bears this out. Under each of the three assumptions of allocating indivisible benefits, aggregate income gains were registered for groups with taxable incomes not exceeding £500. All other groups suffered a net loss. Comparison of income redistribution in 1948–'49 and in 1937 for Britain shows that in 1948–'49 redistribution appears to have been greater both in absolute terms and relative to the national income.

When comparison between British and American redistribution of income is made it is again found that the tendancy to redistribution has been much greater in Britain. All of these conclusions fulfill our expectations. Was such an effort necessary to bear them out?

Despite all the pitfalls in the territory that this book surveys, which are in no way attributable to the author, its reading should give pleasure to those interested in income redistribution policies. It is by far the best work that has appeared on this specific subject in recent times. The author's assumptions and conclusions are clearly stated. Detailed tables and calculations are relegated to an outsize appendix where the enthusiast for statistics can dabble to his heart's delight. The methods of arriving at the allocation of taxes and benefits are defined in the appendix. The main part of the book accordingly is uncluttered by trivial and tedious detail.

Here is a book that can be read and appreciated by specialist and layman alike. Would that more authors would follow Mr. Cartter's example of presentation.

MICHAEL J. KAVANAGH

THE WRITINGS OF BISHOP PATRICK OF DUBLIN

THE WRITINGS OF BISHOP PATRICK, 1074-1084. By Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Dublin : The Institute for Advanced Studies. 1955. Pp. 147. 25s.

This, the first of a series under the general heading *Scriptores Latini Hiberni*, marks the breaking of new ground by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. If doubts were ever entertained about the wisdom of the enterprise, they have been set at rest. Here is a book that in every way does credit to Irish scholarship. First of all, the problem of authorship had to be faced. It was a tangled skein, seemingly impossible to unravel, until Fr Gwynn by a brilliant combination of erudition and deductive reasoning found the correct solution. Then came the work of preparing the material for publication ; it has been so carried out that the edition is a model of its kind. The text has been established from the twenty-three manuscripts that still survive, not one of them, let it be stated incidentally, in Ireland. An illuminating chapter on the author's Latinity and style is contributed by Dr Ludwig Bieler.

Bishop Patrick is a figure round which much of the history of Ireland in the 11th century could be written. His Irish name, Gilla Pádraig, might suggest origin from a Norse family, recently converted to Christianity, were it not that a Gilla Pádraig of the 10th century had given its surname—transmuted into Fitzpatrick—to the leading dynastic family of Ossory. The Bishop's writings, too, unlike those of Bishop Gillebert of Limerick in the next century, are free from undertones that betray foreign blood. We may take it, therefore, that Gilla Pádraig was an Irishman born and bred.

Was his family adopted into the Norse community in Dublin ? or was their home situated in " the territory of the Foreigners ", Finegall, an area Catholic since the fifth century and containing such important churches as Glasnevin, Swords and Lusk ? The answer is uncertain, seeing that the Bishop's successors were two O Hanlys, presumably scions of the distinguished family of the name settled in North Roscommon. Who brought Gilla Pádraig, still a boy or youth, into contact with the English monks of Benedictine observance at Worcester, where he received the habit as a novice and in due course made his profession ? Not being a cleric in the Dublin diocese, not indeed being a cleric in any Irish church or a monk in any Irish monastery, how did he come to be chosen Bishop of Dublin in 1074 ? No answers can be given. Paradoxically, we seem to know more about the National Apostle himself than we do about this " Servant of Patrick " in the eleventh century.

What part, again, if any, did politics play in his election ? The ground on which Dublin was built lay in the ancient kingdom of Leinster, and therefore, from the Leinster standpoint, Dublin was just a minor principality subject to the Leinster King. Theory and practice were brought into harmony in 1052, when the King of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Mail na mBó, expelled the Norse " king " and took his place as ruler of the city. Diarmait's son, Murchad, later became vicegerent, a post which he held until his death in 1070, when he was buried within the city walls, probably in the original Christ Church. Diarmait continued to rule Dublin until 1072, when he was killed in battle. A contingent of Dublin Norse had a place, as conscripts, in the defeated army. Godfrid, son of Olaf, son of Ragnall, a Norse leader,

then took over the reins of government but almost immediately had to make submission to Toirdelbach O Brien, King of Munster. Having failed to give satisfaction he was stripped of authority and driven into exile by Toirdelbach in 1075. Meanwhile, in 1074, the see of Dublin had fallen vacant. We may take it as certain that Godfrid and Toirdelbach had a voice in the election that ensued and that the choice of Gilla Pádraig and his consecration by Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, in St Paul's, London, had met with their approval. This is confirmed by the letters from Lanfranc which the new prelate brought with him to Dublin, one addressed to " Gothricus ", the Norse leader, and the other to " Terdelvacus ", " magnificent King of Ireland ".

At this time the traditional system of government in the Irish Church, itself different from the strict diocesan organization of the Church in other lands, had so deteriorated that it was near collapse. The encroachment of lay power—that evil which the new Pope, Gregory VII, had begun to combat with grim determination in Italy and the Empire—had gone so far that the see of St Patrick in Armagh was held, almost by hereditary right, by lay abbots taken from a local family. It is a remarkable fact that within a year or so of Pope Gregory's accession Toirdelbach O Brien appears in Ireland in the role of a reformer, for his acquiescence in the consecration of Gilla Pádraig by a foreign metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, must be viewed in that light. Eleven years later, when his power had increased enormously and his title to the High-Kingship was all but universally recognized, Toirdelbach was active in the same cause, for he assisted, this time with various bishops from the old Irish churches, in the election of Gilla Pádraig's successor and his despatch, once again, to Lanfranc for consecration.

A question that invites discussion is the connection of the second, third and fourth bishops of Dublin with the reformed monasteries of the Benedictine Order in England. Gilla Pádraig was a monk of Worcester ; Donngus O Hanly a monk of Canterbury, Samuel O Hanly a monk of St Alban's. To these may be added Maelmuire O h-Ainmire, who became Bishop of Waterford in 1096 after he had been a monk at Winchester. The administrative reform of the Irish Church, which brought in its train all necessary reforms in other departments, was the work of the Synod of Rathbresail in 1111. We might expect at that time a close union between the reformers and the reformed Church in Ireland on the one side, and the reformed Benedictine monasteries in England on the other side, and the prolonged and fruitful influence of the latter on Irish ecclesiastical affairs. What meets us, however, is the fact that the connection quickly lapsed. The lasting help which it might have provided came later through the Cistercians, whose institutions were welcomed and whose fervour brought spiritual treasure of untold value to the Church in Ireland during the following centuries. How exactly this came to pass awaits fuller explanation.

As Gilla Pádraig was a mere youth when he entered the community at Worcester, his training in the liberal arts must have been acquired in the monastic school. The poems and the prose composition here edited prove that it was of no mean quality. In Ireland from about 900 onwards, Irish had taken the place of Latin as the language of scholarship and the themes

which received greatest attention had changed accordingly, In Worcester the language was Latin and the subjects studied more pronouncedly ecclesiastical. Thus we find Bishop Patrick writing what is in effect a striking sermon on the three mansions of the soul (*liber de tribus habitaculis animae*), the joys of heaven, the pains of hell, the good and evil in the world. Much of his verse has for object the teaching of similar lessons. But he describes also in some two hundred lines of easy-flowing verse the " *mirabilia Hiberniae* ", the signs and wonders of this country—the ship, not yet a Viscount, seen travelling in the air ; the man who lived for seven years without his head ; the island near Roscrea wherein none could die ; the mill that went on strike each Sunday and that rejected with scorn, even on week-days, stolen corn. The touch is light, however heavy the subject-matter, and the impression left is strangely and indefinably pleasing. One feels that like his master, St Wulfstan, who taught the monks at Worcester the three supreme loyalties — to God, to Our Lady and to the King — (be that King Harold, or Harold's slayer, the ill-gotten William the Conqueror, or the rough and quarrelsome Rufus), the second Bishop of Dublin was a man of kind and peaceful disposition, a lover of books, a recluse rather than a ruler. No doubt his tragic death by drowning in a shipwreck on the Irish Sea was bewailed far beyond the confines of the Dublin diocese. This fine edition of his writings by Fr Gwynn is a belated but eminently worthy monument to his memory.

JOHN RYAN

HISTORY

MAN ON HIS PAST : THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP. By Herbert Butterfield. Cambridge University Press. 1955. 22s. 6d.

IN November of last year Professor Butterfield gave a series of lectures at Queen's University, Belfast, as the first series to be given at that University on what is now known as the Wiles Trust. By the terms of that Trust some historian is invited ' to deliver at Belfast a series of lectures in which he relates his researches to the history of civilisation or reflects upon the wider implications of more detailed historical studies '. Professor Butterfield chose as the subject of this first series what technical historians might call a study in the History of Historiography. That is not the kind of title that publishers like, and we may perhaps guess that the misleading title of this book is due to an effort on the part of either author or publisher to attract readers. Far from being a ' study of the history of historical scholarship ', it is in fact a very detailed study of those German historians of the early nineteenth century whose influence helped to form the historical thought of Lord Acton, in whose notes and writings Professor Butterfield has a very special interest. Unless we are prepared to equate Man with German, the title given to this book is surely most deceptive. One reviewer at least may be pardoned for stressing the simple fact that History is in origin a Greek word ; and that a study of historical scholarship must surely begin with two exceptionally intelligent Greek thinkers : Herodotus and Thucydides. Professor Butterfield prefers to begin his story

with an obscure and not very interesting school of German historians who taught at Göttingen in the late eighteenth century. If few of us have ever heard the names of Gatterer or Schlözer or Rühs, we may console ourselves with the thought that even the omniscient Acton seems to have been unaware of their significance.

Towards the end of his life, as is plain from some of the notes which Professor Butterfield cites, Lord Acton—who had a marked weakness for vast subjects which escaped even his own great intellectual powers—played with the thought of a ' History of History '. Like the ' History of Freedom ', to which he gave so much thought and on which in the end he did so little, this ' History of History ' was never written ; and I cannot help feeling that in these lectures Professor Butterfield is trying to persuade some one else to write a portentous book which he himself plainly has not the slightest intention of writing. Some of his comments on the development of historical thought and technique in the nineteenth century are stimulating ; and his study of Ranke's aims and achievement is perhaps the best portion of the book. Acton had an increasing admiration for Ranke's work, though he began by sharing some of Döllinger's prejudice against the Berlin professor. Ranke's thought matured in the course of his long life, and inevitably his technique was improved by each new experiment. Professor Butterfield makes us feel that many of Ranke's more recent critics lack the intellectual power and moral force which give such interest to the work of a man whose range of study is almost unbelievable. If we are still too apt to equate the history of European thought and politics with the history of mankind as a whole, and if too many of our historians have followed Ranke in his conviction that political history, and in particular, the history of foreign politics and international diplomacy are the heart of the story, that is only in part Ranke's fault. It has taken two world-wars and the challenge of a wholly materialist concept of history to shake us from our established traditions of historical teaching. And, as we read about Ranke's plans and listen to some of his judgments, we are perhaps right in accepting Professor Butterfield's view that the Grand Old Man of German historical scholarship has still much to teach us.

About Acton's plans and judgments we learn on the whole less than might be expected from a scholar who has given so much time and thought to the subject as Professor Butterfield. It is good to have in print a large collection of extracts from Acton's scattered notes ; and six of the seven Appendixes at the end of this book contain reprints of out-of-the-way essays and reviews or casual judgments by the young or the older Acton. In addition to the text of the lectures which Professor Butterfield gave in Belfast last year, this volume contains two essays which have appeared elsewhere : one on the origins of the Seven Years War, which was given as a David Murray lecture at Glasgow in 1951 ; and another on ' Lord Acton and the Bartholomew Massacre ', which appeared in the *Cambridge Historical Journal* for 1952. The Glasgow lecture reads almost like a detective story, in which we see successive historians at work on the explanation of the famous ' diplomatic revolution ' of May 1756, and the question of Frederick the Great's responsibility for the outbreak of the Seven Years War. Professor Butterfield insists that it took some of the ablest historians of Germany and France alike, not a hundred years, but no

less than a hundred and fifty years to get at the real truth in that matter. The conclusion seems to be that we must never approach a problem of history without full knowledge of the work of all our predecessors, great and small. That conclusion is perhaps unfounded, for the particular problem which is here investigated was incapable at first of solution for two very simple reasons. It was the age of an incredibly secretive diplomacy, in which monarchs and statesmen systematically deceived their own ambassadors as well as their allies and their enemies. And the piece-meal opening of diplomatic archives was a slow process during most of the nineteenth century, which (in this case) was only completed by the publication of an important series of Russian documents in 1912.

Professor Butterfield's essay on 'Lord Acton and the Bartholomew Massacre' is again a most readable study of an involved, but highly dramatic historical mystery. It is of special importance as a test-case to illustrate how far Acton himself fell short of the high standards of impartial judgment and severely critical scientific inquiry which he demanded in others. The massacre of 24 August 1572, was an episode which stirred the strongest passions and prejudices in Acton's mind. Was it a deeply-laid and long-premeditated plot? Or was it a last desperate expedient as an escape from a difficult and unexpected dilemma? Modern scholars had found evidence on all sides to warn them that the older Protestant tradition, which saw in the plot a deep laid plan in which the Dominican Pope St Pius V had his share from the start, was not based on fact. Acton, with his almost pathological horror of violence and murder, could not be satisfied with a judgment which absolved Catherine de Medici from the worst charges brought against her, and which left the Pope almost entirely out of the story, except as an accessory after the fact. In October 1869 (and we may note the date, as pointing to the impassioned controversies that preceded the Vatican Council) Acton published an essay in the *North British Review* which sought to revive and establish on grounds of strict historical criticism the older and more damaging version of the story. In his essay Professor Butterfield examines, from the eighteenth century onwards, the whole story of historical criticism in this matter; and shows at the end that Acton failed completely to win scholars to his point of view. It is an interesting object-lesson in the dangers to which some of the greatest historians are liable when their passions are engaged. Even Thucydides was not always wholly neutral in his narrative, not always calm in his judgments.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE FAILURE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. R. E. Smith. Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. 202. 25s.

IN this extended essay, Professor Smith is seeking to diagnose the causes for the fall of the Roman Republic:

> "The main thesis of this study is that the Gracchi by the means they adopted in pursuit of their ends precipitated a spiritual crisis in Rome which was the first cause of all that followed."

Rome before the Gracchi is pictured as a city-state well governed by a small group of aristocratic and politically experienced families. The popular assembly, though constitutionally empowered to pass laws independently of

the Senate, never used its powers, and even its leaders, the tribunes, were generally instruments of senatorial policy. In foreign policy, the Senate was still determined by the now outdated fear of another Hannibal, and it was this fear that motivated the destruction of Corinth and Carthage. For the rest, it sought to uphold at home and abroad, in public and private, the old Roman standards of probity and gravity, and was as open-minded to reasonable reforms as was the English government of the early 1800's.

> "Yet because in England reform came slowly after bitter fights, with the defeated side accepting defeat, those years of dangerous instability were the precursors of England's greatest period in history ; whereas Rome slid into civil war and revolution and her whole course of history was changed."

The Gracchi sought to precipitate reform by making the Roman mob conscious of its power, and by leading it, and later the Equites, against the Senate.

> " Only a very stubborn defender of the Gracchi would maintain that there were not peradventure ten Whigs at Rome ; with patience, and pressure from the liberal Senators, Rome could have emerged as did England : *Gracchis aliter visum.*"

In this account there are claims which cry out for a much more solid substantiation that they receive from Professor Smith. Rome may have felt more secure after destroying Carthage ; she was certainly a great deal richer. She had put out of business Italy's greatest rival in the supplying of wine and oil to the West. It is no accident that the Cato of *Delenda est Carthago* was leader of the landowning party in the Senate, and author of the first Latin treatise on agriculture. If the Senate was innocent of imperial ambitions, it was by no means so guileless in economic matters. The destruction of Carthage, the enormous influx of slaves from the East, and the transformation of Italian land from small holdings to vast estates for growing olives, vines and other fruit, and for scientific stock-raising, all helped to raise the revenue of the senatorial landowners, who wished to confine Africa, like Sicily and Sardinia, to the less lucrative function of growing corn for Italy's *annona.* All this contributed too to the flight from the land and the consequent loss of manpower for the Roman army, which the Gracchi attempted to remedy. Professor Smith hardly produces enough evidence for the existence of those liberal senators whose ' patience and pressure ' would have prevailed over the vested interests of the landowners. The Gracchi did not provoke, they merely brought into public view the selfishness and narrowmindedness of the Senatorial government.

In his account of the post-Gracchan deterioration too, Professor Smith inclines to give the benefit of any interpretation to the conservatives, and in this makes an interesting contrast with, say, Mommsen's history of the same period. On the Jugurthan War, where Mommsen adds his own rhetoric to the violently anti-senatorial account of Sallust, Prof. Smith sees the Equites as the war-mongering profiteers and credits the Senate with a patriotic attempt to limit the unnecessary war. There is an interesting discussion of the morality of pensions for veterans, a gentle treatment of Sulla's reactionary constitution, and a fine analysis of the Senate's reasons for appointing Pompey sole consul in 51 B.C.

In his preface Prof. Smith writes: 'This interpretation must stand or fall as a whole, and does not depend on the detailed elucidation of any point or points'. In fact, the interpretation is weakened in its earlier stages by too partisan a view of the social struggle in Rome. It is not strengthened by occasional generalizations (as 'the countryside did save Rome's soul and allow her to fulfil her mission') which are of such a sweep as to defy alike proof and refutation. But it retains its value as an intelligent commentary on the story of the late Republic, and a vindication, sometimes too exclusive, of the importance of spiritual factors in that story.

PAUL ANDREWS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN ELIZABETHAN: WILLIAM WESTON. Translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman. With a Foreword by Evelyn Waugh. London: Longmans, Green. 1955. 18s.

FATHER CARAMAN has already given us a very vivid translation of Father John Gerard's autobiography, written in 1611, at the request of his superiors. He now gives us an equally vivid translation of the account which Father William Weston wrote at the same time, and in obedience to the same request. The two Jesuits were in England for about the same period, and they both wrote in Latin some years after their expulsion from England. But there is a world of difference between their narratives. Father Gerard had been active for most of the years he spent in England, and was actually planning further work on the mission when he wrote his autobiography. Father Weston landed near Yarmouth in September 1584, and was arrested in August 1586. For more than a year he was the only Jesuit in England until the arrival of Fathers Garnet and Southwell in the summer of 1586. His arrest was the beginning of a slow martyrdom in various prisons: the Clink in London (September, 1586 to January 1588); the special prison for priests and recusants at Wisbech (January 1588 to December 1598); solitary confinement in the Tower (December, 1598 to his release soon after the accession of James I on 13 May 1603). His health was broken, and his memory was often vague as to details; but the story he has to tell is in many ways even more interesting than the story told by Father Gerard.

As compared with Father Gerard, Father Weston is the typical self-effacing priest who mentions his own name as seldom as possible. Father Caraman has supplied the necessary details in valuable notes at the end of each chapter. From them we learn of the extraordinary veneration with which this holy priest was regarded, both in the two short years when he was active on the English mission, and during the seventeen years of his long imprisonment. Father Weston was made the object of denunciation by some malcontent fellow prisoners at Wisbech, and his removal from Wisbech to the Tower was due in part to the charges made against him: in particular of intrigue with the Spanish king against Elizabeth. Father Weston tells the tale of these tribulations discreetly. We get a fuller version of the story, which can be confirmed from other sources, in Father Persons's *Briefe Apologie*. But what will interest most readers, I think, will be the glimpses we get into the life and

often heroic courage of humble folk in these years of persecution. Father Gerard moved constantly from one country-house to another, and his narrative is full of tales about the lords and ladies he helped, or who helped him, on his adventurous mission. Father Weston tells us of John the Thames waterman who (though innocent) was condemned to be hanged for his share in a river-robbery, and who made an excellent convert in his last hours as a prisoner condemned to death ; of the servant girl who saved him from arrest at a country house, and was captured herself ; of the poor boy who acted as servant to the prisoners at Wisbech, and who was converted by the priests and ended his days as a missionary priest ; of the young mother who refused to promise that her child should be baptised according to the Protestant rite, and who was suffered to risk her life in child-birth by her own parents, without proper assistance, as a means of coercing her into submission ; of the devout life led for many years by his fellow-prisoners at Wisbech ; and of similar experiences.

Father Weston was apt to assume that what we should now describe as hysteria, brought on by the strain of constant vigilance in a world of domestic treachery and government spies, was in fact diabolical possession ; and he has some curious tales of his own success in ministering to the needs of those in trouble of this kind. Father Caraman translates his narrative as it stands, but has added notes from Dr. E. B. Strauss which relate these phenomena to recognized symptoms of hysterical conditions as diagnosed by modern psychologists. They are also a tragic witness to the inevitable distress and mental suffering brought on by life as it was led by so many loyal subjects of Elizabeth I. To-day we are familiar with similar pathetic results in the victims of similar cruelty.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE IRISH CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By Thomas L. Coonan. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1954. Pp. xviii + 402. 36s.

THIS is a book with two heroes, one of them titular only. Dr Coonan's titular hero is Patrick Darcy (1598–1668) who in June 1641, stated the constitutional arguments which were put forward at length to rebutt any claim that the English Parliament had the right to legislate for Ireland. For this reason an American historian like C. H. McIlwain regarded him as having made a more important contribution to the constitutional theory of the American Revolution than Montesquieu. Dr Coonan, who though born in Carlow now lives and teaches in the United States, undertook the task of writing an account of the Confederate Period (1640–50) in order to provide a detailed historical background of the Ireland in which Darcy's theories had their rise. His book therefore is mainly Irish history with an occasional bow in the direction of America.

Early in the book, Dr Coonan refers to the ' political doctrine by which Irish patriots of that day sought to justify rebellion and revolution '. The Confederates are regarded as ' Irish Catholics ' struggling against ' Puritan

Imperialism ', and the first chapter is entitled ' Irish Patriotism and British Imperialism '. At this stage of his book Dr Coonan regards Darcy as an Irish patriot and an Irish Catholic. But soon the tone changes. ' As a constitutional statesman,' it appears later, 'Darcy perhaps deserves to rank with the fathers of the American constitution, but as an official of the Confederation of Kilkenny his reputation has suffered by reason of his association with Clanricard and Ormond '. He was a weak man, ' clay in the hands of more designing colleagues '. Later he is described as belonging to ' that class of drawing jurists who could discuss interminably the legal intricacies of Praemunire, while hostile guns were battering down the last ramparts of Irish independence ', and as a member of a group among whom were men of ability and polish, but ' blind to the aspirations of the real Ireland '. Darcy was from Connaught and Dr Coonan quotes with approval the old Irish view ' I see none of the Connaught (men) as constant as gentlemen should be '.

Thus Patrick Darcy throughout most of the book appears not as one of the patriots and prophets of the American Revolution but one of the dupes and knaves of the Confederate Period. He falls indeed between two conflicting interpretations and his fate may serve as an example of the way in which official or fashionable or emotional interpretations of the past can do violence to it. Dr Coonan definitely cuts the cloth of seventeenth century history to fit the prevalent interpretation of Irish history, and his nationalism is as fullblooded as many another exile's. Sentences like the following are common. ' By 1625 the Irish nationalist reaction which was in the end to convulse and democratize England and the British Empire, had already set in ' or ' What the Cromwellians and indeed their successors failed to realize was that under the poorest rags in Ireland beat hearts full of the noblest fire '. One may wonder how much of this is relevant and how far Dr Coonan has superimposed a nineteenth century nationalism upon the complicated comings and goings of the Confederate Period, but there can be no doubt that he has done his task thoroughly and with imagination. The book, however, is extremely one-sided. Blacks and whites abound and there are none of those delicate tones by which some historians try to do justice to the whole picture. Painted black, inevitably are Ormonde, Inchiquin, Clanricarde ; white are Owen Roe O'Neill and Rinuccini. The Anglo-Irish in the Confederation of Kilkenny are described as the Ormondist ' faction ' or ' cabal ', Rinuccini's supporters as ' the Nuncio group '. The Anglo-Irish are ' weak ' like Preston or ' self-seeking ' like Bellings ; Ormond is ' Ireland's implacable foe ' and the Ormonde Peace is ' the barter of national independence in Ireland's grandest hour ', but O'Neill's negotiations with Michael Jones and with the London Parliament are termed ' political wisdom '. Owen Roe O'Neill is considered as a figure of heroic stature but no sympathy is wasted on the less gifted men at Kilkenny, struggling with a political situation to which there was no answer. Dr Coonan indeed adopts without question the viewpoint of the contemporary chronicle *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction.* Within this framework, his exposition is admirable. But it is surely only part of the truth. His real hero is not Patrick Darcy but Owen Roe O'Neill ; historically speaking it ought to be both.

H. F. Kearney

LITERATURE

ESSAYS BY DIVERS HANDS : Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol. 27. Edited by Sir George Rostrevor Hamilton. Geoffrey Cumberledge : Oxford University Press. London. 1955. 12s. 6d.

THE speakers at the Royal Society of Literature are not, for the most part, professional scholars. The very familiar names of the contributors are those of men and women whose profession and trade it is to make literature rather than to study it : novelists, poets, essayists, historians, actors and lecturers. The nine essays in the current collection, then, though of slight enough interest for the student of literature, will appeal to anyone who has the normal, serious but lighthearted, regard for humane letters. There is a place for these essays. A too assiduous reading of the professional critics may easily make one forget that literature is fun.

Major the Earl Wavell writes on *Shakespeare and Soldiering,* acknowledging his debt to Lord Norwich's interesting and curious *Sergeant Shakespeare.* In his provoking *History and the Writer* Hugh Ross Williamson says blandly, " I am merely contending that the historical play represents the peak of historical writing, while academic history represents the lowlands ". " Merely " is beautiful. Dr Monk Gibbon, writing on *Sir Edward Marsh's Translation of Dominique,* gives much of his space to a sensitive analysis of Eugène Fromentin's novel (which on its first appearance Flaubert read, at one sitting, with approval), but the insistent question of the art of translation is also discussed.

A novelist writing on a novelist is likely to be interesting ; when both of them are women, the result, for the male reader at least, is bound to be fascinating. At the end of her essay, *George Eliot : A Moralizing Fabulist,* Miss Kate O'Brien is forced to think it possible that George Eliot may have to be recognized as the greatest novelist of the nineteenth century : ". . . she is chiefly great because she was always primarily concerned for the moral development of her characters whilst being able to expose their dilemmas with the purest possible detachment yet tenderly. " Gerard Manley Hopkins, quoted by Miss O'Brien, wrote to Robert Bridges of ". . . the overdone reputation of the Evans-Eliot-Lewes-Cross woman (poor creature, one ought not to speak slightingly, I know) half real power, half imposition ! " So easily can the contemporary male critic err ! Just as it is hard to imagine how Emily Brontë could have had within her all the truthful tumult of *Wuthering Heights,* so it is hard to explain the melancholy intensity of George Eliot until one remembers that not many of her class, with serious and evangelical religious ideas, eloped to Europe to live with a married man. Still fewer, one imagines, were married at sixty-one to a thirty-nine year old man who was sincerely loved. There was, beyond any doubt, something unusual in the woman ; which may very well be, as Miss O'Brien suggests, simply genius.

It will surprise most readers to learn that Rudyard Kipling, boarded out by his parents for his health's sake and given into the power of a horrible pair, suffered a cruel and inhuman childhood. His suffering, physical and mental, was enough to warp his outlook for life, yet his writing (the early books

at least and up to the time when illness darkened his world) shows no signs of his unhappy childhood but is, on the contrary, extroverted and happy. Kipling's childhood, his beginnings as a journalist in Lahore, and his coming to London are the subject of Lord Birkenhead's *The Young Rudyard Kipling*. Not merely did Kipling and his sister (who suffered a little less) come unscathed from their ordeal, but it seems they were sweetened by it. They loathed the people in Lorne Lodge so intensely that, apparently, the power to hate was used up : for the remainder of their lives they were capable only of mild dislike ! Perhaps the balance was restored for the little boy by his happiness when staying, during the holidays, with his aunt Georgina Burne-Jones. At her house there was the smell of paint and turpentine, the talk of his uncle and William Morris, from which he may have caught his love of crafts and craftsmen and which must have reminded him of his father who was a painter—but, above all, there was warmth and happiness. It must have been refreshing to live with a man like Burne-Jones who once told a frightened Italian model, when she heard a great sound of carpet-beating at the back of the house, that it was the noise Englishmen made when they beat their wives.

Kipling's bad eyesight, producing strange optical illusions, may have been the reason he could write, with such convincing power, of the awful monster in *The End of the Passage*. When he came to London, with his stories of the East, the material for which he had collected in the bazaars of Lahore, he coincided with the *fin-de-siècle* aesthetes. He hated them of course. He was colonial, careful (in spite of his red fez) of the conventions, and he had been sent to a school whose atmosphere Lord Birkenhead describes as " antiseptic ". Yet, if he had been left in the preraphaelite atmosphere of the Burne-Joneses longer, it could well be that he might have written a story for the *Yellow Book* illustrated by himself or Aubrey Beardsley. However, in spite of missed chances, Kipling's prose, whose importance has been long obscured by his verse, is now seen for the masterly thing it is. This can be no surprise to anyone who has long known *Kim* (a better book than *A Passage to India*) or the *Just So Stories*.

A novelist is interesting on the art of novel writing and so is an actor speaking of a play. In *Nature and Grace in Macbeth* Robert Speaight says nothing that has not been said or hinted at before, but his essay has the interest of experience and conviction. His theme is that the play deals with the gigantic breach made in nature by the unnatural crimes of Macbeth ; a breach that can be healed only by the holiness of grace. This idea is, of course, verified in the metaphors, symbols and images in the play and by the constant harping on the word " nature " which Mr Speaight, with the eye of an actor, points out. I like very much his suggestion that the Porter be played not as a drunk but as " suffering from the sea-green clarity of a hangover ".

JOHN C. KELLY

THE NEW PARTISAN READER. Edited by William Phillips and Philip Rahv. New York : Harcourt, Brace and Company. London : Andre Deutsch. 30s.

THE ESQUIRE TREASURY. Edited by Arnold Gingrich. London : Heinemann. 16s.

ANTI-AMERICANISM in literature, as in politics, is a luxury few countries can at present afford : but it remains one of the most fashionable of literary cults. Personally, I find it painful to watch a Cyril Connolly grimacing at the critical achievement of a Blackmur. The American literary scene is not perfect but it contains Faulkner, Penn Warren, Stevens, Williams, Frost, Hemingway, Ransom, and a number of other important writers : it has practically all the best critics. To condescend to this kind of achievement, therefore, is stupid arrogance.

The New Partisan Reader presents the best writing to appear in that magazine since 1945 : it is an impressive collection by any standards and, to be specific, far better than *The Golden Horizon.* T. S. Eliot has committed himself to the opinion that PR is " the best American literary periodical " and the editors agree : as it happens, while I regard PR as a valuable and exciting magazine, I do not agree that it is the best of American literary periodicals.

Indeed, I sometimes wonder whether PR is a literary magazine at all : even now, after a life of twenty years, it is still torn between the claims of literature and politics. The cultural bolshevism which it parades is wearing rather badly and I cannot believe that PR's readers are still interested in its interminable speculations about the role of the artist in society. Despite Trilling's essay, PR still seems obsessed with the alleged connexion between art and neurosis : its special occupational disease is the related notion of the Artist as Alien.

The Marxist origin of PR accounts for many of its obsessions, just as it accounts for what seems to me a vulgar contempt for tradition. To read PR is to be convinced that while the editors keep their arms outstretched for a good article on Kafka or on Freud, they are unlikely to get excited about a brilliant revaluation of, say, Dryden or Spenser. For this reason they must take their share of blame for the degree of hollowness in much of modern literary discourse : there are thousands of people ready to chatter about Mann's Joseph novels who have never read *Absalom and Achitophel.* PR implicitly sponsors philistinism of this kind.

It is undoubtedly a lively magazine, but its liveliness is often artificial : the right kind of liveliness, to my mind, is not that which expresses itself in sniping at Tate or Frost, but that which arises from brilliant minds in contact with great works. I value the *Kenyon Review* or *Accent* more highly than PR because they do not indulge in the wrong kind of vigour.

The surprising fact about *The New Partisan Reader* is that the same editors who picked the brilliant pieces also printed the worst. There are wonderful stories (Trilling's *The Other Margaret,* Elisabeth Langgasser's *Mars*) and trivial ones (by Delmore Schwartz and William Phillips). Most of the poetry is very good (Lowell, Shapiro, Stevens, Jarrell, Blackmur's *The Rape of Europa,* Roethke's *The Shape of the Fire,* Tate, Simpson) with the dismal exceptions of John Berryman's *New Year's Eve* and George Barker's grossly overrated *True*

Confession. Section III contains Orwell's splendid essay on Gandhi, Hannah Arendt's brilliant analysis of the concentration camps, and at least ten other first-rate essays (particularly those by Diana Trilling, Jarrell, Andre Malraux, Pritchett, Jose Ortega y Gasset, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr and Erich Auerbach). The most interesting pieces of the last group are Robert Warshow's on *Monsieur Verdoux,* Chiaromonte's on an Italian Jesuit, and Ransom's on Blackmur. Sheer silliness is represented by Sidney Hook on Toynbee and by Meyer Schapiro on the Religious Revival : Cyril Connolly's *An American in London* and Irving Howe's *Of Heresies and Fallacies* are too trivial to call for any comment.

The Esquire Treasury is not concerned with the role of the artist in society : it lives to provide American men with a mixture of good, masculine stories (Hemingway, Steinbeck, Irwin Shaw, James Jones), brash reportage, and sophisticated sociological comment. Its cartoons are not as subtle as the *New Yorker*'s and it implies that the American men for whom it caters spend a lot of their time, money and energy on a single, sensual track. It is not the sort of book one *must* read, but its fiction is worth the price.

DENIS DONOGHUE

SWIFT AND THE CHURCH OF IRELAND. By Louis A. Landa. Oxford University Press. 1954. 21s.

SWIFT'S RHETORICAL ART : A STUDY IN STRUCTURE AND MEANING. By Martin Price. Yale University Press and Oxford University Press. 30s.

THESE two books have little in common : the first is biographical and historical, the second aims primarily at criticism.

Professor Landa's slant is that of the social historian ; readers of *Modern Philology* and of *English Literary History* will have come across his studies of 'A Modest Proposal and Populousness' and 'Swift's Economic Views and Mercantilism'. I mention these essays because they help to indicate, at least by implication, the nature of the book under review. Here Professor Landa gives a detailed and scholarly account of Swift's career as a member of the Irish Establishment. Apart from the narrowly biographical details of Kilroot, Laracor and Dublin, he deals at great length with Swift's reaction to the depressed condition of the Church of Ireland in the early eighteenth century. The book investigates Swift's attitudes on such questions as the divine right of tithes, the lay possession of church land, the justification of pluralism : as a background-study of Swift's various Church tracts, the book will be found of real value.

It is useful to bring Swift's clerical career into prominence, and Professor Landa has done the work superbly : but I hope the book will not encourage readers to believe that Swift as a member of the Church of Ireland is as interesting as Swift the writer. It is salutary to come back to this basic fact, and Professor Price's study tacitly makes the point. This little book is the most valuable of all the recent studies of Swift that I have read : entirely free from prejudice and from pedantry, it examines Swift's characteristic literary strategy in six short chapters of brilliant criticism. The chapters are entitled :

The Rhetorical Background : The Plain Style : The Method of Wit : The Ironic Mask : The Symbolic Works : Patterns of Meaning.

Professor Price's thesis is that Swift's " methods as stylist and satirist are devices for dissociating the apparent from the real, and the dissociation is made only to prepare us for giving the real its proper residence in, and control over, appearance " : the idea is substantiated by passages on which Professor Price comments with great subtlety. In my view, the best pages in the book are those in which Professor Price offers an interpretation of *A Tale of a Tub* in terms of theme and symbol : these pages, read in conjunction with Robert C. Elliott's account (*P.M.L.A.* Vol. LXVI, No. IV, June, 1951) and Miriam Starkman's *Swift's Satire on Learning in A Tale of a Tub* (Princeton, 1950) leave the student of the *Tale* in a very fortunate position. A minor complaint : Professor Price's note on Swift's conception of moderation as an ideal cries out for more elaborate treatment.

Despite the enormous mass of scholarly and critical work on Swift, there is still room for a further study on the lines of William K. Wimsatt's *The Prose Style of Samuel Johnson* (Yale, 1941) : the last word on Swift's prose remains to be said and the saying is now overdue.

DENIS DONOGHUE

RELIGION

A NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARY FOR ENGLISH READERS. By Ronald A. Knox. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. Vol. I 1953, pp. xvi and 276 ; 18s. Vol. II 1954, pp. xii and 322 ; 18s.

YEARS devoted to the exacting work of translation have given Mgr Knox an unsurpassed familiarity with the text of the New Testament and a very acute insight into its multifarious problems. In this work he shows us some of the difficulties in passages which can appear simple and straightforward to the unreflecting reader ; and to most of these difficulties he gives a solution which is clear, precise and eminently reasonable.

But in the New Testament there are many passages which are anything but simple and straightforward, especially in the Epistles of St Paul. St Paul's thought was generally clear and precise but his expression of it was often somewhat obscure or inadequate. Instead of formulating his ideas with mathematical clarity St Paul, on occasions, merely suggests to us what he wants to say, leaving it to our intelligence to complete his thought, and then passes on to the next idea which is clamoring for expression in his rich and fertile mind. The trouble is that our intelligence is not always equal to the task imposed on it by St Paul's method of composition. In such circumstances Mgr Knox's work is of great interest. For instance, chapter 3 of the Epistle to the Romans is very much more significant to us if read in the light of Mgr Knox's thoughtful explanation (vol. II pp. 77 ff.).

But not everyone will accept without question all Mgr Knox's conclusions. For example some critics might like to give a slightly different account of the situation in the church of Corinth, which forms the background of the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians. Mgr Knox's account is neither arbitrary

nor hastily constructed. He has already discussed this problem in *Enthusiasm* pp. 12 ff. But it is not by any means clear that he has at last provided us with a certain explanation of a situation which is admitted by all to be very obscure. Some readers might be surprised at the rather sinister role he seems to suggest for Apollo, the flamboyant Alexandrian convert from Judaism. This energetic preacher seems to have had, and to have merited, St Paul's confidence without interruption and his refusal to return to Corinth (I Cor. 16, 12) can be interpreted otherwise than as a refusal to " cooperate with St Paul in trying to allay the spirit of faction at Corinth ". It could be maintained that the " factions " at Corinth were relatively innocuous affairs and that what really worried St Paul was the tendency of the Corinthians to treat Christianity as a new, though undoubtedly superior, school of philosophy ; and that this tendency was by no means confined to those who regarded themselves as in a special way the followers of Apollo. Be that as it may be, there is no one who will not be most grateful to Mgr Knox for the attractive way in which he has gathered together and formulated the data which bear on the problem, and the discussions he will provoke cannot fail to lead his readers to a deeper appreciation of St Paul and of the problems which face all those who attempt accurately to master his thought.

It must however be remarked that Mgr Knox is not always quite fair to those whose opinions he declines to follow. For example, there is a well known problem concerning the date and destination of the Epistle to the Galatians. The answer to this problem is dependent on the view adopted as to whether the events referred to in Gal. II, 1-10, are identical with those narrated in Acts XV. This identification, Mgr Knox assures us, would involve us " in a tissue of absurdities ". This is hardly complimentary to the very large number of good scholars who hold for this identification. Of the five reasons Mgr Knox gives for his own opinion all but the first are easily dealt with, and even the first is by no means unanswerable ; whereas his own explanation of Gal. II, 7, is decidedly forced and, it would seem, not really probable.

This commentary will stimulate interest in the New Testament and give readers some idea of the issues raised by the words they read. But it is only fair to warn such readers that some of Mgr Knox's conclusions, for all their persuasiveness, can be, and perhaps should be, questioned.

PATRICK SIMPSON

A PORTRAIT OF ST LUKE. By A. H. N. Green-Armytage. With an Introduction by R. A. Knox. London : Burns and Oates 1955. Pp. 204 12s. 6d.

MR GREEN-ARMYTAGE has already given us an excellent introduction to the study of the fourth Gospel : his book *John Who Saw* published in 1953. This is now followed by *A Portrait of St Luke* which sets out to accomplish the same task for the Gospel of St Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

A Portrait of St Luke may not quite attain the extremely high standard set by the earlier volume, but it is by a long way the best work on St Luke by a Catholic that has appeared in English for many years. It is not a commentary

on the biblical texts but a discussion of the various preliminary questions which must suggest themselves to the mind of any one who wishes to read the texts accurately and critically. It will be of particular interest to Religious Knowledge teachers in view of the fact that the two works of St Luke figure so prominently on our Religious Knowledge syllabus at present.

Some questions concerning St Luke and the plan and sources of his Gospel cannot be answered with certainty, and Mr Green-Armytage has distinguished sufficiently between those of his conclusions which are more or less certain and those which can claim only a reasonable degree of probability. Hence readers owe it to him not to give any one of his statements a greater degree of authority than he himself claims for them.

Chapter V dealing with the acts of the Apostles is in every way admirable. In chapters VII and VIII the author undertakes the very difficult task of formulating his conclusions concerning the general plan of St Luke's gospel and the relationship in which it stands to that of the other two Synoptics, Matthew and Mark ; and here too he has achieved remarkable success. His treatment is, of course incomplete : it must be if he is to preserve the general proportions of his book. Some of his conclusions are also a little difficult to defend, as, for example, that which describes the relationship existing between St Luke's account of the Sermon on the Mount and that given by St Matthew. However, difference of opinion on such matters is inevitable and it may be said with confidence that Mr. Green-Armytage's chapters provide an excellent introduction into the complexities of the Synoptic problem.

Mgr Knox's short introduction evokes very skilfully the spirit in which the book was written and in which it should be read.

PATRICK SIMPSON

THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE. An Introduction to a Theology. By Jean Mouroux. Translated by George Lamb. London : Sheed and Ward. 1955. Pp. 370. 16s.

AN OVEREMPHASIS on feeling, as Mgr Knox showed brilliantly in his *Enthusiasm*, lies at the root of many of the most startling and anti-social heresies. Catholics, then, look askance on the term " religious experience " because, in its current use outside the Church, it lays undue stress on feeling. Fr Mouroux writes with the conviction that the description of Christian experience is a legitimate problem whose solution would nourish the spiritual life.

Very many non-Catholics still apparently mean by " religious experience " the feeling of assurance, peace and certainty born of the realization that one has been redeemed by Christ ; which feeling, if it be genuine and although it may occur once only in a lifetime, is necessary and sufficient for salvation. This is their false notion of faith : the *inanis fiducia haereticorum* condemned by the Council of Trent. The Council, in condemning the doctrines of the Reformers, neither banned the problem of Christian experience nor made any attempt to answer it. There are indications that the theologians of the time saw the desirability of determining what was the Christian experience but, because more immediately urgent matters demanded attention, they left

the problem for the future to settle. What the Council taught was that a clear and certain awareness and assurance of election and salvation was neither a possible nor a necessary element in the virtue of faith. (Sess. VI, cap. 9. *Denziger* 802). One can reach a certainty about salvation abundantly sufficient to allay all anxiety ; but such a certainty cannot come from a clear intuition of one's present state, nor go beyond moral certitude. Even this moral certainty (without which life would be a horrible farce) is a fragment only of religious experience. Fr Mouroux's book is written with the intention of giving, at least in outline, a complete account of the experience of a Christian.

" There is experience " Fr Mouroux suggests " when the person is aware of himself in relationship to the world, himself, or God. More precisely, experience is the act through which the person becomes aware of himself in relation to the world, himself, or God." (p. 11). The vague term " becomes aware of himself " is used deliberately at the outset to include all possible modes of perception and to avoid stressing feeling more than is proper. Religious experience, then, is defined as " the act—or group of acts—through which a man becomes aware of himself in relation to God." (p. 15).

By concentrating exclusively, or almost exclusively, on feeling, there is formed, what the author calls, an " empirical " notion of religious experience. Such a notion pays attention to the reaction of part only of the human being in relation with God and neglects all the rest. Because it is a partial notion it distorts the reality. It takes into account the states in which a man finds himself but not his free voluntary activity. Religious experience is seen partially, in so far as it is passive, but the activity it involves is left out of account. Man is treated as if he were one of his faculties or, at the most, a bundle of faculties ; while the central fact about him, that he is a person, is ignored.

When a man becomes aware of his relationship with God, he knows that what is involved is not just a fragment of himself but his whole personality ; all his cognitive and appetitive faculties, all his activities and passivities, his very being. Christian experience, therefore, is the awareness of what a man must suffer and do to submit himself to the force of Christianity, as well as the correlative awareness of what Christianity does to him when he has freely chosen to submit to the power of Christ. Christian experience is an awareness (not a completely lucid awareness, because mysteries are involved) of the life a person lives in, for and by Christianity. Such a rich full notion Fr Mouroux calls an " experiental " notion. Its development gives being to his book.

For this reason, it must be clear that *The Christian Experience* is a synthesis of the Faith from a point of view not often taken by Catholic writers. After a philosophical section, in which he clarifies the notion of experience, the author deals with the Christian experience as it is described in St Matthew's gospel, the epistles of St Paul and the first epistle of St John. Then follows a more synthetic section treating the relationships of the Christian and the Church, the interaction of the faculties of the human person and the infused theological virtues, the relation of the complete human person to the transcendent and immanent God. Fr Mouroux makes the point that the Christian experience is an integrating experience ; bringing all that is in man into hierarchic order and harmony so that, in spite of conflict and stress from within and without,

the true Christian fulfils himself in the most perfect way possible in this life and, as a consequence, is conscious of a deep spiritual joy.

His intellect is fulfilled in grasping, by the aid of the indwelling Spirit, the mystery of Christ : the central truth in Christianity. His will and affectivity is fulfilled by charity working in him in the same Spirit. And, although he cannot become aware of the supernatural mode of this fulfillment in faith and charity, he can be morally certain of the Holy Ghost's work in him by referring to certain signs ; his loyalty to the Church, the " solidity " of his virtues, the discernment of spirits. Because the spiritual mystery of Christ is mediated to us through signs, the Christian's material body is involved, through liturgical word and gesture, in his experience of Christianity. Even the despised feelings, once they have been purified and put in their right place in the hierarchy of man's powers, have their place in the mature Christian life. The Christian experience, then, shows itself to be a vital dynamism, involving the whole man, buoyed up by hope in the inevitable storms of temptation and sin, driving on through the imperfections and darknesses of this life to an undreamt of and ineffable destiny.

There are excellent things in this book. In their context the quotations from St Paul, St John, St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas are highly suggestive. In the chapter on spiritual feeling there is a remarkably lucid exposition of the doctrine of St John of the Cross. I hesitate, however, to recommend the book to a reader who has not a fair training in theology. It is too encumbered with technical jargon for the general reader. I would recommend it to anyone whom too much theology has withered up, but even such a reader must be prepared to wrestle with the book. It is heavy work and not for babes.

JOHN C. KELLY

THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By Dr Pierre Barbet, M.D. Translated by the Earl of Wicklow. Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd. 16s. Pp. 178. 13 plates.

THE Holy Shroud of Turin is marked by the image of a crucified man. It is claimed that this image was impressed on the Shroud by the Body of Christ. Were we to rely only on historical evidence the authenticity of the Shroud might well remain in doubt for it is not heard of until the fifth century and its subsequent career has been erratic. But this relic is unique. It " would preserve its complete value even if it was without historical backing, because it has intrinsic proofs of its authenticity ".

The purpose of Dr Barbet's book is to examine this intrinsic evidence : he considers the markings on the Shroud from the point of view of anatomy and physiology. His thesis is that if the dead Body of Christ had been laid in this cloth and if it had left its likeness on the linen, the result would be exactly what is now to be seen on the Shroud of Turin. Dr Barbet uses the latest conclusions of archaeology concerning crucifixion as practised by the Romans to explain in detail the physical sufferings of Christ ; he draws on his specialist medical knowledge to show how they would produce effects similar to those portrayed on the Shroud. Conversely there is scarcely a mark on the Shroud that cannot be explained by reference to the Passion.

All the evidence points to one conclusion : " . . . the authenticity of the Shroud from the point of view of anatomy and physiology is a scientific fact ".

The reader of this book is required to correct many of his traditional ideas. The upright portion of the Cross did not project above the cross-bar as is commonly supposed ; the Cross was T-shaped. Though the condemned man was said to " carry his cross " in fact only the cross-bar was borne to the place of execution. Many questions that come to mind when reading the Gospels are answered. What did Our Lord mean when He said that He would be " lifted up " ? How did crucifixion finally cause death ? Why did not the soldiers break Our Lord's legs when they found that He was dead ? How did breaking the legs of the two thieves hasten their deaths ? Why did the centurion pierce the side of Christ Whom he had recently declared to be a just man and the Son of God ? Why does St John emphasize that he and St Peter saw the " napkin that had been about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but apart, wrapped up into one place " ? Why does he seem to attribute his faith in the Resurrection to this sight ?

The result of Dr Barbet's investigations is a book which no one whose aim is to portray the Passion, whether as preacher, writer, painter or sculptor, can afford to ignore. Although its language is at times highly technical, the book will appeal not only to the expert but also to the general reader whose devotion impels him to seek a deeper understanding of all that is implicit in the terse Gospel narrative of the Passion. The detailed study of the wounds of Christ is synthesized in a final " Meditation on the Corporal Passion of Jesus Christ ". Here the man of science and the fervent christian unite to provide a moving commentary on the Way of the Cross.

Unhappily the quality of the translation is uneven and scarcely does justice to the original.

R. J. Cremins

NEW LIGHT ON THE PASSION OF OUR DIVINE LORD. By Rev. Patrick O'Connell, B.D. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son, Limited. 1955. 7s. 6d.

The introductory section of Fr O'Connell's book is a good, brief initiation to the history of and the controversy about the Holy Shroud. It is strange, however, to read on a later page that the authenticity of the Holy Shroud " was never really in serious doubt " and is now " universally acknowledged ". These are surely exaggerations. The larger portion of the book describes what can be deduced from the Shroud about the physical sufferings of Our Lord in the Passion and compares with these findings details given in the visions of St Bridget of Sweden, Venerable Maria D'Agreda, Anne Catherine Emmerich and Teresa Neumann.

Fr O'Connell has handicapped himself by writing too short a book. Many of the points he raises require fuller treatment ; many of his statements are not proved, or are insufficiently proved ; not a few are unlikely to be proved. Fr O'Connell is here concerned only with the Passion of Our Lord. He does not, therefore, refer to the serious differences we meet in the visionaries' accounts of the earlier life of Christ—of the Nativity, for instance. But the existence of those discrepancies should have inspired a more guarded approach to the visions relating to the Sacred Passion.

Admittedly the testimony of the four agrees on a wide range of points with the witness of the Holy Shroud, but they are often at variance among themselves and with the Shroud. It is irritating to find Fr O'Connell brushing aside or passing over the details on which the visionaries differ. For example, the evidence of three of the four and of the Holy Shroud shows that one long nail fixed both of Our Lord's feet to the Cross. St Bridget says that His joined feet were fastened with two nails. Fr O'Connell comments : " The addition of the *two nails* is certainly unnecessary and was probably made by one of St Bridget's confessors ". Perhaps it was ; but where is the evidence ? There are differences, too, concerning the whips used at the Scourging. This is not surprising, says the author, as " both (Ven. Maria and Sister Emmerich) were describing from memory what they saw, and not recording what was told to them ". On other points—the height of the pillar and the clothing of Our Blessed Lord at the Scourging—the discrepancies are serious and harder to surmount. These are all matters of detail, it might be argued ; but the book is concerned all through with just such details.

Did Our Blessed Lord carry the whole Cross or only the crossbeam ? Referring to Dr Barbet's discussion of this query in *The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (English Translation), Fr O'Connell observes that the ordinary conclusion to be drawn is " that the crossbeam alone would not be sufficient to account for the wound that the Holy Shroud shows to have been on Our Lord's right shoulder ". The Doctor's own findings were that the crossbeam would have sufficed and that, further, it would have been well-nigh impossible for Jesus to carry the entire Cross.

Fr O'Connell's object in writing this book was " to show that the sufferings of Our Divine Lord in His Passion were far greater than they are generally represented even in pious books, and thereby to arouse a greater devotion to the Passion and a greater love for Our Divine Redeemer ". It is fair to say that the book should have that effect. In addition much of the argument on points of detail is sound and acceptable ; but the book as a work of scholarship is spoiled by insufficiency of development and by statements too loosely grounded.

DESMOND REID

SHORTER NOTICES

THE GOLDEN STRING. By Bede Griffiths, O.S.B. London : The Harvill Press. 12s. 6d.

THIS is the story of his own religious conversion told by a monk of Prinknash Abbey, Gloucestershire. Brought up in the Church of England, he spent his early life in a Hampshire village and did his secondary schooling at Christ's Hospital where in his last year he was captain of his house and won a scholarship to Oxford. In 1925, then aged 18, he went up to Oxford and when he came to read English Literature had C. S. Lewis as his tutor and friend. He planned, five years later, to take orders in the Church of England, but on Christmas Eve, 1931, he entered the Catholic Church and, a few weeks later,

the Benedictine monastery at Prinknash. The account of his life during the six years preceding his conversion to Catholicism takes up two-thirds of the book. At Oxford, he took the romantic poets as his teachers, worshipped the Presence in nature, and regarded Christianity as a religion of the past. With two friends, he gravitated in vacation time to the solitude of the Cotswolds, where they adopted a life of the greatest simplicity. He began to meditate on the Bible ; when he came down from Oxford he began to read philosophy, Indian and Chinese classics, and then St Augustine, Dante, St Thomas, St Bede and Newman. The road on which these men were to guide him is plain. He recounts his itinerary from one to another and how his ideas developed on the way. Great bouts of prayer, fasting and struggles with himself followed. Finally came the happy end of his quest with intellectual certainty and a life that satisfied the whole man, a community life of prayer, study and manual work.

Though the tempo of the book is quiet and serious, one cannot but be gripped by the persistent and sincere pursuit of truth. Especially interesting is the account of the adoption by the young university graduate of the life of a quasi-hermit in the middle of modern England. The writing is limpid, hence even the more thought-packed chapters can be read with ease.

THOMAS O'NEILL

WE ARE MEN. By John M. Todd. Sheed and Ward. 1955. 7s. 6d.

In the words of its author, this book is " an attempt to understand Christianity in a way appropriate to the life of the Christian layman to-day ". It is divided into four main sections : the Apostolate of the Family ; the Apostolate of Work ; the Apostolate of Leisure ; the Apostolate of Religion. Lest anyone be put off by that rather frightening word " apostolate ", it is only fair to say that the author's main thesis is that Catholics, by being fully Catholics in all the activities of their lives, are already practising a very important apostolate. The book, then, might be considered as a series of essays, exploring the different states of men and women—as husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, workers and citizens—with a view to finding how these states might be lived to the full, in the light of Catholic teaching, and in the light of present day conditions. It is an interesting book, very much down-to-earth, yet showing a thoughtful grasp of the deep spiritual principles which underlie the hopes and problems of our every-day life. For instance, in the chapter on " Children " we read : " Children do still remain in many ways the symbol of innocence to-day . . . The disappearance of infantile innocence is in fact inevitable ; but the Christian believes it can be transformed into a conscious desire for innocence before God and a habit of life which involves living as a child of God, in an attitude of total trust ".

The author frankly admits this book to be experimental, " full of protests, judgements, requests, suggestions ". It is certainly an original book, and is written with such good sense that there are not many of the author's protests and suggestions with which one would readily quarrel.

LIAM EGAN

BRITAIN BETWEEN THE WARS 1918–1940. By C. L. Mowat. London : Methuen. Pp. x + 694. 30s. net.

This is a Gentleman's Guide to the recent history of Great Britain. It is thorough and painstaking, but, like many gentlemen, it lacks a certain liveliness, perhaps owing to the fact that it is not based on any original research. The author in fact has summarized the accessible literature on his subject without really adding anything to it. Hence the book has the flavour of a digest about it, even down to its discussion of the literature of the period, where the author acknowledges his debt to rather poor literary histories, refusing to trust his own judgement. This said, however, there can be no doubt that the book is extremely useful as marking a transition stage between journalism and history, at a time when carefully edited memoirs, officially inspired biographies and newspapers are inevitably the main source of evidence for a narrative. There is a good account of the ' Troubles ' in Ireland and of the Civil War which followed ; here, as in other fields, the author has kept up with the latest literature and for this reason the bibliographical footnotes in the book are most valuable. Until private and public archives are thrown open and libel actions become a remote possibility, this kind of book will continue to perform a useful function. H. F. KEARNEY

OUR TIME IS NOW : A Study of some Modern Congregations and Secular Institutes. By Dr Mary O'Leary. Burns and Oates. 1956. 9s. 6d.

The Holy Father has referred to Secular Institutes as " this new militia which has increased the army of those professing the evangelical counsels in the world ", and as a strong force that has providentially strengthened the Catholic Apostolate in these times of trouble and sorrow. Dr O'Leary's book is a full treatment of the new militia. Its members are in the true tradition of the spiritual life, in the authentic state of perfection. They take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience but do not wear a religious habit nor necessarily live in community. Their work calls them individually or in groups to mission fields or to take their place in various professions or trades.

There is much, then, that may be styled revolutionary in the manner of life of these congregations. Their goal " holiness, consecration, apostolic activity, is the same as that which drew a Benedict, a Francis, a Dominic in ages past " ; in their rejection of traditional usages they meet a demand of modern times. That break with tradition necessarily exposes the members to dangers that may sap the strength or fervour of their vocation. The dangers are foreseen. Working as he does for the most part away from his centre, the member's obedience will be to a principle and to general directives rather than to minute precepts. He must, then, have an intelligent grasp of his obligations ; his judgment must be mature ; he must be disciplined in action. All this can come only from enlightened training and from a right orientation of mind. In the novitiate that training and orientation and a concomitant love of Christ are determinedly fostered.

This informative book will deservedly arouse much interest. It should also evoke many good wishes for the continued progress of the Secular Institute. O. B.

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SPRING 1955

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